COLLECTED WORKS OF ERASMUS

POEMS

NOTES TO POEMS

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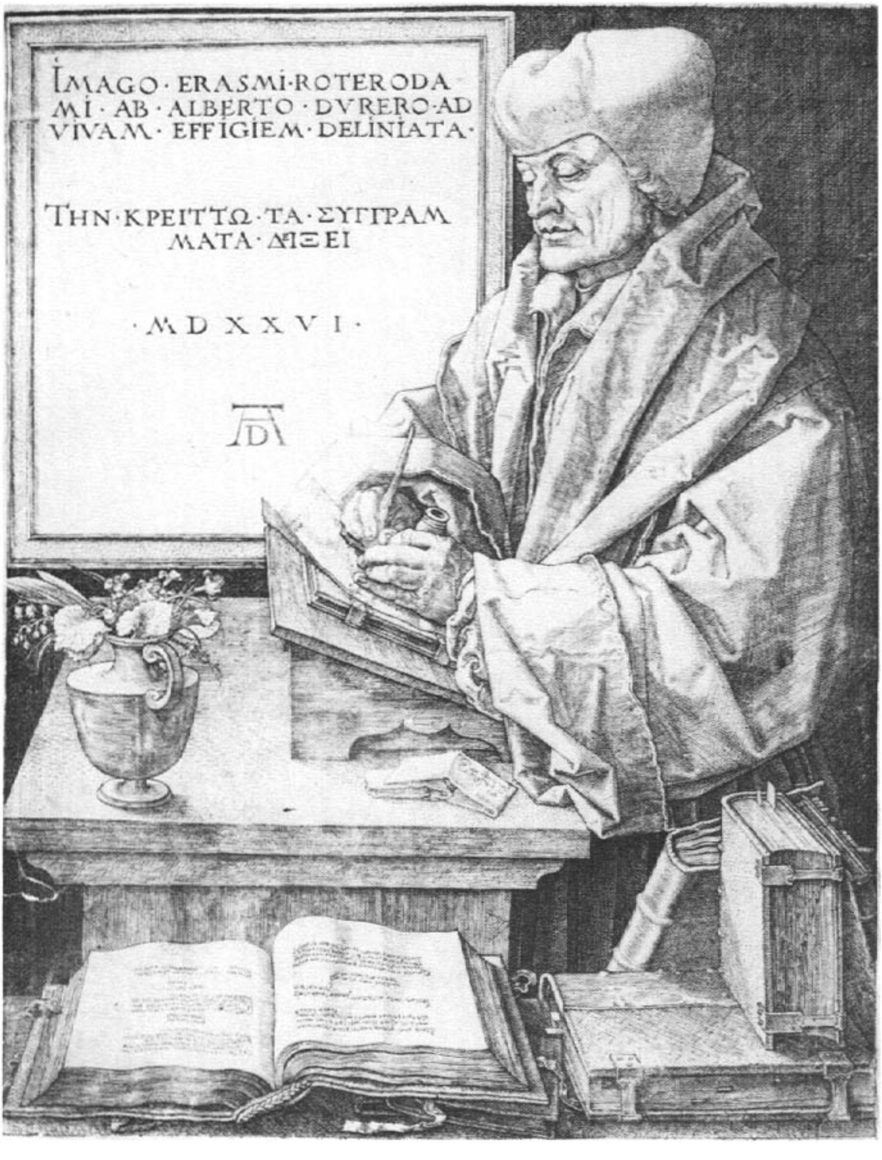
COLLECTED WORKS OF ERASMUS

VOLUME 85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Erasmus
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COLLECTED WORKS OF
ERASMUS

POEMS

translated by Clarence H. Miller

edited and annotated by Harry Vredeveld

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Collected Works of Erasmus

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Introduction

I

ERASMUS' CAREER AS A POET

'From boyhood,' Erasmus told Cornelis Gerard in 1489, 'I have loved literature, and still love it, so much that it seems to me rightly to be preferred even to all the treasures of Arabia, and I would not give it up in exchange for Croesus' entire fortune, however great.'[1] And in his famous 'Poem on the troubles of old age,' composed in August 1506, he recalled how already 'as a beardless youth' he had been 'passionately devoted to reading and writing' and 'madly in love with the figures of the rhetoricians and the beguiling fictions of mellifluous poetry' (2.90–3). As a young man Erasmus found that his greatest strength lay in verse – a natural talent which, however, did not stop him from also writing in prose, even if it meant forcing himself to the task at first.[2] His teachers at 's-Hertogenbosch might frown on his avid studies and try to cool his enthusiasm for imitating the ancients;[3] his fellow monks at Steyn might look askance at his immoderate desire for assimilating all manner of books, both pagan and Christian, and for writing in all sorts of genres, both poetry and prose. And yet, as he told Johann von Botzheim many years later,[4] it was as if 'a kind of secret natural force' kept drawing him on to study literature and exercise his pen – all the more so, no doubt, because of his arduous struggles: *difficilia quae pulchra* 'all that is beautiful is difficult,' as he was fond of saying.

Why he might have been so attracted to literary studies Erasmus does not explain. A good part of this fascination must have been owing to his father Gerard, who knew Latin and Greek, had worked as a scribe in Italy, heard Guarino lecture in Ferrara, and copied out a small library of classical works with his own hand.[5] Erasmus' six years of schooling at Deventer (1478–84) and his two-odd years at 's-Hertogenbosch (1484–7) must also have inspired him more than he was afterwards prepared to admit. At Deventer he received instruction in the writing of Latin prose and poetry and learned the rudiments of Greek; and even at 's-Hertogenbosch, medieval-minded though it was, he found new books to read – works of excellent Latinity from which he was able to acquire some fluency of style.[6] Looking back at those early days, the mature Erasmus could discern only the bleaker picture of Dutch barbarism. But in Deventer he could admire, even if only from afar, the great humanist Rodolphus Agricola, who visited the school several times between his return from Italy in 1479 and his departure from Groningen to Heidelberg in April 1484. And in his last year at Deventer (1483–4) he could also look up to the school's new headmaster, the renowned scholar and poet Alexander Hegius, who lectured to all the boys on high days. Through them and the progressive teacher Jan Synthen, Erasmus found his imagination stirred by the new ideal of classical eloquence that the Italians were even then reviving.[7] Already at Deventer and later at 's-Hertogenbosch he tried his hand at imitating the writers of antiquity; but of his schoolboy exercises in poetry and prose nothing has survived.

AT STEYN, 1487–92

Erasmus joined the canons regular of St Augustine at Steyn, most probably in 1487, and took his vows there in late 1488. His older brother Pieter had entered the Augustinian monastery of Sion, near Delft. Erasmus had been ready for the university since leaving Deventer; but after his parents' death in the summer of 1484 his guardians steered him and his brother to the school of the Brethren of the Common Life in 's-Hertogenbosch instead. In later years he blamed all his troubles on the executors who had wasted the youths' patrimony, prevented them from attending university, and finally pressured them against their will into a monastic life for which Erasmus, at least, was quite unsuited.[8] We must be careful, however, not to take the piteous story completely at face value.[9]

For the twenty-one-year-old the probationary year was naturally a time of anxiety, but also of new friendships and intellectual ferment. After the depressing years spent with Pieter at 's-Hertogenbosch, Steyn must have seemed a very garden of the Muses. That, at least, is the phrase he uses in the letter to the papal official 'Lambertus Grunnius,' and that is how he idealized monastic life as late as 1491 in *De contemptu mundi*.[10] The library at Steyn was stocked not only with a wide range of Christian authors, but also with the principal ancient writers.[11] Here, for instance, he could read Terence, whom he had learned by heart along with Horace.[12] Moreover, there were at Steyn several young monks who, like him, had already tasted the old wine of classical learning. He 'greatly enjoyed the pleasant company of his contemporaries. They sang, they played games, they wrote verses in competition with one another.'[13] Among them were Cornelis of Woerden

– in the letter to Grunnius he is the *bête noire* 'Cantelius'[14] – and above all Servatius Rogerus. Initially Erasmus was allowed to spend much time reading and speaking with his friends night and day. Later, after he took the habit, this was apparently not always possible, since the house rules discouraged monks from conversing.[15] They were permitted to write as often as they pleased, however. Erasmus for one never tired of letter-writing. 'The more I write,' he used to say, 'the more I wish to write.'[16] And in letter after letter, couched in the florid rhetoric of passionate love, he strove first to win Servatius as a bosom friend and then to confirm him as a partner in his studies.

Erasmus' letters to Servatius are surely expressions of true friendship. 'It is not uncommon at [that] age to conceive passionate attachments [*fervidos amores*] for some of your companions,' he later told Grunnius.[17] That these same letters, which run the gamut of love's emotions, are undoubtedly also literary exercises – rhetorical *progymnasmata* – is by no means a contradiction to this. Rhetorical form colours, but does not necessarily exclude, sincerity and autobiographical authenticity. The fact is that the scholarly Erasmus could form no deep and lasting attachment except on the common ground of humanistic studies. 'In proportion to the intensity of my love for literature is the delight I take in the pursuits of literary men,' he once confided to Cornelis Gerard.[18] Having all things in common, reading and discussing the same works, composing verses together in friendly rivalry, writing elegant letters to each other when conversation was not possible: that was Erasmus' vision of friendship.[19]

For a while the course of true friendship did run smooth. In a letter to his brother Pieter, Erasmus praised Servatius as 'a youth of beautiful disposition and very agreeable personality and a devoted student in those branches of learning which have given the greatest delight to us both from our boyhood onwards.'[20] The two young men basked in each other's friendship and exchanged a series of letters, of which some of Erasmus' have survived. From these letters we gain the impression, however, that Servatius soon wearied of his friend's unbounded enthusiasm. He began to be slow in responding to Erasmus' letters, so full of the passionate eloquence that he could not and would not match. When pleading proved fruitless, Erasmus took to chiding Servatius for his laziness in not pursuing his studies more avidly and spontaneously.[21] He turned now to other monks more willing to match their pens with his, first and foremost Willem Hermans and Cornelis Gerard. It was to them above all that Erasmus was referring when he told Botzheim in 1523 how he loved to challenge his friends at the monastery in literary rivalry.

Like the early letters to Servatius, Erasmus' earliest poems are exercises in the rhetoric of friendship. Two of them are evidently intended to persuade a reluctant friend – quite possibly Servatius – to make the most of their youth and friendship. The 'Elegiac poem comparing sorrow and joy' (99) demonstrates the commonplace that joy – the joy of friendship shared – is the only thing that can extend the span of youth and increase the brilliance of intellect. The sorrow and cares of unrequited love, on the other hand, are detrimental to body and soul and hasten the onset of old age. Therefore the poet exhorts his friend to embrace joy together with him and to cast sorrow and grief into the underworld, where they belong. This poem of friendship is thus in essence a variation on the *carpe diem* theme. Another variation on this theme, the 'Elegiac poem complaining about grief' (101), goes a step further. Grief and sorrow, the young poet laments, have so worn him out that he expects to see all the signs of old age visited upon him before long. These verses, which are based on the elegy that opens Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, may well have been intended to persuade the reluctant friend to convict himself of hard-heartedness, feel pity for the poet, and at last return his affection.

The bucolic poem (102), traditionally assigned to the period of Erasmus' schooldays at Deventer, should more probably be placed among the early poems to Servatius. When his love for Gunifolda is not returned, the shepherd Rosphamus loses all interest in what was once his only concern, his flock – just as the lovelorn Erasmus gives up reading and writing literature, formerly his only concern, when Servatius refuses to respond to his ardent appeals. And just as Gunifolda cannot be persuaded to love Rosphamus but would rather retire to the 'doggish embraces' of uncouth, cave-dwelling Polyphemus, so Servatius cannot bring himself to devote his heart to classical letters and prefers to take his ease among the 'barbarians' in the monastery. Rosphamus, therefore – like Erasmus in his letters to Servatius – laments that he is but ploughing the seashore and (quoting Virgil) prays for death to release him from his sorrows. If this interpretation is correct, the poem stands in the tradition of the allegorical eclogue. Indeed, though it also borrows eclectically from Ovid, Theocritus, and Boccaccio, it is at bottom an imitation of Virgil's second bucolic – a pastoral that Erasmus interpreted as a poem of disparate friendship.[22] But just as Virgil's second eclogue lets Corydon reject his unfulfillable passion at the end, so too the shepherd Rosphamus may yet come to his senses and reject the hard-hearted Gunifolda.

That obviously does not happen in the eclogue itself. The possibility, here only intimated by Corydon's example, is brought home in the 'Amatory ode' (103). This ode opens with a pastoral scene reminiscent of Virgil's second eclogue. Like Corydon, the hapless lover Amyntas wanders about disconsolately and laments his fate. And like Corydon, Erasmus' Amyntas rebels in the end against the tyranny of passion. In language closely following Horace's fifteenth epode, he warns the beloved to mend his ways. If not, so be it! The friend will learn to regret his hard-heartedness – if he does not relent before then.

Erasmus' rhetorical-literary attempts to induce Servatius to return his friendship in an exchange of letters and poems ended in failure. After berating him for his laziness and exhorting him to pursue his studies, Erasmus allowed his friendship to turn first into regretful defiance and finally into amiable indifference. Servatius' place in Erasmus' affections was soon occupied by another young monk at Steyn, his kinsman Willem Hermans, who had earlier studied with him at Deventer and was 'closely bound to [him] by friendship and literary studies.'[23] In the manuscript version of *Antibarbari* Erasmus praises him as 'the best and most learned of my contemporaries; you might wonder which to admire most, his charming character or his brilliant mind.'[24] And as late as 1496 he can still speak of him as 'a most delightful friend, a very Patroclus or Pirithous, in literary studies as in everything else.'[25] Willem, in short, fulfilled for a time Erasmus' dream of friendship based not merely on personal charm but also on a spirited intellectual and poetic rivalry. Beatus Rhenanus well describes their relationship: '[At Steyn] he had for several years as a companion in his studies Willem Hermans of Gouda, a youth deeply devoted to literature, whose *Sylva odarum* we still have ... They would spend day and night in literary pursuits. The time that other contemporaries spent lazily in trifles, sleeping, carousing, these two would spend in reading books and exercising their pen.'[26]

Among the fruits of their friendly competition we may certainly reckon the spring poem (106) in which Erasmus and Willem, like two shepherds in amoebean contest, strive mightily to outdo each other in alternating distichs praising the joys of springtime and youth. Another poem of this period, entitled simply 'To his friend' (109), is quite possibly also addressed to Willem. In these verses Erasmus depicts the cares and sorrows that incessantly burden his soul. For all its laments, however, this ode is an elaborate compliment to a new friend without whom, the poet confesses, he would long since have succumbed to grief. Shakespeare was to use the very same conceit in sonnet 30, the concluding lines of which read: 'But if the while I think on thee, dear friend, / All losses are restored and sorrows end.' The underlying pattern returns in later letters and poems to other new-found friends, beginning with the 'Ode to Cornelis' (93), written in the same metre as poem 109.

This 'Poem lamenting the neglect of the art of poetry: Ode to Cornelis,' as Erasmus seems to have entitled it originally,[27] was composed in early 1489 when Erasmus was very eager to get into contact with Cornelis Gerard, a learned monk in Hieronymusdal (Lopsen) outside the gates of Leiden. In the poem Erasmus recounts the many hardships that would surely have broken his spirit had not his new friend restored his soul. Erasmus' concerns, however, have evidently changed. Whereas the earlier ode 'To his friend' (109) still complains of the unabating madness (*furor*) of love, the 'Ode to Cornelis' laments the depression brought on by the 'barbarians' who constantly harass him in his classical studies and who condemn his fascination with pagan letters. Erasmus professes that these sorrows have forced him to abandon literature, formerly his greatest joy. But the report of Cornelis' enormous fame as a poet has so heartened him that he has once more taken up the pen to oppose the barbarians.

To Erasmus' delight Cornelis not only approved of the ode but also paid him the compliment of converting it into a dialogue by inserting three new sections of his own and adding an epilogue, written in hexameters. In this way the joint poem put into practice one of Erasmus' favourite maxims, later to be placed at the head of the *Adagia*: 'Between friends all is common.' The 'Ode to Cornelis' became an *Apologia adversus barbaros*, 'A defence taken up by Erasmus and Cornelis ... directed against the barbarous persons who scorn the eloquence of the ancients' (93, with the epilogue 135). Of course, in changing Erasmus' original ode of friendship into a dialogue, Cornelis also altered the poem's tone and emphasis. While Erasmus' exempla are drawn wholly from the sphere of classical poetry and mythology, Cornelis adds numerous examples from the Bible. He furthermore calls for a classicizing Christian poetry, garbed not in the cowl but in the toga, and so transforms Erasmus' ode into a manifesto hurled against the obscurantist enemies of biblical humanism.[28]

In 1489 Erasmus was not yet ready to follow Cornelis' lead and become a poet of Christian themes. His major concern for the time being remained the defence of classical eloquence and learning. We can see this concern clearly in his other works of that year. Closely recalling the terms employed in the 'Ode to Cornelis,' he hails the well-known (and well-to-do) scholar Engelbert Schut of Leiden as a bulwark against the forces of barbarism (poem 98). His *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei* pits the classical Muse Thalia against Barbarism, the anti-Muse of medieval learning.[29] And in the first draft of *Antibarbari*, which also dates from this period, Erasmus has his friend Cornelis declaim against the barbarians who in their ignorance and laziness deride the humanists for studying the ancient writers and emulating their eloquence.

Through Cornelis Erasmus became acquainted with at least some of the poetry of Girolamo Balbi. While he did not share Cornelis' enthusiasm for this expatriate Italian humanist, Erasmus thought well enough of him to take a *carpe diem* poem of his as the model for an elegy to a friend (perhaps Cornelis or Willem Hermans), urging him to take advantage of the spring of life, while it yet lasts, and to make good use of 'the time of youth, which is proper for the study of literature.'[30] He entitled it: 'On the mutability of time' (104). Evidently stimulated by Cornelis' ideals and by his own ever-widening circle of knowledge, Erasmus' thematic range began to broaden in 1490, first of all into the sphere of popular philosophy and moral satire. The 'Elegiac poem on patience' (105) was followed in the winter of 1490–1 by a series of hortatory elegies on false goals, lechery, and greed (94–6). These poems, to which Erasmus had planned to add two more elegies on worldly ambition and sinful curiosity, shortly afterwards became the core of his *De contemptu mundi* (c spring 1491), a *suasoria* addressed to a 'cousin' who is exhorted to disdain the stormy seas of this world and enter the tranquil harbour of the monastery.

The themes of these moral elegies – these *progymnasmata*, as Erasmus later termed them – do show the direction in which his interests were moving at the start of the decade. From writing sermons in verse to composing poems on sacred themes it is, after all, but a step. In Ep 28 (which is to be redated to c March 1491) Erasmus announces to Cornelis that he has taken that step.[31] Glancing back at the poetry that he wrote in the one or two years after he had entered Steyn, when he was only 'a youth and virtually still a layman,' he apologizes if any of the verses he is sending should be sentimental to a fault (*aequo mollius*). More recently, he says, he composed a verse satire – the tripartite satire on the folly of mankind (94–6). He had also written an *Oratio funebris* for Berta van Heyen along with two epitaphs (113–14). And at the moment he is working on a lyric ode. 'But, since you kindly remind me of this,' he tells his friend, 'I have decided for the future to write nothing which does not breathe the atmosphere either of praise of holy men or of holiness itself.'[32]

It is at least in part to Cornelis' influence, then, that we may attribute Erasmus' turn to moral-philosophical and sacred themes. In that most productive winter and spring of 1490–1 he wrote not only the three satires on vices and follies, but also a Christmas poem entitled 'On the shed where the boy Jesus was born and on the impoverished delivery of the Virgin Mary' (42), 'A rhythmical iambic hymn in praise of St Ann, the grandmother of Jesus Christ' (1), another hymn in praise of the patron saint of his monastery, Pope Gregory the Great (107), and a short meditation on the popular late-medieval theme 'The four last things' (108). 'The Saviour's earnest entreaty to mankind, perishing by its own fault' (117), which carries on a late-medieval tradition, may also have been written around that time. To Cornelis, who had earlier written a history of the civil war in the diocese of Utrecht, Erasmus furthermore dedicated a prose oration on peace, *Oratio de pace*, written in c 1489, during the civil war that had once again flared up in Holland in 1488 and was not to end until 1492. The theme of war and peace found its place also in poem 50, the 'Ode in praise of Michael and all the angels' (early spring 1491). The section devoted to St Michael, the 'angel of peace,' concludes with a prayer for an end to the bloody furore of war. The following two parts on the archangels Gabriel and Raphael likewise end with the thought of peace on earth. In his letter to Johann von Botzheim Erasmus does not mention the civil war, but he does recall that he wrote this sapphic ode at the insistence of the prior of a church dedicated to St Michael (probably the one at Den Hem near Schoonhoven and Gouda). It was a sign of the times, he says, that the man did not dare post it up in his church because it was so poetical as to seem Greek to him.[33]

FROM 1492 TO 1506

Erasmus' poetic output, as we have seen, peaked in the winter and spring of 1490–1. We shall have to wait until 1499 before we encounter another such efflorescence of poetry from him. Before that could happen, however, he had first to spread his wings and leave the small circle of friends he had been cultivating. On 25 April 1492 Erasmus was ordained priest. Some time thereafter, probably still in 1492, he was granted leave from the monastery to become secretary to Hendrik van Bergen, bishop of Cambrai and chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece. In this wider world he made many new friends, particularly Jacob Batt of Bergen op Zoom. Still, he took care to keep up contacts with the friends he had left behind in Holland. When he revised his *Antibarbari* in 1495, he named Willem Hermans and Jacob Batt – but not Cornelis – among the interlocutors.[34]

We know of no poetry written during these first years outside the monastery walls. Considering how little free time Erasmus enjoyed at the bustling court of a bishop who never stayed in any one place for long, this should not surprise us. He himself complained of being unable to 'attend at leisure to the Muse's task.'[35] It is not until early autumn 1495, after the bishop had given him permission to study theology at the Collège de Montaigu in Paris, that we find Erasmus the poet once more making an appearance.

Having arrived in Paris he immediately took the opportunity of introducing himself to Robert Gaguin, general of the Trinitarian order and the most prominent humanist in France. He did so both in poem 5 and in a now-lost prose letter, the effusive flattery of which Gaguin modestly declined. Impressed by Erasmus' genius, Gaguin quickly accepted the Dutchman into his literary circle and introduced him to the Italian expatriate poet Fausto Andrelini, with whose collection of amatory elegies, *Livia* (Paris: G. Marchant 1490), Erasmus had already become acquainted at Steyn. To both of these humanists Erasmus addressed a charming poem (no 6) – a dream-vision in which he lauds Gaguin's history of France, *De origine et gestis Francorum compendium* (Paris: P. Le Dru, 30 September 1495), and announces Andrelini's forthcoming *Eclogues*. He published the two complimentary poems 5 and 6 along with two of his earlier religious odes, 'On the shed where the boy Jesus was born' and 'In praise of Michael and all the angels,' in a little collection prefaced by Ep 47 and entitled *De casa natalitia Iesu* (Paris: A. Denidel [January 1496?]).

To his edition of Willem Hermans' *Sylva odarum* (Paris: G. Marchant, 20 January 1497), Erasmus contributed not only a prose letter of introduction to his tight-fisted patron Hendrik van Bergen (Ep 49), but also two new specimens of his own poetic skill: a liminary epigram commending the moral purity of his friend's work (30) and 'A lamentation about his fate, written when he was ill' (7). In spite of the title, the latter poem is not primarily concerned with Erasmus' low spirits during an illness, real as they no doubt were. Following a by now familiar pattern, Erasmus first rhetorically amplifies his unceasing hardships and then turns this long preamble into an elegantly understated compliment to Gaguin, now both friend and patron, without whom he must quickly sink into the slough of despond.

During his often interrupted theological studies in Paris Erasmus found time to produce a series of occasional poems, partly to exercise his pen, partly also to seek much-needed patronage: two epitaphs (14–15) for David of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht, who died on 16 April 1496, a eulogy (38) for the singer and composer Jan Ockeghem, who had died on 6 February 1497, an epitaph for the otherwise unknown Margaret Honora (13), and three for the equally unidentified Odilia and her son (9–11). Patronage remained for the time being a most uncertain source of income. Like so many penniless poets before him, Erasmus could always take his revenge on a stingy patron in a sarcastic epigram (41); but whether he liked it or not, he had no choice but to go on looking for benefactors willing to give a little money in exchange for much praise. He worked especially hard to obtain the patronage of Anna van Borssele in the winter of 1498–9, churning out a 'Paean to the Virgin' in prose and several other prayers at her request when he stayed at her castle at Tournehem in February 1499.[36] To please her, Erasmus also expanded a hymn to St Ann (1) that he had written a decade earlier at Steyn and presented it to her on 27 January 1501. His verse paraphrase of the antiphon *Salve, regina* (118) may also have been intended for her.

After returning to Paris by way of Holland in early spring 1499, Erasmus found his zest for writing poetry reawakened. With an enthusiasm unmatched since the beginning of the decade he threw himself once more into the writing of verse. On 2 May 1499 he wrote Jacob Batt that he was now 'on very close terms indeed with Fausto [Andrelini] and a certain other poet, who is new.'[37] He goes on to say that he currently has 'a very keen contest afoot' with a poet named 'Delius.' This is most probably the theologian Gillis van Delft, who had arrived in Paris some years before. Erasmus' contribution to the contest was the lengthy 'Paean to St Mary' (110). Gillis' poem, also a sapphic ode, deals with 'The life of the Virgin Mary' and is addressed 'To the poet Erasmus.'[38]

In late spring 1499 Erasmus was invited by Lord Mountjoy, one of his pupils, to visit England. In that 'world apart' he made the acquaintance of men such as he had not met before: Thomas More and John Colet, William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre. The quickest and best way to impress them was undoubtedly through his verse. So it was that in the summer and autumn of that same year he composed a remarkable series of occasional and religious poems. As if to complete a cycle on the birth, life, and death of Christ begun with the ode 'On the shed where the boy Jesus was born' (42) and continued with the 'Paean to St Mary' (110), Erasmus now produced 'A poem on the preternatural signs that occurred at the death of Christ' (111) and a short epic 'On the feast of Easter and on the triumphant procession of the risen Christ and on his descent into hell' (112), the latter in imitation of Macarius Mutius' *De triumpho Christi* (Venice: F. Lucensis, 29 March 1499). Two other poems, composed in the autumn of 1499, are evidently the work of a young scholar eager to win powerful backers. The first was the admirable 'Ode in praise of Britain and of King Henry VII and the royal children' (4), which he offered as a token of his esteem to the eight-year-old Prince Henry. The second, 'An extemporaneous poem' (115), repays in kind the compliments that Henry's tutor, the poet-scholar John Skelton, had earlier paid Erasmus.

Between late January 1500, when he returned to Paris, and 4 September 1506, when he received a doctorate in theology at Turin, Erasmus' goals were becoming more sharply defined: he was going to aim at nothing less than the marriage of classical philology to Christian theology.[39] He was learning Greek night and day and composing his first translations of Euripides and Lucian. As the fruit of his theological and literary studies he published *Enchiridion militis christiani*, together with some other short works and a liminary poem (36), in *Lucubratiunculae aliquot* (Antwerp: D. Martens 1503).

In striving for his great goals he found himself, again and again, strapped for money. If only he had the resources to tide him over the lean years! In the meantime he did what he could to live by his pen. In addition to a series of epigrams (24–7) interpreting various mythological depictions either for some wealthy collector or, less probably, at the request of an artist, he wrote several brief poems to important personages. One of these epigrams (35) thanks a patron for a gift; another (65), accompanying his verse translations of Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulis,* asks William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, for his patronage; and a third (8) praises Hammes castle near Calais, where he stayed for a time as the guest of Lord Mountjoy in June 1506. His verse encomium of Archduke Philip the Handsome (64), which accompanied the longer prose *Panegyricus* of 1504, was no doubt written against the grain, as Erasmus sighed;[40] but his work did bring him fifty gold florins – a handsome gratuity indeed.[41]

Of the poems that Erasmus composed in the years following his second stay in England, one in particular merits attention: the 'Poem on the troubles of old age' (2). Erasmus wrote it in August 1506, a few months before his fortieth birthday, while he was travelling through the Alpine passes to Italy. In this *carpe diem* meditation on the flight of youth and the rapid approach of old age, Erasmus at the midpoint of life introduces as the central exemplum the story of his own career and concludes by exhorting himself to devote his life henceforth wholly to Christ, without whom all his studies and aspirations are vain.

FROM 1507 TO 1536

The publication of his collected verse in *Varia epigrammata,* printed together with the revised *Adagiorum collectanea* (Paris: J. Petit and J. Bade 1506/7), marks the end of the first half of Erasmus' career. For the last time poetry receives, so to speak, equal billing with his prose. Hitherto Erasmus' verse had always balanced out his prose in importance, if not necessarily in length. His need for friendship at Steyn had found expression in both poems and letters; the attacks on the monastic 'barbarians' occurred not only in the poems to Cornelis Gerard and Engelbert Schut of Leiden but also in *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei* and *Antibarbari.* His funeral oration for Berta van Heyen was accompanied by two verse epitaphs. The moral satires and poems on sacred themes had their counterpart in *De contemptu mundi.* And the theme of his *Oratio de pace* was reflected in the 'Ode in praise of Michael and all the angels.' This relative balance continued throughout the 1490s. Occasional poems were matched by the letters he was even then beginning to collect; the prose prayers to Christ and the Virgin and the paean to Mary of winter 1498–9 were counterbalanced by the hymn to Mary and the epyllion on Christ's descent into hell. Likewise the steady flow of original poems and the verse translations from the Greek between autumn 1499 and autumn 1506 corresponded to an equally steady output of prose works: *Adagiorum collectanea, Enchiridion, Panegyricus,* and, of course, the ever-growing body of letters. But after the publication of the *Adagia* and *Epigrammata* in the winter of 1506–7 the earlier balance between poetry and prose in Erasmus' writing shifts suddenly and dramatically in favour of prose. Henceforth, whether he was inserting metrical translations from Greek into the *Adagia,* writing complimentary poems or epitaphs, or recording his reaction to one event or another, poetry would be mostly reduced to a pastime for himself, a service to his friends, a handmaiden to his prose.

Erasmus' satirical bent, evident well before 1507 in his hammer-blows against Hemmerlin's edition of Virgil (116), his caustic epigrams on an uncourtly courtier who despised clerics (21–3), and his ridicule of the 'blind' corrector of his Euripides translations (33), naturally manifested itself also in the verses he wrote at the time of his *Moriae encomium* and *Julius exclusus.* One may well wonder if the three witty pasquinades on the rape of Europa by the monks (138–40) did indeed come from his pen while he was at Rome in 1509. Almost certainly, however, he was the author of one or two vitriolic epigrams against the warrior-pope Julius II. The first (119) must have been written in late spring 1511; the second (if Erasmus was indeed its author) came hard on the heels of news that the pope had recovered from a near-fatal illness in November of that same year (141). Two years later, in autumn 1513, Erasmus pleased his English friends by mocking the rout of the French in the Battle of the Spurs (58).

Closely related to satirical pieces like these are the tongue-in-cheek poems that Erasmus could write as well as any when the spirit moved him. His mock 'Epitaph for a drunken jokester' (52) – probably at the death of Henrique Caiado of Lisbon – dates from the summer of 1509. And in June 1515, after it had rained for months on end, he penned a note to the rain-god Jupiter (59), threatening to repeal his title of 'the best and the greatest' and replace it with 'the worst and the lowest of gods.'

Most of Erasmus' verse in the years of his greatest fame was written for his friends. His triumphal journey to Basel by way of Alsace in 1514 brought him much adulation, in prose and verse, which he had to repay in like coin: to the schoolmaster Johannes Sapidus (3), for example, or the famed humanist Sebastian Brant (54), and all the scholars of Sélestat (53). Almost overrun by Spanish visitors in Brussels during the winter of 1516–17, he was asked by Álvar Gómez to compose an epigram for his poem on the Order of the Golden Fleece (120). Not long afterwards, during a brief stay at London in April 1517, Erasmus wrote two more liminary epigrams, this time for Bernard André, Henry VII's poet laureate, for whom he did not care very much. One (121) compliments the blind scholar for shedding light on St Augustine's *City of God;* the other (67) praises his collection of hymns, which are Christian-medieval in content and (alas) also in style. Sometimes his verse serves as a kind of covering letter for a gift: the young Wilhelm Nesen receives an epigram (61) along with a reed pen; and a newly wed couple in Basel get some punning verses (80) along with a rooster, a hen, and their chicks – a joke that was frustrated when his housekeeper gave the birds away to someone else. And as the ageing humanist paid tribute to his friends in life, so he remembered them in death, in epitaph after epitaph: the theologian Maarten van Dorp (71), the printers Johann Froben and Dirk Martens (73–4 and 126), the councillors Nicolaas Uutenhove (78–9) and Antonius Clava (86), his patron Jérôme de Busleyden (68–9), his friend Bruno Amerbach and his young wife (70), the two wives of Pieter Gillis (83–5), and the legal scholar Ulrich Zasius (92).

New in Erasmus' poetry after 1507 are his original Greek verses. Before this time we possess from his pen only a two-line Greek epitaph for Jacob Batt (16) and a brief cento stitched together (not entirely according to the rules of the genre) from Homeric verses, half-lines, and verse-fragments (63). Longer Greek poems of his own composition make their first appearance in the votive poem to Our Lady of Walsingham (51), dating from spring 1512. Like the much later verses to Ste Geneviève, this votive poem presents itself as a model of how to venerate a saint without falling into popular superstition: not by expecting worldly rewards, but by praying for a clean heart devoted to Christ. Several other Greek poems were to follow: an epitaph for Jérôme de Busleyden (68), another for Johann Froben (74), and a third for Nicolaas Uutenhove (79). Among the poetic variations presented in the colloquy *Convivium poeticum* and dealing with the theme that one should first and foremost tend the garden of learning, there is also a four-line Greek epigram (130.34–7). Erasmus' last Greek poem – a 'Dialogue between a scholar and a bookseller' (87) – graced the title-page of Simon Grynaeus' edition of Aristotle's works (Basel: J. Bebel 1531).

Like so many of the complimentary epigrams and epitaphs of these years, a good deal of Erasmus' religious poetry in the latter half of his career was written at the request of friends. It was for John Colet's new school for boys that he composed the series of epigrams on the boy Jesus (44–8). Designed to inculcate the virtues of clean living and pure Latinity, they were first published together with *Concio de puero Iesu* ([Paris: Joris Biermans?] 1 September [1511?]). In the same collection he included a greatly expanded version of his 'Expostulation of Jesus with mankind' (43). His lengthy poem 'Basic principles of Christian conduct' (49) was also written at the request of John Colet; it was first published in a collection of ancient proverbs and maxims entitled *Opuscula aliquot Erasmo Roterodamo castigatore* (Louvain: D. Martens 1514). Actually it is not an original work as such, but a versification of Colet's English catechism. Half a decade later Jan van Merleberge asked Erasmus to write him a poem praising St Mary Magdalen and containing an acrostic of his name. Erasmus obliged the ageing monk with the epigram (124) in summer 1520. And the *Liturgy of the Virgin Mother as She is Venerated at Loreto*, with its exquisite verses in many different metres (133), was written in 1523 not on Erasmus' own initiative, but at the request of the Swiss priest Thiébaut Biétry.

Even Erasmus' last religious poem, the graceful 'Poem in fulfilment of a vow made to Ste Geneviève, whose protection freed him from a quartan fever' (88), is at least in part a tribute to Guillaume Cop – the same physician to whom he had earlier dedicated his 'Poem on the troubles of old age' (2). Perhaps it was the old Cop who gently prodded Erasmus to fulfil his vow after so many years.[42] Be that as it may, the poem, which describes his miraculous cure from a severe attack of quartan fever in the winter of 1496–7, is not an outpouring of devotion like that of the earlier 'Hymn in praise of St Ann' or the 'Paean to St Mary.' After so long a delay in fulfilling his vow, after so much harsh criticism of the popular cult of the saints, we can hardly expect such lyrics from him now. Instead, the votive poem is written in a measured, low-key style. Its metre, the dactylic hexameter, does not readily lend itself to lyric flights. So Erasmus' tribute to the saint is placed between a beautifully evocative description of the sacred landscape in which Geneviève once moved and a narration of the cure she performed. At the end of the poem the focus is not on Ste Geneviève, but on Christ. It is as if the old humanist is telling his readers one last time: this is how you should venerate a saint, by attributing all her glory to its true source, Christ.

II

IMITATION AND MODELS

In his handbook for preachers, *Ecclesiastes sive de ratione concionandi*, Erasmus makes one of his rare comments on the art of poetry. Poetry, he explains, is not just the art of versifying. The poet must also invest his words with dignity, gravity, charm, seductive imagery, and a certain divine inspiration or *enthousiasmos*. Only he who has universal knowledge can be a poet. 'True poetry,' he concludes, 'is like a pastry baked from the delicacies and the marrow of all branches of learning, or to use a better image: it is honey brought together from all the choicest flowers.'[43]

Erasmus' characterization of poetry as an erudite, highly refined compilation, drawn and distilled from many sources and models and presented in metrical form and eloquent language, should remind us of the gulf that separates Renaissance poetics from the romantic and neoromantic theories of poetry to which we are heir and from which we have only in the past few decades begun to break away. While the romantic tradition conditioned the reader to look for originality and individual genius, the Renaissance reader more often than not expected variations on commonplace themes, expressed in an elegant, classical style and modelled on the great masters of past and present. Writing poetry was, to be sure, considered an art that requires 'a certain divine inspiration or *enthousiasmos*.'[44] But the *poeta doctus* also understood that the Muses grant their aid only in exchange for hard work and consequently applied Varro's dictum to his own craft: 'Since, as they say, the gods help those who help themselves, I will invoke the gods first' (*Adagia* I vi 17). Poetry, in short, was not merely a matter of genius and inspiration, but had also to be learned by assiduous study of handbooks and by tireless practice in imitating the finest models that tradition had to offer.

The honey-bee image that Erasmus employs to describe the making of poetry has a long history.[45] It received its classic expression in Horace *Odes* 4.2.25–32. In this passage Horace likens Pindar to a swan and himself to a bee that flits from flower to flower, culling from them only the very best to make his own honey.[46] Later Seneca took up the image in *Epistulae morales* 84, a lengthy discussion of the process by which thinkers and writers gain their universal knowledge. Such erudition, Seneca explains, is acquired from many disparate sources just as the bee gathers nectar from flowers of all kinds. Once we have imbibed the nectar of learning, however, we must digest and transform it within us into honey of our own.

Imitation in Renaissance Latin verse takes many forms.[47] On the simplest level the poet follows one model throughout. Since this sort of imitation was considered apprentice work, the mature Erasmus tended to avoid it. But even he could make an exception when the pressure of the moment forced him to come up with an extempore composition. In a last-minute rush to fill a blank space in a copy of his translation of Euripides' *Hecuba*, which he wanted to present to William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, he versified a brief letter by Angelo Poliziano to his patron Lorenzo de' Medici.[48] There Poliziano had used the learned conceit of the poet as a swan who can sing only when the fair breezes of patronage blow. Erasmus had already borrowed this argument once before, in one of his own letters (Ep 144). In poem 65 he does the same in verse, following his model freely, changing or adding details to suit the specific situation, adorning the material with poetic language and metre. To Renaissance thinking this was a fair use of existing literature, not plagiarism. Poliziano's letters were widely studied and imitated, and Erasmus could expect his well-read audience both to recognize the model and appreciate its transformation into poetry.

Closely related to this kind of adaptation from prose into verse is the transposition of material from one language into another or from one metrical pattern into another. Erasmus, in fact, recommended all three kinds of transformation as useful exercises for the aspiring writer:

> We shall add greatly to our linguistic resources if we translate authors from the Greek, as that language is particularly rich in subject-matter and vocabulary. It will also prove quite useful on occasion to compete with these Greek authors by paraphrasing what they have written. It will be of enormous value to take apart the fabric of poetry and reweave it in prose, and, vice versa, to bind the freer language of prose under the rules of metre, and also to pour the same subject-matter from one form of poetic container into another. It will also be very helpful to emulate a passage from some author where the spring of eloquence seems to bubble up particularly richly, and endeavour in our own strength to equal or even surpass it.[49]

One can see the results of such training in many Renaissance poems. Thomas More's translations from the *Greek Anthology* and Erasmus' verse translations of Euripides were, in part at least, exercises in competing with the Greek poets. Transpositions from one metre into another are very common in humanist poetry and may be frequently observed in Erasmus' practice as well. His *Precatio 'Salve, regina'* (118), for example, paraphrases the antiphon *Salve, regina* into elegiac distichs; and the 'Paean to St Mary' (110) includes several quite extensive adaptations from Prudentius' hymn on Christmas. Cornelis Gerard too, in one of his sections of the *Apologia adversus barbaros* (93), paraphrases a lengthy section of Silius Italicus' *Punica* while changing the metre from the epic hexameter into the second Asclepiadean strophe. And in the epilogue to the *Apologia* (135.29–33) his St Jerome urges the Christian poet to turn biblical stories into verse: 'Imitate the histories in Holy Scripture when you try to write.'

As the bee metaphor implies, the most widely practised and admired form of poetic imitation was the eclectic variety in which many models – some of them meant to be recognized by the reader, others consciously dissembled and estranged, still others followed more or less unconsciously – are reconstituted into a new, distinctively different whole. In composing this kind of recombinant poetry, the writer gathers together his themes, motifs, images, allusions, set phrases, and so forth, from the great storehouse of literature. This is the form of imitation that we find practically everywhere in Erasmus' poetry. The rule of thumb in successful imitations of this sort is to conceal the models carefully, by taking them out of their original context, for example, or by varying their phrasing and metre, or by overlaying them with other models.[50] But the sources need not always be so carefully hidden. Sometimes the poet wants them to be recognized, whether to demonstrate that he is outdoing a renowned master or to extend the resonance of his verse.

The 'Ode in praise of Britain and of King Henry VII and the royal children' (4) is a good example of eclectic imitation. During a dinner at Eltham Palace in early autumn 1499, the eight-year-old Prince Henry asked Erasmus to write some complimentary verses for him. Unable to produce them extempore, he spent the next three days (or so he says) sweating out this ode. The poem abounds in classical and contemporary reminiscences and allusions. Some of them serve as literary ornaments; others, alluding to great rulers of the past, are intended as extensions of the encomium; and still others are so dissembled that (as E.K. writes in his dedicatory epistle to Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*) only 'well scented' trackers can ferret them out.[51]

Among the associations for which Erasmus could count on recognition, if not from the young Henry, then at least from his more cultivated audience, is his choice of the second Pythiambic strophe. The metre is clearly meant to remind the reader of Horace's sixteenth epode.[52] In that poem Horace expresses his revulsion at the civil wars and his longing for the fabled Isles of the Blessed in the western ocean – a realm that Jupiter has reserved for the pious remnant of the golden age. Erasmus' choice of metre thus links Rome's civil wars, finally ended by Caesar Augustus, with Britain's Wars of the Roses, ended by Henry VII, and identifies the Blessed Isles of ancient myth with its modern realization in the British Isles. The theme of the golden age renewed, subtly suggested by the choice of metre, is amplified by verbal allusions within the poem itself. Here Erasmus reminds the reader primarily of Virgil's fourth eclogue – the famous prophecy of the return of the golden age that is to be inaugurated with the birth of a marvellous baby. Under Henry VII, he assures us, England is enjoying a renewed golden age. The iron race which for so many years battled in the Wars of the Roses has been vanquished. The goddess of justice, Astraea, has come back, and Henry VII, an Augustus redivivus, is inaugurating a new era of peace. At this point the associations with Virgil's 'messianic' eclogue begin to blend with some verbal reminiscences of Horace's *Odes* that in their original context refer to Augustus.[53] At the end of the poem, however, Erasmus returns to the theme of the golden age as developed in Virgil's fourth eclogue. The baby hailed by Virgil is here associated with Edmund. Erasmus describes him as lying in a cradle that is to be sprinkled with the very same flowers that the earth is to lavish on the child in Virgil's prophecy.

To the flowers listed in Virgil's fourth eclogue Erasmus adds white and red roses. The symbolism, of course, recalls Henry VII's union of the red rose of Lancaster with the white rose of York and the end of the Wars of the Roses. Earlier in the poem Erasmus elaborated on this symbolism in an allegory portraying the king's five children as red or white roses in various stages of growth and development. Here he borrows extensively from one of his favourite poems: *De rosis nascentibus,* formerly attributed to Virgil but much more probably the work of Ausonius.

It should by no means be imagined, as people sometimes do, that Erasmus imitated only the ancient poets. Just as he was no Ciceronian in his prose but drew eclectically on the whole range of Latin vocabulary,[54] so in his poetry he often availed himself of medieval and contemporary models. We have already noted his imitation of Poliziano in the poem to Archbishop William Warham. The 'Ode in praise of Britain' provides us with a further instance. For in the passage where the personified Britain praises herself by comparing herself to other countries, Erasmus is in fact imitating a section in Willem Hermans' *Hollandia* – a passage that in its turn is partially modelled on a description of Italy in Virgil's *Georgics.*

Allusions to and borrowings from the great works in the literary canon add lustre to neo-Latin poetry and increase its resonance. But there are also numerous cases of imitation that are not to be regarded as deliberate on the part of the poet or recognizable in cursory reading. Many phrases, images, figures of speech, and the like, whose pedigree may be traced, say, to Virgil, Horace, or Ovid, must have become almost second nature to Erasmus over the years. They were part and parcel of the treasure-house of his mind, ready to be retrieved when needed, without necessarily conjuring up a specific model. As he himself explains in *De copia*: 'We must keep our eyes open to observe every figure of speech that [the great authors] use, store it in our memory once observed, imitate it once remembered, and by constant employment develop an expertise by which we may call upon it instantly.'[55] The modern commentator duly records such borrowings, in part to demonstrate the imitative eclecticism of neo-Latin poetry, in part to show the reader from which gemstones the Renaissance poet put together the mosaic of his verse, in part also to shed light on the precise meaning of this phrase or that.

Who were Erasmus' favourite poets? In *Ciceronianus* Bulephorus-Erasmus says: 'When I was young I adored all the poets, but as soon as I became better acquainted with Horace, the others by comparison began to stink in my nostrils, though marvellous enough in absolute terms.'[56] Elsewhere he speaks of a certain mysterious affinity between himself and Horace when he was still young.[57] What drew him so much to Horace? Erasmus himself singles out the ancient poet's elegant simplicity of style. In a letter written in 1495 he says that he is personally more attracted to 'the direct, spare style of Horace' than to the more exalted, learned, and fluent style of Virgil, Lucan, Ovid, or Baptista Mantuanus.[58] And in *Virginis et martyris comparatio* he praises Horace's 'inimitable elegance.'[59] We should not make too much of this preference, however, and start thinking of some problematic kinship between Erasmus' personality and that of the pagan-epicurean Horace.[60] To him Horace was the supreme lyric poet and satirist. Naturally he was the one to imitate if you wanted to write odes or satires, as Erasmus liked to do in his youth. But if you were writing pastoral or epic, you would want to imitate Virgil, the king of Latin poets.[61] Later Erasmus also reserved a special place in his heart for 'the prince of poets,' Homer.[62]

As early as 1489 Erasmus confided to Cornelis Gerard that his 'authorities in poetry' were 'Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Statius, Martial, Claudian, Persius, Lucan, Tibullus, and Propertius.'[63] This canon of poets, evidently arranged in order of their importance rather than chronology, would remain fairly constant throughout his life. In *De ratione studii* he still commends Virgil and Horace as models of pure Latin speech – after Terence and Plautus, who as writers of comedy are naturally superior in everyday language.[64] And in *Ciceronianus* he suggests that the best Latin poets are 'Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Persius.' Later in the same dialogue he lists 'the most famous and most gifted of all: Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Martial.'[65]

These, then, are the poets whom Erasmus acknowledged as guiding stars in his own writing. As we have noted, however, it would be erroneous to assume that Erasmus looked only to the ancients for inspiration and guidance. He himself argued that modern poets should not hesitate to model themselves also on biblical and early Christian writers. In a letter written in 1496 to Bishop Hendrik van Bergen, he says that one should as a matter of course avoid imitating the erotic poems of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid and look instead to St Ambrose, Paulinus of Nola, Prudentius, and Iuvencus, as well as to the Old Testament poets Moses, David, and Solomon.[66] The Christian, to be sure, may borrow from even the most lascivious of the pagan poets, just as the Hebrews at their exodus took with them the treasures of Egypt. 'I am myself happy to be of my friend Gaguin's opinion in thinking that even ecclesiastical subjects can be splendidly adorned with native treasures provided the style is pure. And I would not reprehend anyone for applying Egyptian trimmings, but I am against the appropriation of Egypt in its entirety.'[67] Of the Christian poets Prudentius was Erasmus' favourite. He praised him as 'the one really stylish poet among Christian authors,' and frequently imitated him.[68] But he also drew on Sedulius' *Paschale carmen* and the poems of Venantius Fortunatus, especially the latter's well-known poem on Easter (*Carmina* 3.9). And of course he admired the verses in Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* and liked to borrow from them, even in his earliest work.

Among the modern Italian poets Erasmus singled out Baptista Mantuanus, praising him as a 'Christian Virgil.'[69] He thought well enough of Boccaccio's first two eclogues to imitate them in his own bucolic poem (102). In this same youthful effort he also borrows from other Italian works, including Antonio Geraldini's sacred eclogues of 1485 and Angelo Poliziano's *Ambra*, the third of his *Sylvae*, first printed in 1485. From Marcantonio Sabellico's elegies on the birth of the Virgin Mary he later adopted many phrases and motifs, especially in his 'Paean to St Mary' (110). Macarius Mutius' short epic on the harrowing of hell (Venice 1499) inspired Erasmus to write an epyllion on the same subject (112). With Cornelis Gerard he discussed the merits of the expatriate Italian poet Girolamo Balbi (see Epp 23, 25, and 27, written in 1489). Another Italian poet living in Paris was Fausto Andrelini. Erasmus borrowed phrases from the latter's collection of amatory poems, *Livia* (Paris 1490), as early as the winter of 1490–1. In autumn 1495 he acclaimed Andrelini's allegorical eclogues for their moral purity (poem 6) – so much in contrast with the lascivious tone of his *Livia*.

But there were many other modern poets for the young Erasmus to read and admire. We should, of course, not fail to mention Rodolphus Agricola, whom he hailed as 'a second Virgil' in *Adagia* I iv 39 and with whose poem on St Ann (Deventer 1484) he was much impressed.[70] Alexander Hegius of Westphalia, Agricola's disciple and headmaster of St Lebuin's school in Deventer during Erasmus' last year there, also wrote much lyric poetry, which Erasmus appreciated, even in later years.[71] At Steyn there was his friend Willem Hermans, whose odes he was to edit at Paris. Erasmus lauds him in poem 30 and Ep 49 as a truly Christian writer and praises him in *Ciceronianus* as 'a sound poet.'[72] He also approved of Cornelis Gerard's poems and welcomed his long *Mariad* on the life of the Virgin (Ep 40). Among the neo-Latin poets of Germany he deeply respected the learned Sebastian Brant, author not only of *Das Narrenschiff* (translated into Latin hexameters by Jacob Locher) but also of a collection of miscellaneous poems, entitled *Varia carmina* (Basel 1498).[73]

Apart from such early-medieval Christians as Ambrose, Iuvencus, Paulinus of Nola, Prudentius, and Arator, Erasmus only rarely mentions medieval poets. In his youth he held Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* in high esteem;[74] and in later years he commended Jean Gerson's writings, in particular his prosimetric *Consolatio theologiae.*[75] Among the medieval poets whom Erasmus never mentions but from whom he did borrow on occasion we may point, for example, to Walther of Châtillon, author of the greatest medieval Latin epic, the *Alexandreis.* He was also thoroughly familiar with the very popular eleventh-century medical poem *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* and the twelfth-century play *Pamphilus,* whether in one of the many manuscripts then circulating or in an early printed edition. There are, moreover, indications that he was acquainted with at least some of Alcuin's poems, with John of Salisbury's *Entheticus maior* and *minor,* and with Alain de Lille's prosimetric work *De planctu Naturae.* And of course he knew many medieval hymns and sequences by heart and often used them in composing his own sacred verse.

Just as Erasmus flitted bee-like through the gardens and meadows of his predecessors, so too his admirers sought out his poetic flowers and distilled from them a honey of their own. The German humanist Helius Eobanus Hessus (1488–1540), for instance, frequently looked to Erasmus' poems for themes, motifs, and phrasing.[76] In 1515 Eobanus published two mock epitaphs for a drunkard that are plainly variations on Erasmus' 'Epitaph for a drunken jokester' (52). And in one of his heroic epistles, a verse letter from St Paula to St Jerome at Bethlehem, first published in *Heroidum christianarum epistolae* (Leipzig 1514), he closely imitates portions of Erasmus' ode 'On the shed where the boy Jesus was born' (42). Another German who imitated parts of this same ode in a poem on the nativity was the Baroque poet Paul Fleming (1609–40).[77] Erasmus' friend Andrea Ammonio was sufficiently impressed by the 'Ode in praise of Britain' (4) to draw on it for his own praises of Henry VII and Henry VIII.[78] Other contemporaries – Philip Melanchthon among them – seem to have been deeply moved by the 'Poem on the troubles of old age' (2).[79] Indeed, no less a poet than Janus Secundus borrowed phrases from it and praised it as exquisitely Horatian, worthy of comparison with the song of the dying swan.[80]

III

POETRY AND RHETORIC

To Erasmus and his fellow humanists, poetry and rhetoric were so closely interconnected as to seem inseparable. 'I take the greatest pleasure in rhetorical poems and in poetical rhetoric,' he once wrote, 'such that one can sense poetry in the prose and the style of a good orator [*rhetoricam phrasin*] in the poetry.'[81] And in a letter to Cornelis Gerard he maintains that only he who has mastered the art of rhetoric can compose good poetry:

> In writing poetry a great many points have to be watched if the result is to be creditable. Of the first importance are these: a lively power of inventing themes [*inventio*], clever arrangement [*dispositio*], harmony of style [*elocutio*], a retentive memory [*memoria*]. We must add to them the brilliant effect created by rhetorical devices [*colorum splendor*] ... But why should I attempt to include the whole world in a small map, as it were – to embrace the entire science of rhetoric and its rules within the compass of a short letter? Why should I endeavour to teach Minerva, as the saying goes, or carry wood into a forest? You know your Cicero, your Quintilian, your Horace, your Geoffrey of Vinsauf, and you are certainly not unaware of the abundance of excellent advice on the art of poetry which they contain; whoever keeps their advice faithfully is bound to fulfil to perfection his function as a poet.[82]

If, then, we are to understand Renaissance poetry on its own terms in the way that an Erasmus or a Cornelis understood it, we ought to have some insight into the art of rhetoric.

Rhetoric, as traditionally defined, is the art of speaking or writing effectively and eloquently. Its aim is threefold: 'to inform, to give pleasure, to influence.'[83] The subjects on which speakers and writers discoursed were likewise divided into three main classes, judicial, deliberative, and demonstrative, each of which had its own set of goals and precepts.

Judicial or forensic rhetoric is primarily concerned with questions of guilt and innocence. This class was originally at home in courts of law. Its range was later extended so that it comprised not only 'accusation, complaint, defence,' but also 'protest [*expostulatio*], justification [*expurgatio*], reproach, threat, invective, and entreaty.'[84] Among Erasmus' poems that may be classified as 'judicial' we should certainly include 'The expostulation of Jesus with mankind' (43), in which the Saviour accuses man of wilfully seeking his own damnation. In this category we may also reckon such early work as the elegy 'On the overmastering power of Cupid' (100), the 'Amatory ode' (103), in which the poet accuses his friend of being 'deafer than any sea cliff' and threatens to break the bonds between them, as well as the 'Elegiac poem complaining about grief' (101), which tacitly reproaches a marble-hearted friend for making the poet 'bear the afflictions of old age during [his] tender years.' Several of Erasmus' laments, whether occasioned by unrequited love (109), the envy of the barbarians (93), or his fate (7), begin in the judicial genre, but, by a surprising twist, are in the end turned into a compliment and so ultimately belong to the demonstrative kind of rhetoric.

Deliberative rhetoric urges the audience to take one course of action rather than another. This type has as its model the speeches in a legislative assembly. Erasmus subdivides the deliberative class of rhetorical writing into 'conciliation, reconciliation, encouragement, discouragement, persuasion, dissuasion, consolation, petition, recommendation, admonition, and the amatory letter.'[85] A good number of Erasmus' poems belong to the deliberative type. His elegy on long-suffering (105) and his 'Basic principles of Christian conduct' (49) come to mind at once. But we must not forget the variations on the *carpe diem* theme (99, 104, 95, and 2) that urge the reader to make good use of life's brief spring before the winter of old age draws near.

Demonstrative or epideictic rhetoric, being either encomiastic or satiric, dispenses praise or censure. Its natural setting is the royal court, where a trained orator delivers a panegyric of the ruler. 'In the demonstrative category,' says Erasmus, 'belong accounts of persons, regions, estates, castles, springs, gardens, mountains, prodigies, storms, journeys, banquets, buildings, and processions.'[86] Much of Erasmus' poetry – as indeed a great deal of Renaissance poetry – falls into this class. His encomium of Great Britain and her royal family (4) and of Archduke Philip the Handsome (64) have their place here, as do the poems in praise of the Virgin (42, 51, 110, 133), St Michael and all the angels (50), and saints Ann (1), Gregory (107), Mary Magdalen (124), and Geneviève (88). The short epic on the harrowing of hell (112) celebrates Christ as Saviour and so may be classified among the encomiastic poems. The *carmina scholaria* that Erasmus wrote for the edification of the boys of Colet's school (44–8) likewise praise Christ, though they naturally shade off into the hortatory poem. In the encomiastic category we may furthermore place all the epigrams to patrons and fellow humanists, as well as the numerous epitaphs, which are in effect brief eulogies. Here too we should put the epigrams lauding Sélestat and her learned sons (53), Hammes castle (8), Meersburg castle (125), and the structural framework at Calais (123), as well as the amoebean poem in which Willem Hermans and Erasmus celebrate the arrival of spring (106). Satiric poetry forms a subcategory of demonstrative rhetoric, though there is often considerable overlap with the judicial and deliberative genres. The moral satires on false goals, lechery, and avarice (94–6) belong partly to the demonstrative category, partly to the deliberative type of rhetoric. The epigrams that mock the power of money (97), a bad corrector of some tragedies (33), a perverse editor of Virgil (116), and the flight of the French at the Battle of the Spurs (58) are unambiguously demonstrative, as are the virulent verses that attack an irreverent courtier (21–3), a stingy patron (41), and the warrior-pope Julius II (119 and 141).

How was one to go about writing such poems? Medieval and Renaissance poetics, drawing on ancient theory, isolated four elements or stages in the process of composition and gave detailed prescriptions for each. Erasmus' letter to Cornelis, as we saw, lists them as follows: finding the material (*inventio*), arrangement (*dispositio*), style (*elocutio*), and memory (*memoria*).

The poet must first gather together the arguments, circumstances, and evidence of all sorts that make his case plausible (*inventio*). Elaborate methods were developed to help orators and writers find such materials efficiently. Arguments were classified according to 'places' or topoi where they might be easily discovered. Topoi that could be used in arguing both for and against a case were called 'common places.' Much of the eclecticism of medieval and Renaissance writing, with its incessant borrowing from the most varied sources, is a concomitant of the habit, inculcated in the schools from the beginning, of compiling and searching storehouses of images, figures of speech, maxims, anecdotes, and commonplaces. Erasmus' *Adagia*, *De copia*, and *Parabolae* are essentially contributions to such thesauruses.

Once the material has been found and gathered together it has to be organized in an effective way (*dispositio*). Since judicial oratory was the oldest and formally most consistent class of rhetoric, its structure traditionally received the closest attention. The judicial speech is typically made up of five sections, for each of which rhetorical theory provides much guidance. The *exordium* or introduction has the function of making the judge sympathetic to the speaker's case, arousing his attention, and making him eager to learn more. Next comes the *narratio*, which lays out the facts basic to the case and thus provides the foundation for the argumentation. In complex cases a speaker is advised to conclude his narrative by way of a *propositio* reviewing the facts just presented and introducing the argumentation proper. The *argumentatio* is often subdivided into the positive arguments (*probatio*) and the rebuttal of the opponent's arguments (*refutatio*). The speaker's last chance to persuade the judge is the *peroratio* or epilogue. Here he should sum up his arguments and pull out all the emotional stops. These five sections suit judicial rhetoric very well indeed. For deliberative and demonstrative speeches and poems other structures apply. A panegyric, for instance, might be divided into *exordium*, *divisio*, and *peroratio*, the division being subdivided into external circumstances (for example parentage, education, wealth), physical attributes (such as agility, strength, good looks), and qualities of character (in particular wisdom, justice, courage, and temperance).[87]

After the poet has gathered together and organized his material, he must go on to clothe the ideas in words chosen to delight and move the reader (*elocutio*). Thus rhetorical language differs from ordinary speech in its calculated intensity to provoke the desired response in the audience. A large proportion of rhetorical theory is devoted to an analysis of the various tropes or figures of speech that arouse either the calmer feelings (*ethos*) or the more powerful emotions (*pathos*), and when and how such devices may be used with aptness (*decorum*).[88]

Writers had to have at their fingertips not only the cyclopaedia of knowledge, but also a vast array of ready-made epithets, phrases, metaphors, stories, myths, arguments (*memoria*) – in fact, the whole treasure-house of materials on which *inventio* and *elocutio* could draw. When praising his learned friends Erasmus would often single out their retentive memory. Thomas More, for example, had 'his memory always at his elbow, and as everything in it is held, so to say, in ready cash, it puts forward promptly and without hesitation whatever time or place demands.'[89] Complicated systems were devised to train speakers and writers in the art of instant recall. Erasmus himself, like Quintilian before him, was sceptical of the more elaborate mnemonic schemes. He did, however, recommend a series of practical techniques to help imprint the essential rhetorical tools in the memory.[90]

As an example of the rhetorical poetry that Erasmus had in mind when he wrote Cornelis, we may take his early elegy 'On the overmastering power of Cupid' (100). The poem begins on a personal note and so arouses in the modern reader the expectation that Erasmus will pour out his deepest feelings: 'Now I know what love is: love is a madness in the mind.' Our humanist, however, is not writing a romantic poem expressive of his own, private distress; his verses are audience-centred. Like a lawyer in a court of law, he intends to prove that Love is guilty as charged. Having suffered the overwhelming power of love, the rhetorical poet sets out to persuade us that his sufferings reflect an eternal truth. He therefore immediately universalizes the experience, tying it to traditional wisdom and literary models by borrowing his first half-line from one of Virgil's eclogues: 'Now I know what love is.' The second hemistich is also not Erasmus' own, but is taken word for word from a medieval adage: 'love is a madness in the mind.' The next verse likewise presents the feeling that love is an overpowering force by expressing it in a traditional image coupled with a proverbial comparison: love is a fire hotter than Aetna. In these ways the private experience that gave rise to the poem – quite possibly Erasmus' friendship for Servatius – is raised to the level of universal experience and placed in a literary, gnomic tradition.

The opening two lines indeed serve as a *propositio* to the poem as a whole. They accuse passionate love of being a madness of the mind, a burning fire in the heart.[91] In the following verses the poet-litigant will prove his case to the reader-judge by means of a series of commonplace arguments and mythological or biblical exempla, carefully arranged along the lines of a judicial speech. The *narrative* outlines the basic facts: it tells how love begins innocuously enough but in the end consumes body and mind (lines 3–18). The *argumentation* proves that love is all-powerful by adducing a series of classical and biblical exempla (lines 19–48). The *peroration* or epilogue sums up the argument and repeats the charge: love, which causes so much pain and suffering, is both wicked and cruel (lines 49–52). Thus the opening thesis is rhetorically amplified in order to arouse fear and loathing against *Amor*. Such amplification, as Erasmus says elsewhere, is 'the chief – indeed almost the only – dominating factor' in stirring up emotions.[92]

Of course Erasmus could not be content simply to instruct and persuade. He was not presenting a lawyer's brief but a rhetorical poem, and such poetry requires that the subject be treated in a way that gives readers pleasure and excites their admiration. To avoid tedium, therefore, the commonplace arguments, drawn from the storehouse of literary tradition and arranged according to the pattern of a forensic speech, had now to be embellished with elegant language, learned allusions, and rhetorical figures. A few instances may give the reader some appreciation of the laboured quality of these verses. Very prominent are the devices of reiteration. Even at first reading one cannot fail to notice the replication of phrases and half-lines from distich to distich or line to line (*anadiplosis*, lines 6–7, 8–9, 16–17, 32–3, and 50–1), or within the distich itself (*epanadiplosis*, lines 15–16, 31–2, and 51–2), or at the beginning of two consecutive distichs (*anaphora*, lines 19–21 and 35–7). This, however, by no means exhausts the variety of repetition in the elegy. Each of the pentameters up to line 48 ends with the word *amor* (*epiphora*). There is chiastic arrangement of words in lines 13–14: *unus amor ... duo / duo ... unus amor*, in lines 41–2: *amor temnit / temnit amor*, and in lines 51–2: *Seva parens ... puer improbus ille / Improbus ille puer ... seva parens*. Nor is the repetition always verbally exact. As in the Psalms we find here much parallelism of thought and language from verse to verse within the distich (*interpretatio*), for instance in lines 7–8, 13–14, and 31–2. These devices of repetition have the dual function of driving home the poet's charge against *Amor* and of adorning the expression through an artful arrangement of the words. There are many other figures of speech as well: *antithesis* in lines 17–18 and 35–40, *apostrophe* in lines 47, 50, and 52, and play on the root of words (*annominatio*), as for example in line 22 *domat indomitos non domitandus*, line 26 *vincere, vicit*, and line 38 *amarus amor*. Rhetorical questions (*interrogatio*) enliven the argument in lines 27–8, 29, 43, and 49 and arouse pathos. Indignation against love's power is also stirred by the device of *dubitatio* (line 51).[93] The device of passing over (*praeteritio*) in line 49 (*Singula quid memorem?*) demonstrates that the poet knows the virtue of making a long story short. There is no lack of telling epithets, in particular those for *amor*, varied from distich to distich. Other devices flatter the reader's ability to recognize classical and biblical allusions and reminiscences of Virgil, Ovid, Statius, Juvenal: Virgilian metaphors like *pascuntur* 'are nourished,' applied to love's fire in line 3, or maxims like those in the opening half-line or in lines 19 and 21: *Omnia vincit amor* 'Love conquers all,'[94] or the Ovidian adage half-hidden in line 7: *tacitisque edit intima flammis* 'eats away the innards with silent flames.'[95] The poem concludes with an extensive borrowing from Virgil's eighth eclogue that serves as an *epiphonema* – a figure that Erasmus defines as 'anything in the closing section of an utterance which strikes on the ear as shrewd and pungent.'[96]

This early elegy, which Erasmus to his credit never published, strikes us as little more than a rhetorical exercise. An apprentice in the workshop of the masters, the poet is only beginning to learn his craft. Lacking a personal voice to express universal experience in a compelling way, he appears to manipulate language as an end in itself. His rhetoric, too much in love with itself, fails to kindle our indignation against Love. But as we judge work like this, we should remember that it fails as a rhetorical poem, not as a romantic elegy wanting romance.

Rhetorically far more successful is no 104, 'On the mutability of time.' A *carpe diem* poem, this elegy begins by describing the flight of time and the imagined onset of wintry old age and then urges a friend to take advantage of youth while it lasts: 'Therefore, while the fierce goddess of fate still permits it, while the years still allow it, while youth rejoices and flourishes in its own season, let us make use of this time in our lives, lest we lose it in vain through our own lethargy. Let us seize, sweet friend, the days of our youth.' To convince the friend to whom these verses are addressed, the poet amplifies the infirmities of old age. But we should observe in passing that the old-age theme is here introduced primarily for rhetorical purposes, not because the poet wishes to demonstrate some 'neurasthenic fear of becoming old.'[97] His purpose is to persuade his friend to join him in taking advantage of fleeting youth; and to this end he amplifies the *incommoda* of old age.

The very same *carpe diem* theme – or so it would seem at first reading – also occurs at the beginning of the hortatory 'Elegy against a young man dissipating himself in lust' (95). Lines 7–20 of this poem present the classic structure of the argument that Erasmus is combatting: the hedonistic philosophy that we should 'eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we shall die.' Here then is the foolish young man exhorting himself and his companions: 'While the propitious fates allow it, while we are in the bloom of youth, let us gratify our voluptuous desires in agreeable ways ... Let us make use of this time in our lives, while joyful youth still blooms on our tender cheeks, lest we lose it in vain through our own lethargy.' In this passage Erasmus recycles many lines from the somewhat earlier poem on the mutability of time. Reedijk remarks that it is 'curious' that our poet should have used the very same lines in arguing first for the premise that we should enjoy youth while it lasts, and later against the same point of view.[98] The repetition will appear less curious when we remember that a *locus communis* or 'common place' is, rhetorically speaking, an argument that can be used *in utramque partem,* both for and against. The two poems are directed at different readers and have dissimilar intentions. In the earlier poem Erasmus exhorts his friend to make good use of the springtime of life, while in the moral elegy he is inveighing against the pleasures of the flesh. The first is a poem of friendship, the second a sermon in verse, which does not just reject the epicurean *carpe diem* argument but proceeds to turn that argument around to argue that, since decrepit old age is inevitable, we should use our youth wisely and meditate on death so as to prepare ourselves for the life hereafter.

We may go further yet. The 'Elegiac poem on the mutability of time' does indeed stand in the tradition of the *carpe diem* exhortation as exemplified by Erasmus' putative model, a poem by Girolamo Balbi. Yet the resemblance is quite superficial. For how are we to imagine Erasmus and his friend making good use of life's spring? Most certainly not in lechery, drinking, and merrymaking like the dissipated young man addressed in poem 95. When Erasmus counsels his friend to 'make use of this time in our lives, lest we lose it in vain through our own lethargy,' he can hardly be speaking as a hedonist. He must be urging his friend to take advantage of youth by studying the ancients, by imitating and emulating the masters, by rivalling each other in writing letters and verses and prose works. In effect, he is turning the *carpe diem* argument topsy-turvy in this poem too: we should devote our youth to studies, while it lasts, for soon enough old age and death will befall us.

Within the context of Erasmus' other writings, then, the poem on the mutability of time is at bottom very similar to the paraenetic 'Elegy against a young man dissipating himself in lust.' Both present an inverted *carpe diem* argument in which the hedonistic exhortation is turned on its head – as an argument against lethargy and hedonism and for a life of studies, virtue, and godliness. Erasmus himself analysed this inversion of the *carpe diem* argument many years later in his *Ecclesiastes.*[99] In a lengthy discussion of rhetorical figures useful in sermons he mentions among others the device of βιαιου (in Latin *violentum, reflexio*). He explains this figure as wresting the opponent's weapon out of his hands and using it against him.[100] The example he offers is the Christian inversion of the hedonistic *carpe diem* theme: 'Horace frequently exhorts us to enjoy the pleasures of life with this argument, that man's life is both short and uncertain. But on the contrary: for that reason we should not waste any part of life in debauchery; rather we should devote it instead wholly to virtue, precisely because life is brief and uncertain.'

The inversion of the *carpe diem* argument is a very ancient device. Ecclesiastes 12:1–7 lists the disasters of old age in order to admonish the young to 'remember also your Creator in the days of your youth, before the evil days come, and the years draw nigh, when you will say, "I have no pleasure in them."' Ovid uses the same inverted argument in his *Ars amatoria* 2.113–22 to exhort the young to cultivate the intellect by studying the humanities and the two languages, Latin and Greek. He reminds them that they must not rely on youthful beauty, for good looks will soon wilt and give way to the grey hair and wrinkles of old age. Only the things of the mind can last a lifetime:

> Beauty is a fragile good. It diminishes with increasing age and is destroyed by the passage of time. Violets and opened lilies do not bloom forever, and the thorn is left bare after it loses the rose. Your hair too, handsome youth, will soon turn grey. Soon wrinkles will furrow your body. Now shape your mind, so that it may last, and add it to your good looks, for it alone endures until death. Strive to cultivate the intellect with the liberal arts and to learn both Latin and Greek.

Ovid's argument resurfaces from time to time during the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, for instance in the poetry of Alcuin and the correspondence of Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini.[101] In Erasmus' educational and moral writings it becomes a leitmotiv. At Steyn he urges Servatius to shake off his sluggishness, pursue literary studies, and start writing: 'Before fleeting youth departs, therefore, acquire for yourself now the means of enjoying old age.' And quoting Ovid he adds: 'Now shape thy mind to last, and mould its beauty; / Only man's mind endures until his end.'[102] He gives the same advice to Sasbout: 'I could name to you ... very many persons ... who ... are bitterly remorseful, when it is too late, because they see that the time of youth, which is proper for the study of literature, has slipped away between their fingers. So, my sweetest Sasbout, while your age is strong and fresh follow the ant in garnering for yourself that which may delight and nourish your old age: amass in youth what you would enjoy as an old man.'[103] In a letter of spring 1497 he advises his pupil Christian Northoff: 'Always keep fixed in your heart Pliny's dictum that all the time which one fails to devote to study is wasted, and reflect that youth is the most fleeting thing on earth, and that when once it has fled away it never returns.'[104] And in *De pueris instituendis*, written in Italy around 1509, he once again takes up the argument in words that closely recall the ones he had employed a few years earlier in his 'Poem on the troubles of old age' (2):

> Once our years have flown by – and how swiftly they fly! – they cannot be recalled by any magic spell. Poets talk nonsense when they speak of a fountain from which the aged can draw, as it were, a second youth, and doctors practise deception when they promise a renewed vitality to the old through some mysterious quintessence. There is no remedy to restore wasted years; we must husband them, therefore, with the utmost care.[105]

IV

THE 'POEM ON THE TROUBLES OF OLD AGE'

Written in August 1506 not long before his fortieth birthday, when the humanist was on his way to Turin to receive the degree of doctor of theology, the 'Poem on the troubles of old age' (2) has always been Erasmus' best known and best loved poetic work. In our own century it has received special attention, not only for its aesthetic qualities but also for its unusually personal tone and autobiographical character. Indeed, some modern critics have hailed the work as a romantic poem before romanticism: introspective and melancholy at the thought of fleeting youth, centred on the poet rather than the audience, lyrical rather than rhetorical.[106] We do well to recall, however, that Erasmus in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507 entitled it 'Poem on the flight of human life.' And in later years, when he began to arrange his writings in preparation for a complete edition, he wanted the poem placed in the fourth group, among the moral works that contribute to the building of character. Philip Melanchthon understood this when he urged young people to commit it to memory.[107] The church historian Ernst-Wilhelm Kohls understood this when he recognized that the poem is in part a meditation on death and the life to come.[108] We too should move beyond our interest in the autobiographical and psychological elements to see the poem within the broader context of Erasmus' rhetorical poetics and paraenetic intentions. Approaching the halfway point in life's arc, the nearly forty-year-old poet meditates on the rapid approach of old age and on the flight of youth. He thereupon exhorts himself – and implicitly his reader as well – to make good use of the time left to him. While he is still of sound mind and body, before the winter of decrepit old age arrives, he resolves henceforward to devote himself wholly to Christ.

True to its author's character, the 'Poem on the troubles of old age' is a deeply Christian and profoundly experienced piece of work. As in his earlier poetry, however, Erasmus' personal experience is realized in conventional rhetorical structures and is universalized by being cast in a traditional literary mould. The poem's opening passage detailing the horrors of decrepitude confesses, to be sure, a very human fear at the approach of old age; Reedijk even senses here something like a 'sudden panic' on the poet's part.[109] But that fear, precisely by being both personal and universal, lends this passage its profoundly rhetorical pathos, and by that token its power to attract our attention and open our eyes to the brevity of youth. The description of decrepitude, in other words, plays an important functional role within the poem. From a rhetorical perspective, the section is not so much an unbosoming of private emotion as an argument calculated to move the reader to take advantage of what is left of youth and life and use it wisely. The old-age theme thus becomes once again the fundamental argument in an inverted *carpe diem* poem. It is thematically no different from the argument Erasmus had offered fifteen years earlier in his hortatory elegy urging a dissipated young man to meditate on old age and death, so as to commit himself henceforth to a life of Christian piety. The difference between the two poems is not in theme or argument, but rather in the greater intensity of Erasmus' language and above all in the far deeper subtlety of his rhetorical technique. Instead of berating the foolish readers who slumber in their belief that youth will last forever and that they will never grow old and die, as he did in the earlier paraenetic poem,[110] Erasmus now shrewdly introduces himself as one of those fools caught up in the dream of eternal youth. But having been roused at last from his delusion by being confronted with the horrors of old age, the poet as exemplary Everyman also shows us the way out. Converted, he exhorts himself to give up the trifling pleasures of youth and devote himself to Christ.

STRUCTURE

In keeping with the inverted *carpe diem* argument, the poem is divided into two main parts. The first may be labelled the *dissuasio*, for here the poet dissuades himself from staying on his present course. The second is the *exhortatio*, in which the speaker urges himself (and, through his own example, the reader) to make up for lost time and use it wisely. These two central sections are framed by a brief introduction addressed to the physician Guillaume Cop and an equally brief epilogue directed to Christ.

Exordium (lines 1–9)

The poem is in the first instance addressed to Guillaume Cop and seeks to gain his attention and favour (*captatio benevolentiae*) through hyperbolic praise: Cop is able to cure all diseases save one – old age, the only disease for which medicine has found no cure. The compliments to Cop are not superfluous to the argument, as is sometimes asserted, and cannot be dropped from the poem without doing violence to its rhetorical structure and argument.[111] The famed physician, Erasmus assures us, will vouch for the accuracy of his description of the aetiology, symptoms, and course of the disease known as old age and will moreover attest that it is incurable. As the poet reminds us in the epilogue, only the heavenly physician, Christ, can grant us eternal youth.

Dissuasio (lines 10–185)
In this section, the first of the poem's two main parts, Erasmus seeks to awaken his readers from their lethargy and persuade them to abandon their present way of thinking. He does this by relentlessly listing the *incommoda* of old age and thereupon disabusing his shocked readers of any and all false hopes that youth can be eternal. In order to gain our confidence and cure us of our delusion that we will not grow old and die, Erasmus throughout this section wears the mask of Everyman. He thus pretends that he is suffering from the same delusion of which he is trying to cure his reader. In this regard it is worthwhile to study the enlightening passage in *De conscribendis epistolis* where Erasmus explains his rhetorical strategy as follows: 'those who are eager to cure [victims of delusion] sometimes pretend that they themselves are victims of the same evil. Then once they have gained their good will, they easily convince them of the cure, and by this gradual approach remove the false imaginings in the end.'[112] He recommends the same technique in *Ecclesiastes*, adding that wearing a mask like this is not hypocrisy, but Christian charity.[113]

We might add parenthetically here that Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* uses essentially the same device of insinuation. Languishing in his jail cell, Boethius finds himself aged prematurely because of his sorrows. And while lamenting his fate, this Everyman is confronted by Philosophy, who gradually opens his eyes and wakes him out of his slumber and delusions. Erasmus follows the same underlying strategy also in his *Praise of Folly*, though of course the personae are in each case quite different. There too he wears a mask – the mask of folly – in order to reach and cure the deluded. And by slowly, humorously, paradoxically unmasking the wisdom of man, which is mere foolishness in the eyes of God, he ultimately leads his readers to see the wisdom of God, which is folly to unredeemed mankind.[114]

Because Erasmus adopts the persona of Everyman – the fool caught up in the pleasures and ambitions of youth – the tone in this portion of the poem is that of a melancholy lament for the rapid flight of life's springtime.[115] He thus amplifies a commonplace expressed succinctly in Virgil's famous complaint: *Sed fugit interea, fugit inreparabile tempus, / singula dum capti circumvectamur amore* 'But meanwhile time flies away unrecoverable while we, enthralled by love of our theme, make the rounds of all things'[116] – a passage to which he pointedly alludes in line 101.

The dominant emotions that Erasmus intends to arouse in the *dissuasio* are fear and a sense of hopelessness.[117] In accordance with these goals the section is subdivided further, the first part amplifying the proverbial thought that youth flies, the second elaborating the maxim that youth, once lost, is irrecoverable.

In the first part (lines 10–114) Erasmus artfully amplifies the commonplace that youth flies by focusing first on the loss of youth's blessings in old age and then, in a twofold variation of perspective, on the rapidity with which youth is lost. The dominant emotion that Erasmus intends to arouse is fear.

1/ Since the poem began by addressing a physician, Erasmus goes on to describe the aetiology, symptoms, and course of that dread disease, old age (lines 10–29). The troubles of old age, presented as the progressive loss of the blessings of youth, are listed cumulatively to increase the pathos. For the positive aspects of ageing, of which Erasmus was well aware, this is clearly not the place.[118] The catalogue of the ills of decrepitude, based on numerous literary models, culminates in a rhetorical question: should we not call this decline a slow death? The Ovidian phrase 'a slow death' recalls similar definitions of old age in ancient and medieval literature.

2/ Envious Fates! Unlike the deer and the crow, man soon grows old. Old age attacks the body at thirty-five, the mind at forty-nine, according to Aristotle. The poet's own experience confirms the ancient philosopher's observation: at nearly forty Erasmus is indeed beginning to see the effects of old age on his own body. His spring has come to an end, his winter is about to begin (lines 29–69).

3/ The theme already amplified in the preceding section is now restated through a change of perspective, from the point of view of youth. How youth flies! (lines 70–114) The commonplace is amplified rhetorically (lines 70–8): 'youth' is restated five times, 'flies' two times. A series of comparisons follows (lines 79–88). The first series is negative ('not so fast are ...'), with two similes; the second series is positive ('just so fast are ...'), with two more similes. Like the preceding one, this segment concludes with an exemplum: Erasmus' youth has been flying away all the while; old age has been creeping up on him as he was growing up and becoming a scholar.

The second section of the *dissuasio* (lines 115–85) also amplifies the commonplace that time flies, but with emphasis on the fact that time, the greatest treasure, can never be recovered once it has been lost. One by one our foolish fancies are stripped from us. In the end we must admit with the poet: there can be no hope of eternal youth. The basic emotion aroused in this section is hopelessness. The argument is threefold.

1/ Youth is a treasure (lines 115–25). It is more valuable than all the purple, gems, and gold in the world. Why do we waste youth, our 'golden age,' on trifles?

2/ Youth cannot be recovered once lost (lines 126–71). While other treasures can be restored or recovered, nothing can bring back our youth once it has passed: no sorceresses, no gods and goddesses, no demigod-physician like Chiron. Magic rings, drugs, and incantations are of no avail against old age. Sun and moon and spring return in their cycles and are perpetually renewed. But once man's brief spring is over, he grows old and dies.

3/ We realize these facts too late (lines 172–85). Only when youth has flown do we become aware of its value. Then we suddenly discover that we have squandered a treasure we should have invested wisely. The section concludes with an exemplum: Erasmus has been caught unawares by the stealthy advance of time. He has spent the first half of his life on trifles.

Exhortatio (lines 186–242)

The exhortation amplifies the adage: use your time wisely. Erasmus continues to wear the mask of Everyman by urging himself to action. The dominant emotion to be aroused in the exhortation is hope: it is not too late to mend our ways. This second main section of the poem is subdivided into three parts.

1/ Wake up, Erasmus, while there is still time! (lines 186–210) While you still have breath in you, strive with might and main to make up for lost time. You are only on the threshold of old age! The symptoms of old age are still only very slight. You have only begun the autumn of life, but remember that your winter is drawing ever closer.

2/ Therefore use your time wisely by devoting the remainder of your life to Christ, not the things of this world (lines 211–32). Farewell to the pleasures and pursuits of youth! These have no meaning except through Christ. Make him your all in all, let him be your Muses, your honour, your delight! Devote yourself wholly to Christ!

3/ Do not worry about the body (lines 233–42). Christ will be your all in all. The body will be of no concern (as they say) to Hippocleides, as long as the soul remains pure. The body will be reunited with the mind on Judgment Day, at the resurrection of the dead. Then we shall enjoy spring eternal.

Epilogus (lines 243–6)
The epilogue is in the form of a prayer. May Christ, the true author and redeemer of life, the giver of strength, make these resolutions come true.

MODELS AND TRADITIONS

Like almost all neo-Latin poetry, Erasmus' 'Poem on the troubles of old age' stands squarely within literary tradition. Its structure, as we saw, is that of the traditional *carpe diem* argument, inverted to Christian use. In its rhetorical strategy it follows Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*. But in its use of autobiographical elements, so captivating to the modern reader, it is modelled above all on Prudentius' *Praefatio*.

Prudentius' *Praefatio* is a poetic foreword to an edition of his collected poems. Its argument develops along the following lines: I have lived fifty-seven years and am on the threshold of old age. What profitable thing have I done in all this time? I went to grammar school and then studied rhetoric. As a young man I indulged in the pleasures of the flesh. After that I became a lawyer eager for victory. I twice rose to the rank of governor of famous cities and later became an important member of the emperor's court. And while I was thus engaged in all kinds of activities, white-haired old age suddenly stole upon me. Now I realize how life has sped away. What will these things profit me after I am dead? My sinning soul must put off her folly. Let me henceforth devote myself wholly to God and write only on sacred themes. And while I write or speak of these themes, O may I fly forth in freedom from the bonds of the body to heaven![119]

Here, if anywhere, is the inspiration for the 'Poem on the troubles of old age.' The conventional inverted *carpe diem* argument had, of course, been in Erasmus' mind for a long time already. He may well have been involuntarily reminded of the theme as he rode through the Alps in that August of 1506 and listened in dismay to the foolish quarrels of his companions. Withdrawing from them, he began to meditate on the delusions of mankind, so oblivious to life's flight into old age and death. He thought of his own studies thus far, the flight of his own youth, the great goals he had set for himself. And then it must have come to him in a burst of creative insight. Upon the stock of the inverted *carpe diem* exhortation he would graft the outline of Prudentius' 'Preface.' Like Prudentius he would use the details of his own life's story as an exemplum of the flight of human life and the need to make wise use of it, while there is still time. And like Boethius he would make himself a fool in order to cure the delusions of his readers.

Erasmus' main problem in adapting Prudentius' *Praefatio* to his own use must have lain in the fact that the early Christian poet was fifty-seven years old at the time of writing and actually, according to classical terminology, on the threshold of old age. Erasmus, on the other hand, was just approaching his fortieth birthday. By the classical and patristic standard of the four seasons or ages of man – the system he uses everywhere else in his writings – Erasmus was just then about to leave the summer of life (*iuventus* 'youth') and enter its autumn (*virilitas* 'manhood'). By that standard, of course, he could not very well use himself as the exemplum of a man on the threshold of old age. But there were other traditions on which he could fall back. The simplest scheme of all was the division of life into two parts: youth, up to age thirty-five or forty, followed by old age until age seventy or eighty (Ps 90:10). This division of life into two halves also underlies the late-medieval nomenclature for the four ages of man. In this originally Arabic scheme, widely diffused since its introduction into the Latin West in the eleventh century, the autumn of life was said to begin at either age thirty-five or forty and was called *senectus* 'old age.' The winter of life, known as *senium* 'decrepitude,' set in at age sixty.[120]

Thus, by replacing the standard ancient terms for the autumn and winter of life with the corresponding late-medieval ones, Erasmus was able to introduce himself not only as an example of the flight of life but also of the sudden transition from youth to old age. At nearly age forty he could now offer himself as proof that life's spring and summer pass all too quickly into autumn and winter. In other words, he was not at all *fancying* himself across the threshold of old age, as Huizinga once put it,[121] but was describing an objective, inevitable, irreversible event. Ageing, he says, is an insidious process that no one can escape. It must of necessity befall every one of us – even you, dear reader of this poem, who may still be caught up in your slumber. Therefore, wake up! Youth does not last. No miracle drugs, no fountain of youth, no magic arts can bring it back once it is gone. Therefore make good use of it while you still may, before old age comes and death. Devote your life to Christ!

Horace, in his *Ars poetica* 102–3, tells writers that 'if you would have me weep, you must first feel grief yourself.' Erasmus held the same opinion. A preacher who wishes to convert his flock must have a pure and Christian heart himself, for the word is the mirror of the soul.[122] Of Erasmus' sincerity in expressing his disdain for the world and meditating on the hereafter there can be no question: these are the cardinal themes of his writings throughout his career,[123] beginning with his turn toward sacred poetry in the winter of 1490–1. When he says that he will give up everything that has been dear to him – his secular studies and ambitions, philosophy, poetry, and rhetoric – he is using the language of the *contemptus mundi* tradition to say that he will not see these pursuits as ends in themselves, but will, like Prudentius before him, put his talents wholly in the service of Christ, to adorn his temple. Christ will be his all in all: his studies, his Muses, his Apollo, his Peitho.[124] It is a pledge he had made years before at Steyn; it is a commitment he hereby exemplarily renews. For, as he declares in his *Ciceronianus*: 'This is the purpose of studying the basic disciplines, of studying philosophy, of studying eloquence, to know Christ, to celebrate the glory of Christ. This is the goal of all learning and all eloquence.'[125]

V

ARRANGEMENT, TEXTS, AND EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

In 1524 Erasmus took stock of his writings and arranged them into volumes in case someone should wish to do for him what Tiro had done for Cicero. 'Miscellaneous poems, on other than religious subjects' were to be included in the first volume of his works concerning 'literature and education.' The 'Poem on the troubles of old age' (2) was to be placed in the fourth volume devoted to those 'works which contribute to the building of character.' The fifth volume was to be 'allocated to works of religious instruction.' Among the devotional poems that belong in this class he singled out 'The expostulation of Jesus with mankind' (43), 'On the shed where the boy Jesus was born' (42), and the 'Ode in praise of Michael and all the angels' (50).[126]

These suggestions were faithfully carried out in the *Opera omnia* published by Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius at Basel in 1538–42 and again in the *Opera omnia* edited by Jean Leclerc and printed by Pieter vander Aa at Leiden in 1703–6. Naturally, only the poems published by Erasmus himself were included in volumes I, IV, and V of the Basel and Leiden editions. By 1706, however, Leclerc had come into possession of a hitherto unpublished manuscript copied in 1570, formerly belonging to Petrus Scriverius and containing among other writings of Erasmus a series of his early poems. These works, both secular and religious in theme, were published in volume VIII of the Leiden edition.[127]

Since 1706 many more of Erasmus' juvenilia have come to light – poems that the mature humanist would certainly have preferred to keep slumbering in oblivion.[128] Preserved Smith, for example, printed three unpublished poems from MS Egerton 1651 (British Library) in Appendix III of his *Erasmus* (1923; repr New York 1962) 453–7. Albert Hyma published five others from Gouda MS 1323 (Town Archives of Gouda) in Appendix A of *The Youth of Erasmus* (Ann Arbor 1930) 221–37. These and other poems not included in the Leiden edition were subsequently gathered together in Wallace K. Ferguson *Erasmi opuscula: A Supplement to the Opera omnia* (The Hague 1933) 1–37 and 362–7. It was not until 1956, however, that Cornelis Reedijk took the momentous step of collecting all the known poems in his doctoral dissertation, a critical and annotated edition of *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus* (Leiden 1956). This book has been the standard edition of Erasmus' poetry ever since. Recently, however, Dr Reedijk's text has been criticized for a number of editorial lapses.[129] The present volume, accordingly, offers a new text of the poems, in an arrangement quite different from the one adopted by the Basel and Leiden editions on the one hand and Reedijk's edition on the other.

Whereas the basic organizing principle in Erasmus' own scheme was thematic, Reedijk arranged the poems according to the dates of their composition. This chronological arrangement was intended to give the reader a clearer picture of Erasmus' development as a poet. 'For,' as Reedijk put it, 'apart from their literary qualities ... Erasmus' poems may prove to have a certain value as documents marking the successive phases of his intellectual and spiritual development and of his relations with his contemporaries.'[130] In practice, the chronological arrangement of the poems has been fraught with problems. Like many of the early letters, the poems are largely undated. The provisional datings assigned to them are subject to sometimes quite drastic revision as research uncovers further evidence. For example, the 'Paean to St Mary,' the 'Poem on the preternatural signs that occurred at the death of Christ,' and the 'Heroic poem on the feast of Easter' (Reedijk nos 19–21 / CWE nos 110–12) have now been redated from 1489 to 1499. The bucolic poem, which Reedijk placed at the head of his edition as the oldest of Erasmus' poems (Deventer 1483), was more probably written at Steyn in 1487; and his turn to paraenetic and sacred poetry seems to have taken place in winter 1490–1 rather than in 1489. Such revisions in the chronology seriously dislocate Reedijk's chronological numbering.

Erasmus himself published less than half of his total poetic output. Many of his early poems were *progymnasmata* that he had no intention of ever publishing. Accordingly, when such poems as the defence against the barbarians (93) and the three moral satires (94–6) were printed at Gouda by Reyner Snoy in 1513, Erasmus was understandably embarrassed and offended. Even though Reedijk takes considerable pains to point out circumstances like these, the chronological principle forces him to disregard Erasmus' discomfiture. Hence poems that Erasmus was loath to see printed now stand next to those that he gladly published of his own accord. In Reedijk's edition, for instance, we have to work our way through a sizeable number of juvenilia before we come to an ode like 'On the shed where the boy Jesus was born' (Reedijk no 33), the first poem that Erasmus published. That the mass of apprentice works has tended to cloud the modern reader's judgment of Erasmus' more finished and mature pieces is as undeniable as it is unfortunate.

To avoid difficulties of the sort just described, we have adopted the following arrangement. We begin with the poems printed during Erasmus' lifetime and then present those published after his death. These two main groups are divided into the following categories: poems in *Epigrammata* (Basel: J. Froben, March 1518); poems not in the 1518 *Epigrammata* but published by Erasmus elsewhere; poems published in Erasmus' lifetime without his prior consent; poems published after Erasmus' death. To these four groups, which constitute the main body of his poems, we append two others: poems embedded in Erasmus' prose works; and poems dubiously ascribed to Erasmus.

1/ Poems in *Epigrammata* (Basel: J. Froben, March 1518): nos 1–61

Either before travelling to Italy in August 1506 or later that autumn, while he was already in Italy, Erasmus collected a number of his previously published and unpublished poems and had them printed at Paris by Jean Petit and Josse Bade. The slim volume of devotional and occasional verse was published under the title *Varia epigrammata* on 8 January 1507. It was bound together with his *Adagiorum collectanea* (24 December 1506), though the two parts also circulated as separate books.

Almost a decade later, in 1515, Erasmus seems to have been planning to update his collected poems and publish them in conjunction with epigrams by Andrea Ammonio.[131] If so, nothing came of the project. During 1517, however, Erasmus oversaw the publication of Thomas More's *Utopia* and epigrams together with some of his own works.[132] The fruits of this planning were two handsome volumes, published at Basel by Johann Froben in 1517–18. Froben had originally intended to publish a single volume including translations of Lucian by More and Erasmus, Erasmus' *Querela pacis, Declamatio de morte,* and epigrams, and More's *Utopia* and epigrams. But as the volume grew too large, it had to be divided into two parts, the first of which was published in December 1517. The second part, which included *Utopia* and the two sets of epigrams, came out in March 1518 under the following title: *De optimo reip. statu deque nova insula Utopia libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quam festivus, clarissimi disertissimique viri Thomae Mori inclytae civitatis Londinensis civis et vicecomitis. Epigrammata clarissimi disertissimique viri Thomae Mori, pleraque e Graecis versa. Epigrammata Des. Erasmi Roterodami.*[133]

Nowhere in the extant correspondence does Erasmus specifically mention that he was planning to include a new collection of his own poems. In fact Froben's preface says that in response to popular demand it was he who gathered up Erasmus' poems with the assistance of Beatus Rhenanus and Bruno Amerbach. Erasmus follows the same line in his letter to Johann von

Botzheim: 'In no kind of verse have I had less practice than in epigrams; yet sometimes while out walking, or even over the wine, I have at different times thrown off a certain number, some of which have been put together by friends over-zealous for my reputation, and published in Basel; and to make them even more ridiculous, they appended them to the epigrams of Thomas More, who is a master of the art.'[134] That Erasmus' *Epigrammata* were published by over-zealous friends without his express approval is almost certainly a fiction. It is a formula of affected modesty that he uses as early as November 1495 in Ep 47, the preface to his first collection of verse, *De casa natalitia Iesu*.[135] Considering his deep involvement in the publication of the joint volume, there can be no doubt that Erasmus had, at the very least, a hand in selecting and arranging his own poems.[136] At no time did he express regret or dismay at their publication, neither in March 1518 nor in November–December of the same year, when Froben published a second edition of the volume.

The *Epigrammata* of 1518, in any case, incorporates most of the poems that Erasmus had already published of his own accord and adds seven previously unpublished ones. We print the poems here in the order of *1518*. The backbone of this collection is a reprint of the *Varia epigrammata* of 8 January 1507 (poems 2 and 4–42 in the present edition). Following this series are 'The expostulation of Jesus with mankind' (43), the epigrams written for John Colet's school for boys at St Paul's (44–8), and the 'Epitaph for a drunken jokester' (52), which were first published in *Concio de puero Iesu* (Paris 1511?). 'Basic principles of Christian conduct' (49) was originally published in *Opuscula aliquot Erasmo Roterodamo castigatore* (Louvain: D. Martens 1514). Next comes the 'Ode in praise of Michael and all the angels' (50), which had been printed in Erasmus' *De casa natalitia Iesu* (Paris: A. Denidel [1496?]), but had not been included in the *Varia epigrammata*, perhaps because of its length. The 1518 volume then adds a series of poems more recently published. The Greek 'Votive offering to the Virgin of Walsingham in Britain' (51) comes from *Lucubrationes* (Strasbourg: M. Schürer 1515). The 'Praise of Sélestat' (53) was first printed with four of Erasmus' letters in *Iani Damiani Senensis ad Leonem X. Pont. Max. de expeditione in Turcas Elegeia* (Basel: J. Froben 1515). The epigrams for the Alsatian humanists Johannes Sapidus, Sebastian Brant, and Thomas Vogler (3 and 54–5) had earlier appeared together with *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii* (Strasbourg: M. Schürer 1514). Seven of the poems in the 1518 *Epigrammata* had never been printed before. To underline their newness – and to help the book sell better – they were placed at the beginning and end of the collection: the 'Hymn in praise of St Ann' (1), probably written in the winter of 1490–1 and revised a decade later, and six epigrams (56–61) composed between 1511 and 1516.

2/ Poems not in *1518*, but published by Erasmus elsewhere: nos 62–92
Our copy-text for the poems in this section is their first edition. They are arranged in chronological order, according to their dates of composition. Four of them were already in print before the *Varia epigrammata* of 8 January 1507 but were not included in that collection. The poem to Antoon van Bergen on the death of his brother Hendrik (62) may have been omitted because of Antoon's stinginess as a patron. The cento from Homer (63) and the welcome-back poem to Archduke Philip the Handsome (64), printed at Antwerp in early 1504, were too closely associated with the *Panegyricus* to be separated from it; the encomiastic poem, like the prose panegyric, was in any case written against the grain and not to Erasmus' taste. The verses to Archbishop William Warham (65) had just been printed by Bade in September 1506 and did not need to be reprinted in the *Varia epigrammata*. The epitaph for Jacques de Croy (66), though written in c November 1516(?), was first published in *Auctarium selectarum aliquot epistolarum* (Basel: J. Froben, August 1518). No 67, a liminary poem for Bernard André's collection of hymns, which had been published by Bade in Paris in July 1517, may have been deliberately excluded from the *Epigrammata* of March 1518.[137] The remaining poems in this section – mainly epitaphs and occasional verses, but also the votive poem to Ste Geneviève (88) – were composed after the publication of the March 1518 edition of the *Epigrammata*.

3/ Poems published without Erasmus' consent: nos 93–7
This group comprises five early poems originally published without Erasmus' consent by Reyner Snoy in *Silva carminum antehac nunquam impressorum* (Gouda: A. Gauter 1513). They are: no 93, written half by Erasmus, half by his friend Cornelis Gerard, against the barbarians who decry ancient eloquence; nos 94–6, three hortatory elegies or 'satires' on false goals, lechery, and greed; and no 97, a poem on the power of money. Erasmus later revised nos 94–7 slightly and published them, albeit with a show of embarrassment and reluctance, in *Progymnasmata quaedam primae adolescentiae Erasmi* (Louvain: D. Martens 1521). We have adopted the authorized edition of 1521 as the copy-text of the three hortatory elegies (94–6) and *De nummo* (97). The *Apologia Herasmi et Cornelii adversus barbaros* (93) is not included in the authorized edition. We therefore print it according to Snoy's text.

4/ Poems published after Erasmus' death: nos 98–127
Here we include poems that Erasmus for one reason or another did not publish himself. Most of them have come down to us in sixteenth-century manuscripts; several are known only in editions printed in the first hundred years after Erasmus' death. Poems found in the three principal manuscripts are reprinted in the same order in which they occur there; the remaining

poems have been arranged in chronological order, according to the conjectural or known dates of composition. The section is arranged as follows:

- Poems in Gouda MS 1323: nos 98–102. This manuscript, which is kept in the Town Archives of Gouda (Librije coll. 1323), contains a miscellany of letters and poems by Erasmus, Cornelis Gerard, Willem Hermans, and others, as well as extracts from books by various authors. The first third of it was written by a monk at Steyn monastery ('Hand A') in about 1520, while the remaining two-thirds were written by another monk ('Hand B') in about 1590. The earlier part, written by Hand A, is our only source for poems 98–101 and offers a version of *Carmen buccolicum* (102) that appears to be closer to the archetype than that given in the later MS Scriverius. It also contains the epigram to Johannes Sapidus (3), first published in 1514. The manuscript has been described in some detail by Allen; further information is provided by J.W.E. Klein.[138] After Steyn burned down in 1549 the monks moved the monastery library to Gouda. For a time the library was kept at the house of one of the last monks from Steyn, Herman Jacobsz Blij. After Blij's death in 1599 the town magistrates confiscated the library and had a catalogue drawn up. They left the books and manuscripts for the time being in the charge of the last canon regular from Steyn, Cornelis Adriaensz Diephorst. Part of this library, as Klein notes, was moved to the Librije, the Gouda Town Library, in 1611. When Diephorst died in 1637, a new inventory was drawn up; in 1641 the remainder of the old Steyn library was moved to the Gouda Librije. Among the manuscripts of Erasmus' works transferred in 1641 were Gouda MS 1323 as well as Gouda MS 1324 (Librije coll. 1324), copied by Hand A around 1524. The poems by Erasmus (98–102) and two poems by Willem Hermans were first published from Gouda MS 1323 in Hyma *Youth* Appendix A, 221–37.
- Poems in MS Scriverius: nos 103–14. This manuscript, formerly in 's-Hertogenbosch but now in the library of the Katholieke Universiteit Brabant, Tilburg, contains a revised version of *Carmen buccolicum* (102) and is our only source for nos 103–14. It also offers a text of *Apologia Herasmi et Cornelii adversus barbaros* (93), earlier printed in Snoy's *Silva carminum* (Gouda 1513), together with the epilogue by Cornelis Gerard (135), which Snoy did not include, as well as numerous letters to and from Erasmus, his *Oratio de pace et discordia, Oratio funebris* (followed by poems 113–14), and *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei* (see headnote on poem 128 below). MS Scriverius is a copy, made by the Dutch scholar Bonaventura Vulcanius in 1570, of a manuscript that he had acquired from the library of the Court of Holland.[139] Vulcanius' 1570 copy subsequently came into the possession of Petrus Scriverius (1576–1660) and later served as Leclerc's copy-text for poems 102–14,

93, and 135 in LB VIII. The manuscript was rediscovered in 's-Hertogenbosch and thoroughly described by A.A.J. Karthon.[140]

– Poems in British Library MS Egerton 1651: nos 115–17. Besides being our only source for nos 115–17, this manuscript contains Ep 104 (the dedicatory letter for Erasmus' poem in praise of Britain and her royal family, no 4) as well as nos 1, 5, 6, 7, and 50, with numerous minor and major deviations from the texts already published or printed later. Allen suggests that this 'illuminated MS ... is very likely a special copy of some of Erasmus' poems prepared for presentation to Prince Henry' after Erasmus' visit to Eltham Palace in the autumn of 1499.[141] But the manuscript, despite Allen's assertion, is not illuminated; indeed, it is so carelessly written that the scribe even began copying out the poem to Skelton (115) that he had already finished a few leaves before. It is therefore quite unlikely that the manuscript was ever intended to be a presentation copy. The fact that the poem in praise of Britain (4) is missing also argues against Allen's assumption. Moreover the manuscript contains two poems addressed to Gaguin (5 and 6) as well as an epigram by Gaguin who, as Erasmus must surely have known, had written a Latin epigram in early 1490 rudely accusing the English and Henry VII of deceitfulness, ingratitude, and bellicosity, and warning them to prepare for war. Gaguin, in turn, had been severely taken to task for this by Bernard André and other writers at the English court.[142] Since we may assume that Erasmus would not have wanted to raise memories of that incident at the royal court in 1499, the manuscript as we have it cannot have been intended for presentation to the prince. It begins with what is evidently an early version of Ep 104 (written and sent to Prince Henry in early autumn 1499 and first printed in revised form in c July 1500). From these dates it appears that the manuscript was copied between October 1499 and July 1500 from a manuscript that Erasmus had circulated among his friends (at Oxford?) before his return to the Continent in late January 1500.[143]

– Poems from other sources: nos 118–27. These have been arranged in chronological order, according to their conjectural or known dates of composition. Their provenance is described in the headnotes to each of the poems.

5/ Poems embedded in Erasmus' prose works: nos 128–34

In this section we gather together the verses that occur in *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei*, *Colloquia* (in the order of their publication), the introit and sequence of *Virginis Matris apud Lauretum cultae liturgia*, and *Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem*. Like Reedijk, we have excluded the series of isolated verses in the colloquy *Impostura* (ASD I-3 601–2), written in different metres but disguised as prose; we have also excluded the countless verse translations that Erasmus inserted into his *Adagia* and other prose works.

6/ Poems dubiously ascribed to Erasmus: nos 135–44
These are poems that have been ascribed with varying degrees of probability to Erasmus. They are arranged in their presumed chronological order of composition.

Several poems that Erasmus mentions in his correspondence seem to have disappeared without a trace. Cornelis Reedijk has catalogued them in 'Verdwenen poëzie van Erasmus' *Het boek* 31 (1952–4) 113–20 and in *The Poems* Appendix IV, 397–400. Some of these poems, discussed in two letters exchanged between Johannes Sixtinus and Erasmus in late October 1499 (Epp 112–13), have now been identified with extant ones and can thus be struck from Reedijk's list.[144] A few others hitherto regarded as lost were in all likelihood never written:

- Both Allen and Reedijk suggest that Allen Ep 28:18–23 / CWE Ep 28:18–22 might refer to 'some verses to win the favour of David of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht.'[145] The context of the letter, however, does not bear this out. Erasmus says only that a number of his poems were taken partly to Alexander Hegius and Bartholomäus Zehender in Deventer and partly to Utrecht (presumably to the bishop).
- Reedijk further assumes that the reference to an *epitaphium* for Archduke Philip the Handsome in Allen Ep 205:24–6 / CWE Ep 205:27–9 means that Erasmus must have been composing a verse epitaph: 'Ye gods, how many panegyrics I then promised myself, and full of matter too! And now, behold, by this sudden change of fortune I sadly write his epitaph [*epitaphium*] instead.' But the word *epitaphium* here means 'eulogy,' not 'epitaph in verse.' Thus St Jerome's famous letter eulogizing St Paula (108) is entitled *Epitaphium sanctae Paulae*. Erasmus uses this term also in Allen Ep 1991:3 to describe his prose eulogy for Albrecht Dürer in *De recta pronuntiatione* ASD I-4 40:887–905 / CWE 26 398–9. The word *epitaphium* in Ep 205 thus may be safely taken to mean the letter itself. First published in 1506 as a preface to some of Lucian's dialogues, this letter is indeed a eulogy for the archduke. Caspar Ursinus Velius *Genethliacon Erasmi*, reprinted among the *Encomia in laudem Erasmi* in LB I, does mention Erasmus' lament for the archduke on page (20) column 2, as Reedijk points out; but Ursinus does not say that it was written in verse. Indeed, his catalogue of Erasmus' writings nowhere singles out a specific poem.
- The same reasoning may serve to dismiss the idea that Erasmus might have written an epitaph for Peace. In the colloquy *Charon* ASD I-3 578:47–8,

written in 1523 but not printed until March 1529, it is said that Erasmus once wrote a 'Lament of downtrodden Peace' (the *Querela pacis*). Now that Peace has perished, however, he is writing her *epitaphium*. Dekker *Janus Secundus* 120 and 135 assumes that this must refer to a verse epitaph entitled *Epitaphium Pacis extinctae*. But the 'epitaph' to which Erasmus is referring is undoubtedly the colloquy *Charon* itself.

Thus only the following poems are at present known to be lost:

1/ In *Adagia* II v 74 (LB II 574B) Erasmus quotes five hendecasyllables from an otherwise unknown epigram of his: *Nos item in epigrammate quodam ad hanc paroemiam sic allusimus*:

> Non stulti[146] usque adeo sumus futuri, ut
> Gustatum toties voremus hamum,
> Unco plus semel aere sauciati.
> Vel sero sapiemus, et nocentem
> Tandem carpere desinemus escam.[147]

> I too in one of my epigrams have alluded to this proverb in the following words: 'I will not go on being so foolish as to swallow the hook that I have nibbled at so often, since I have been wounded by the barbed bronze more than once before. I will be wise, though it is late to do so, and now at last I will stop taking the bait that will hurt me.'

Since Erasmus does not mention these verses in his discussion of the adage in *Adagiorum collectanea* (Paris: J. Philippi 1500) and first quotes them in *Adagiorum chiliades tres* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, September 1508) we may assume that they were written between 1500 and 1508. They probably derive from some epigram in which the Christian humanist expresses his disdain for the pleasures of the flesh. In his *Enchiridion*, written in 1501–2, Erasmus describes the fatal attraction of erotic love, which the wise man avoids, in words strongly reminiscent of the poem fragment: 'Such and such a sensual gratification had such dire consequences, brought me so much harm, so much disgrace, weariness, trouble, and sickness, and shall I be stupid enough to swallow the hook again wittingly [*et iterum stultissimus hamum vorabo prudens*]?'[148]

2/ In Allen Ep 129:62–4 / CWE Ep 129:72–4, written at Paris in early September 1500, Erasmus mentions a *carmen in Delium* 'a poem on Delius.' This Delius may be identified as Gillis van Delft, the same theologian with whom Erasmus had engaged in a poetic contest (*certamen*) in April–May 1499; see the headnote on poem 110 below. Reedijk infers from the Latin preposition *in* that the poem may have been a piece of invective verse. This preposition is, however, very commonly used in a neutral sense, to inform the reader about the theme of the poem, and need not suggest any animadversion against the poem's subject.

3/ Of the four epitaphs for Hendrik van Bergen only two have survived; see the headnotes on nos 39 and 137 below. The Greek epitaph and one of the three Latin epitaphs are lost.

4/ A passage in *De conscribendis epistolis* mentions that Erasmus once wrote a letter to Thomas Linacre in trochaic tetrameters disguised as prose. The learned English physician did not notice the trick that was being played on him until Erasmus pointed it out to him. This verse letter has not come down to us.[149]

5/ A similar letter, also written in a trochaic metre, is mentioned in Allen Ep 2241:21–2, dated 10 December 1529.

6/ In Allen Ep 1239:2 / CWE Ep 1239:4, dated 14 October [1521], Erasmus wrote the Carthusian Gabriël Ofhuys: 'I send you your verses.' Ofhuys had apparently asked Erasmus to contribute a metrical inscription for an engraving of some biblical scene on which he was working. On Ofhuys see CEBR III 28.

This volume, unlike the others in CWE, includes the original Latin and Greek texts. A prose translation of Erasmus' elegant, vibrant prose can hope to do some justice to both the sense and the style. But a prose translation of Erasmus' verse must inevitably fall far short of capturing the flavour of his various metres and rhythms, the sonorities of his poetic idiom, and the rich allusiveness of his style, in which the trained ear may hear the whole gamut of poetry resound – ancient, medieval, and Renaissance.

The text here presented is in some respects quite different from that offered in Dr Reedijk's edition. As we have noted, Reedijk placed the poems in chronological order; in so doing he also took them out of the textual context in which they occur, whether it be manuscript or printed book. Having thus isolated the poems and put them in a different, chronological arrangement, he then tended to present a composite text drawn from different textual strata. The present edition bases itself on the copy-texts described in general above and more specifically in the headnotes to the individual poems. It should be noted that we are not presenting a critical edition. Readers who desire information on the details of the textual tradition should consult Reedijk's critical apparatus and Vredeveld 'Edition.' A new critical text of the poems, edited by Harry Vredeveld, is to appear in Ordo I of ASD. It will follow the organization adopted in the present volume, so that the numbering of the poems in CWE and ASD will be the same.

To make the Latin and Greek texts conform to the requirements and expectations of modern readers, we have normalized them according to the following principles:

1/ Punctuation has been consistently modernized.

2/ The orthography of the copy-texts has been retained except in the following instances. Consonantal and vocalic *u* and *v* have been distinguished; *j* (generally in capital letters and in *ij*) has been printed as *i*. The genitive singular and nominative plural ending *-e* has been changed to *-ae*; *e* caudata (ę) has been written as *ae*. Contractions have been expanded. Ligatures and diacritical marks or accents have not been reproduced. The Latin enclitics *-ne* and *-ve*, often written as separate words in the copy-texts, have been joined to the preceding word. Capitalization has been modernized. Obvious printing errors have been corrected. Greek texts have been printed according to modern conventions.

3/ The various verse forms used in Erasmus' poetry have been indented according to present practice. The indentation in poem 112, used to indicate the start of new sections, derives from the copy-text. The editor is responsible for the indentation in poems 64, 88, 102, and 111, and in the prose prefaces.

4/ In the copy-texts many poems have a postscript indicating 'The end' in either Latin or Greek. Such postscripts have been omitted in the present edition.

5/ Sidenotes and marginalia have not been reprinted. They are noted in the commentary only when they help elucidate the meaning of the text itself.

6/ The poem and line numbers have been added. For a table of corresponding poem numbers in Reedijk's edition see pages 390–3 in this volume. Cross-references to LB, ASD, Allen, and Reedijk (R) are also given before each of the headnotes in CWE 86.

7/ Wherever possible we have added at the head of each poem the known or conjectural date of composition, followed by the date of its first publication. For a list of the poems in the order of their composition see pages 382–5 in this volume.

HV

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POEMS

translated by CLARENCE H. MILLER
edited by HARRY VREDEVELD

POEMS IN
EPIGRAMMATA DES. ERASMI ROTERODAMI

(Basel: Johann Froben, March 1518)

IOANNES FROBENIUS CANDIDO LECTORI S.D.

Accepimus iam pridem, Erasmi Roterodami compatris nostri epigrammata a studiosis summopere flagitari. Proinde dedimus operam, ut quicquid illius versiculorum aut apud Beatum nostrum Rhenanum esset aut Brunonem Amorbacchium, id omne uno complexi libello typis nostris excuderemus. Quanquam intelligebamus, plurimum nos hac re studiosis, Erasmo vero minimum gratificaturos. Nam magnam horum epigrammatum partem non in hoc scripsit ut aederentur, sed ut amiculis suis (ut est minime morosus) obsequeretur. Quin ipsi vidimus, cum abhinc sesquiannum apud nos ageret, evangelica et apostolica monumenta partim Latine vertens, partim recognoscens, et doctissimas illas in Novum instrumentum annotationes nec non in divum Hieronymum scholia scriberet – deum immortalem, quam laboriosis lucubrationibus, quam pertinaci studio, quantum sudoris illi cotidie exhauriebatur! – ipsi, inquam, vidimus non defuisse e magnatibus, qui virum occupatissimum (si quisquam in literis unquam fuit occupatus) interpellare de nugis auderent, aliquod epigrammation aut epistolium eblandientes. Sed enim quid ageret vir suavissima morum facilitate praeditus? Negaret? Incivile hoc exigentibus videretur. Scriberet? At animus aliis cogitationibus impediebatur nec ab inceptis laboribus quicquam respirare licebat. Nihilo secius scribebat, sed ex tempore et obiter ad Musarum sacra divertens. Quanquam huius extemporalia plane talia sunt, ut aliorum diu meditatis anteponi mereantur. Et veniet nunc triobolaris aliquis paedagogulus, qui instar Momi tantum carpendi studio singulis curiosissime exploratis verbulum aliquod reperiet quod sibi non probetur ut non Baptistinianicum aut Faustinum aut

POEMS IN *THE EPIGRAMS OF DESIDERIUS ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM*

(Basel: Johann Froben, March 1518)

JOHANN FROBEN TO THE FAIR-MINDED READER, GREETINGS

For some time now I have heard that the epigrams of my compatriot Erasmus of Rotterdam are in great demand among intellectuals. And so I have taken the trouble to gather together and print at my press in one small book whatever poems were in the possession either of my friend Beatus Rhenanus or of Bruno Amerbach. Of course I was aware that this would please the intellectuals a good deal but Erasmus himself hardly at all. For he wrote most of the epigrams not to publish them but to comply with the wishes of his friends, since he is a very obliging person. Indeed I myself observed, when he was staying with us a year and a half ago, devoting himself partly to editing, partly to translating into Latin the Gospels and the writings of the apostles, and composing those very learned annotations of his on the New Testament as well as his commentary on St Jerome – good lord, how much sweat was drained from him by toiling far into the night and studying with no let-up day after day! – I myself observed, I say, that there was no lack of great men who dared to interrupt him with some trifles even as he was so very immersed in his writing (and if anyone ever has been so immersed, he was), just to wheedle some little epigram or letter out of him. But what was such an agreeable and obliging person to do? Was he to refuse? He would seem impolite to those who were making these demands. Was he to write what they wanted? But his mind was preoccupied by other thoughts, nor could he allow himself any breather from the work he had begun. Nevertheless he wrote what they wanted, but only on the spur of the moment and by the by, making a detour to the temple of the Muses – though even his extemporaneous pieces are clearly such as to be worthy of a higher place than the carefully thought out writing of other men. And now along comes some two-bit little schoolmaster, who like Momus examines every detail very carefully but only out of a desire to find fault, and when he finds some little word of which he disapproves as not in the vein

denique, si diis placet, Marullicum, hic statim succlamabit: 'O virum carminis indoctum!' Regererem in illum ego, si quem superbe sic ineptientem audirem: 'O nebulonem, o furciferum, tune tantum tibi tribuis, ut tanti viri censorem agas? Decem totis mensibus non posses vel unum versiculum scribere, caput scabens et arrosis ante digitis, quod genus hic multos (ut Horatius inquit) stans pede in uno, minima parte horae, amanuensi suo dictat.' Sed haec in malignos istos. Candidi vel infeliciora boni consulunt, tantum abest ut quae docta sunt vellicent.

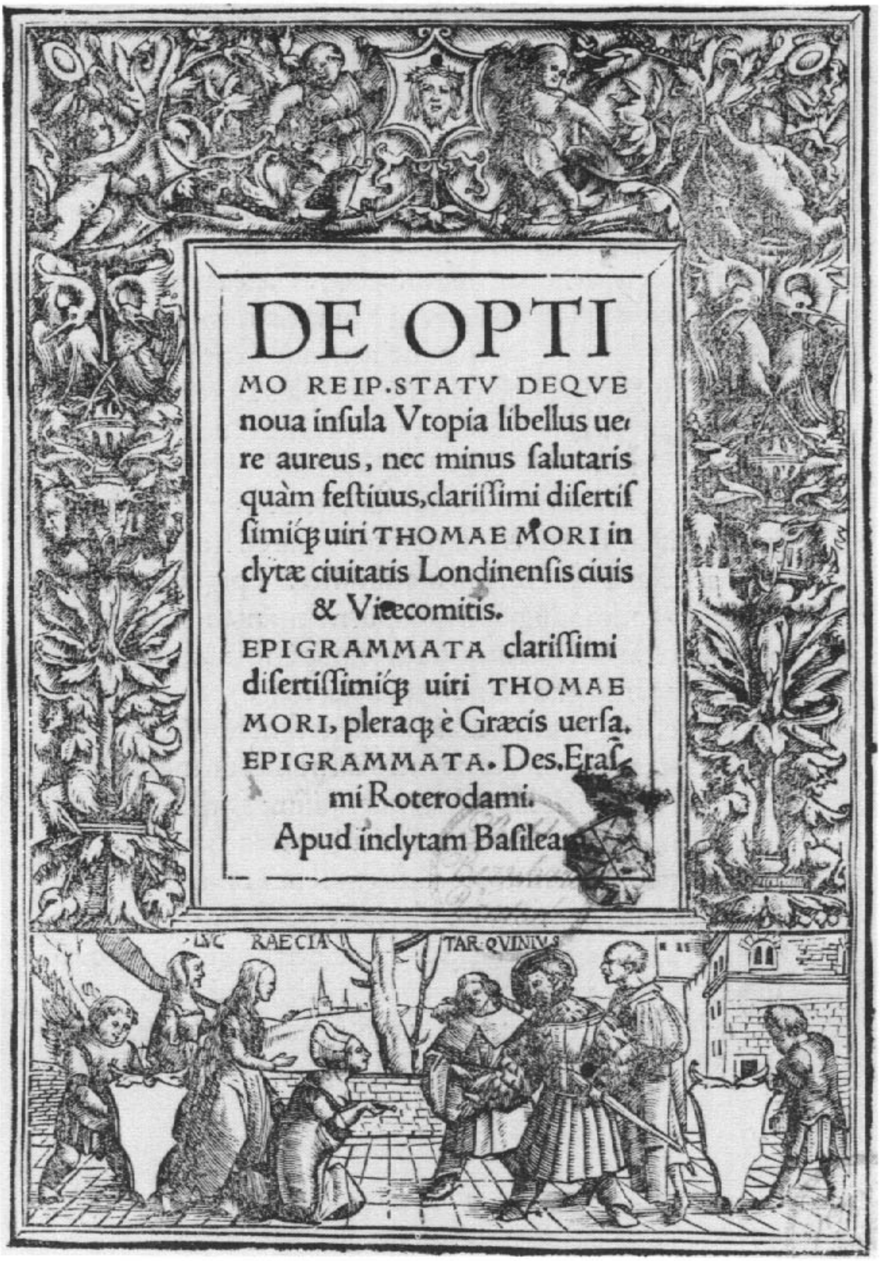
Bene vale.

Basileae Cal. Martiis, anno M.D.XVIII.

of Mantuan or Fausto or, for lord's sake, Marullus, then right away he pipes up: 'Oh, this man knows nothing about poetry.' If I ever heard such an arrogant fool, I would come right back at him: 'You buffoon, you rascal, how can you take it upon yourself to play the judge over such a man? In ten whole months, scratching your head and chewing your fingernails to the quick, you couldn't write even one little verse to match the quality of poetry he dictates in abundance to his secretary in the smallest fraction of an hour, standing on one foot (as Horace says).' But so much for these spiteful carpers. Fair-minded readers, far from ripping to shreds what is written learnedly, make the best of what is not so happily put.

Farewell.

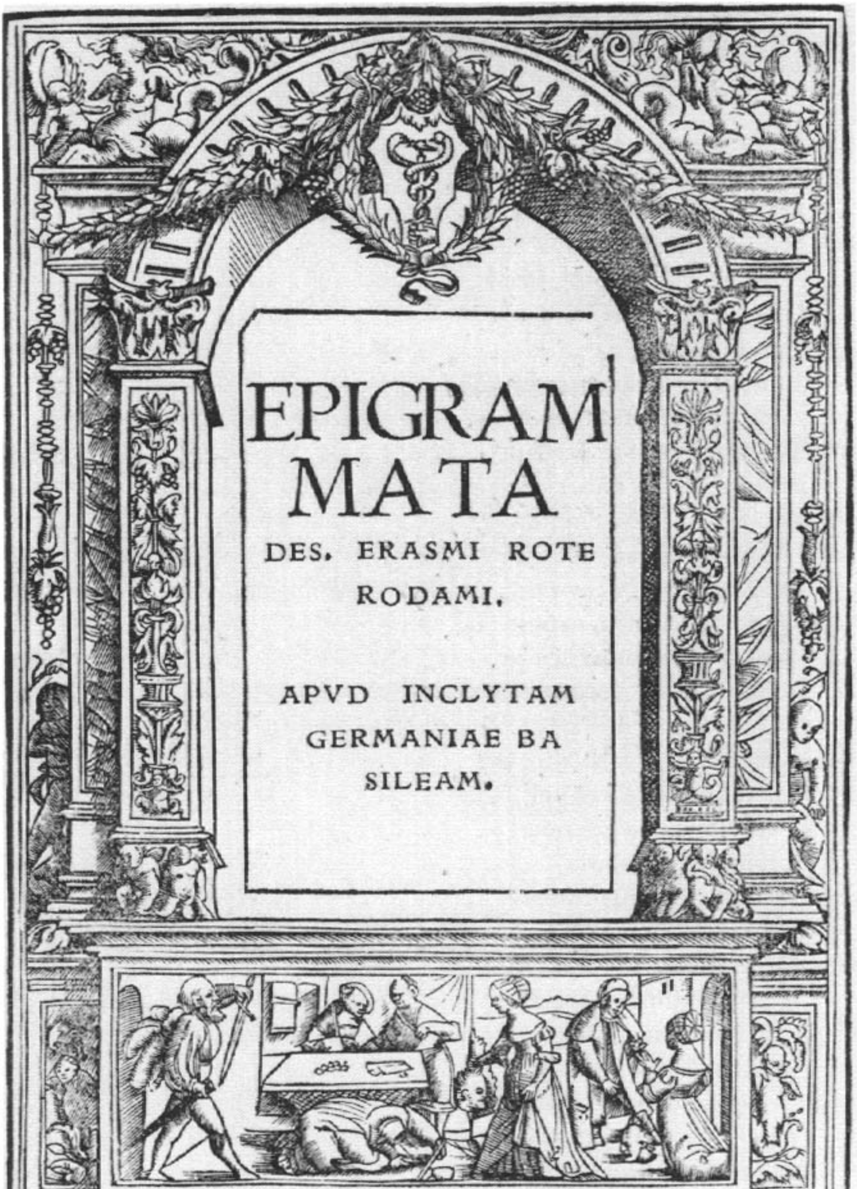
Basel, 1 March 1518



DE OPTI
MO REIP.STATV DEQVE
noua inſula Vtopia libellus ue-
re aureus, nec minus ſalutaris
quàm feſtiuus, clariſſimi diſertiſ
ſimiqꝫ uiri THOMAE MORI in
clytæ ciuitatis Londinenſis ciuis
& Vicecomitis.
EPIGRAMMATA clariſſimi
diſertiſſimiqꝫ uiri THOMAE
MORI, pleraqꝫ è Græcis uerſa.
EPIGRAMMATA. Des. Eraſ
mi Roterodami.
Apud inclytam Baſileam.

LVC RAECIA
TAR QVINIVS

Title-page of Thomas More *Utopia* and the two sets of *Epigrammata*
by More and Erasmus
Basel: Froben, March 1518
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University



EPIGRAM
MATA
DES. ERASMI ROTE
RODAMI.

APVD INCLYTAM
GERMANIAE BA
SILEAM.

Second title-page of Erasmus *Epigrammata*
Basel: Froben, March 1518
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

1 Des. Erasmi Roterodami rhythmus iambicus in laudem Annae, aviae Iesu Christi [winter 1490–1? / 1518]

Salve, parens sanctissima,
Sacro beata coniuge,
Sacratiore filia,
Nepote sacratissimo.
Domo quid hac illustrius
Ornatiusve? Quae altera
Tam multiplex habuit decus,
Tantum una monstrorum tulit?
Hic hic maritum annis gravem
Effoeta anus facit patrem.
Est virgo foeta filia,
Nepos dei verbum ac deus.
Gener pudicus se negat
Partus parentem uxorii.
At integram iurat, neque
Rivale pallet suspicax.
Ergo, Anna, mater optima,
Cumulatius multo tuas
Lachrymas deus solatus est
Quam vel Rebeccae vel Sarae
Vel illius quae te refert
Et rebus et vocabulo,
Quae dum silenter anxii
Proferret aestus pectoris
Visa est Heli multo mero
Amens parumque sobria.
At te pio cum coniuge
Amore prolis annua
Templis ferentem munera
Procax sacerdos reppulit.
'Heus,' inquit, 'hinc mihi ocyus
Prophana vota tollite.
Ipsi simul procul procul
Aris sacris absistite.
Vestran' deo donaria
Futura grata creditis
Quorum pudendae nuptiae

1 A rhythmical iambic hymn by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, in praise of St Ann, the grandmother of Jesus Christ

Hail, most saintly mother, blessed in having a holy spouse, an even more holy daughter, a most holy grandchild. What home has ever been more famous or more eminent than this one? What other home ever had such manifold glories or produced, all by itself, so many marvellous prodigies? Here, here in this place an old woman past childbearing makes a father of a husband weighed down by years. The daughter becomes pregnant but remains a virgin. The grandchild is the Word of God and God himself. The chaste son-in-law denies that he is the father of the child borne by his wife; yet he swears that she is inviolate and does not grow pale out of fear and suspicion of a rival.

And so, Anna, best of mothers, God consoled you in your tears far more abundantly than he did either Rebecca or Sarah or the one who reminds us of you, both in her circumstances and her name, the one who, as she was silently expressing the turmoil and anxiety in her heart, seemed to Eli to be distraught and drunk with too much wine. But the arrogant priest rejected you when you came to the temple with your pious spouse, bearing the gifts you offered every year out of a longing for offspring. 'Ho there,' he said, 'get your unholy offerings out of here and be quick about it! And you also, get away, far far away, from the sacred altar. Do you think that God will be pleased by gifts from the likes of you, whose shameful marriage has produced

Praeter libidinem nihil
Luxum et senilem scilicet
Tanto tulere tempore?'
Quo se locorum verterent
Vultus pudentum coniugum,
Repulsa quos tam foeda, tam
Insignis exanimaverat?
Ioachim pudorem non ferens
Gregum ad suorum pascua
Se proripit, tristis suam
Recepit Anna se domum.
Largis uterque fletibus
Votisque pertinacibus
Orare non cessat deum
Ut prole probrum tolleret.
Caelum penetrarunt preces.
Adest ab astris angelus
Qui prole promissa graves
Luctus iuberet ponere.
Surgunt alacres, invicem
Narrare visa gestiunt.
Porta maritus aurea
Se quaeritantem coniugem
Offendit. Hic laetus stupor
Dulces utrique lachrymas
Excussit. Hinc modicos lares
Iunctis revisunt gressibus.
Haud vana vox oraculi
Lusit piam senum fidem.
Bis luna nata quinquies
Anum videt puerperam.
Tanto quidem felicius
Foecunda quanto serius
Fit Anna filiae parens,
Nec filiae cuiuslibet,
Sed filiae, quae fertilis
Eademque virgo gigneret.
At quem beata gigneret?
Summi parentis filium,
Qui sceptra terrae et aetheris
Cum patre habet communia,
Qui, deus et idem homo, necis

nothing after all this time except debauchery and lust, and senile lust at that?' Where could the bashful couple hide their faces, drained of life as they were by such an ugly and open repudiation? Joachim, unable to bear the shame, hurries away to the pastures of his flocks; Anna, in her sadness, makes her way to their house. With copious tears and steadfast prayers, both of them call on God incessantly to take away their reproach by giving them offspring. Their prayers pierce the heavens. An angel comes down from the stars and, promising them offspring, tells them to put away their heavy grief. Each of them arises happily and sets off eagerly to tell the vision to the other. At the Gate of Gold the husband encounters his wife, who is looking for him. Here, joyful amazement draws tears of happiness from both of them. From here they walk back side by side to their modest hearth.

The words of the prophecy were not illusory and did not mock the pious faith of the old couple. The tenth new moon saw the old woman give birth. And certainly the longer her pregnancy was delayed, the more auspicious it was for Anna to become the mother of a daughter, and not just any daughter, but a daughter who would be fertile and give birth while still remaining a virgin. And to whom would this blessed lady give birth? The Son of the highest Father, who in union with his Father holds sway over heaven and earth alike, who, being God and likewise man, conquered

Autore victo per necem
Vitam reduxit mortuis,
Aperuit in caelos iter.
O terque quaterque et amplius
Parens beata, nam potes,
Iuva preces mortalium
Tuo vacantum cultui,
Nam te patrona quidlibet
Speramus assequi, modo
Voles voletque et filia.
Nec huic petenti pusio
Negare quicquam noverit.
Amat parentem filius,
Neque filio negat pater,
Amans et ipse filium.

Amen.

2 Des. Erasmi Roterodami carmen ad Guilielmum Copum Basileiensem de senectutis incommodis, heroico carmine et iambico dimetro catalectico

[August 1506 / 13 November 1506]

Unica nobilium medicorum gloria, Cope,
Seu quis requirat artem
Sive fidem spectet seu curam, in quolibet horum
Vel iniquus ipse nostro
Praecipuos tribuit Gulielmo livor honores.
Cedit fugitque morbi
Ingenio genus omne tuo. Teterrima porro
Senecta, morbus ingens,
Nullis arcerive potest pellive medelis.
Quin derepente oborta
Corporis epotet succos animique vigorem
Hebetet, simul trecentis
Hinc atque hinc stipata malis, quibus omnia carptim
Vellitque deteritque
Commoda, quae secum subolescens vexerit aetas,
Formam, statum, colorem,
Partem animi memorem cum pectore, lumina, somnos,

the originator of our death, and by his death gave life to the dead and opened up a way to heaven.

O mother blessed, thrice blessed and more, give aid – for you can – to the prayers of us mortals who honour you devoutly on this holyday, for under your patronage there is nothing we do not hope to obtain, as long as you wish it and your daughter also wishes it; and when she asks for anything, her little boy will not know how to refuse her. The Son loves his mother, nor will his Father refuse his Son, for he, too, loves his Son.

Amen.

A poem by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, addressed to Guillaume Cop of Basel, on the troubles of old age, written in hexameters and iambic dimeters catalectic

Cop, the unparalleled glory of the noble medical profession, whether someone needs skill or is looking for trustworthiness or careful treatment, in all these respects even malicious envy herself yields the highest honours to our Guillaume. Faced with your genius, every kind of disease gives way and flees. But then no medicines can stave off or drive away hideous old age, that monstrous disease. Indeed, she rises up suddenly to drink up the juices of the body and blunt the powers of the mind, surrounded on all sides by a host of afflictions, through which she snatches away one by one and wears down all the benefits which growing up brought with it: beauty, posture, colouring, the part of the mind which remembers, understanding, eyesight, sleep, strength,

Vires, alacritatem.
Autorem vitae igniculum decerpit et huius
Nutricium liquorem,
Vitaleis adimit flatus, cum sanguine corpus,
Risus, iocos, lepores.
Denique totum hominem paulatim surripit ipsi,
Neque de priore tandem
Praeterquam nomen titulumque relinquit inanem,
Cuiusmodi tuemur
Passim marmoreis inscalpta vocabula bustis.
Utrum haec senecta, quaeso,
An mors lenta magis dicenda est? Invida fata et
Impendio maligna,
Ut quae deteriora labantis stamina vitae
Pernicitate tanta
Accelerare velint rapidisque allabier alis,
At floridam iuventam
Usqueadeo male praecipiti decurrere filo,
Ut illius priusquam
Cognita sat bona sint, iam nos fugitiva relinquant,
Et citius atque nosmet
Plane vivere senserimus, iam vivere fracti
Repente desinamus.
At cervi volucres et cornix garrula vivunt
Tot saeculis vigentque.
Uni porro homini post septima protinus idque
Vixdum peracta lustra
Corporeum robur cariosa senecta fatigat.
Neque id satis, sed ante
Quam decimum lustrum volitans absolverit aetas,
Tentare non veretur
Immortalem hominis ductamque ex aethere partem
Et hanc lacessit audax
Nec timet ingenii sacros incessere nervos,
Sua si fides probato
Constat Aristoteli. Sed quorsum opus, obsecro, tanto
Autore, quando certam
Ipsa fidem, heu nimium facit experientia certam?
Quam nuper hunc Erasmum
Vidisti media viridem florere iuventa!
Nunc is repente versus

enthusiasm. She pinches the little flame which is the source of our life and dries up the moisture which nourishes it. She robs us of the vital spirits, of blood and body, of laughter, wit, charm. In a word, bit by bit she steals the whole man away from himself and finally leaves behind nothing of what he was except a name and an empty inscription, such as we see everywhere in the epitaphs carved on marble tombs. I ask you, should we call her old age or rather death long drawn out?

The Fates are envious and enormously malicious: they choose to give immense speed to the thinning thread of our declining time of life and to make it glide toward us on swift wings, while they make the thread of flourishing youth slide away with such untoward and headlong speed that before we are really aware of its advantages they have fled away, leaving us behind, and before we fully realize that we are alive we are suddenly enfeebled and we cease to live. Yet the swift stag and the chattering crow live for so many centuries with full vigour, but man alone, after three and a half decades, and those hardly lived out at all, is thenceforth worn out and deprived of bodily strength by withered old age. Nor is that enough, but before his fleeting years have finished the fifth decade, old age does not hesitate to assail the immortal part of a man, the part descended from the heavens; even this she boldly challenges and has no fear of assaulting the sacred sinews of his inner nature – if we give credence to the esteemed Aristotle.

But what need is there, I beg you, for such a great authority when experience itself establishes our credence firmly, all too firmly, alas! How short a time ago did you see this Erasmus flourishing amidst the greenery of his youth! Now this man, by a sudden change,

Incipit urgentis senii sentiscere damna
    Et alius esse tendit
Dissimilisque sui, nec adhuc Phoebeius orbis
    Quadragies revexit
Natalem lucem, quae bruma ineunte Calendas
    Quinta anteit Novembreis.
Nunc mihi iam raris sparguntur tempora canis,
    Et albicare mentum
Incipiens, iam praeteritis vernantibus annis,
    Vitae monet cadentis
Adventare hyemem gelidamque instare senectam.
    Eheu fugacis, ohe,
Pars veluti melior, sic et properantior aevi,
    O saeculi caduci
Flos nimium brevis et nulla reparabilis arte,
    Tenerae o viror iuventae,
O dulces anni, o felicia tempora vitae,
    Ut clanculum excidistis,
Ut sensum fallente fuga lapsuque volucri
    Furtim avolastis, ohe!
Haud simili properant undosa relinquere cursu
    Virideis fluenta ripas.
Impete nec simili fugiunt cava nubila, siccis
    Quoties aguntur Euris.
Sic sic effugiunt tacitae vaga somnia noctis
    Simul avolante somno,
Quae desyderium curas et praeter inaneis
    Sui nihil relinquunt.
Sic rosa, quae tenero modo murice tincta rubebat,
    Tenui senescit Haustro.
Atque ita, me miserum, nucibus dum ludo puellus,
    Dum literas ephebus
Ardeo, dum scrutor pugnasque viasque sophorum,
    Dum rhetorum colores
Blandaque mellifluae deamo figmenta poesis,
    Dum necto syllogismos,
Pingere dum meditor tenueis sine corpore formas,

begins to feel the damage thrust upon him by the onset of old age. He is getting to be someone else, different from himself, and the circle of Phoebus has not yet reverted forty times to the day of his birth, which comes at the onset of winter on the fourth day before the beginning of November. Now a few white hairs are already sprinkled on my temples, and the hair on my chin, which is just beginning to get white, reminds me that the years of my springtime are already gone by as the winter of my declining lifetime approaches and freezing old age presses upon me.

Hold, O better part of our fleeting life span! Alas, the better part is the very part that hurries away faster! O flower of a perishing lifetime, blossom all too brief which no skill can restore, O tender green of youth, O sweet years, O blissful time of life, how secretly you have departed! With what swift and furtive flight, deceiving our senses, you have slipped away! Hold! Not so rapidly in their course do surging streams rush to leave the green banks behind them. Not so forcibly in their flight are the hollow clouds driven before the dry winds of the east. Just so, just so the shifting dreams of noiseless night-time flee as soon as sleep flies away, leaving behind nothing of the dreams but longing and empty anxiety. Just so a rose, which even now was flushed with a fresh and deep-dyed crimson, grows old under a faint breeze from the south.

And just so, woe is me, while as a little boy I was playing with nuts, while as a beardless youth I was passionately devoted to reading and writing, while I examined the controversies and the schools of the philosophers, while I was madly in love with the figures of the rhetoricians and the beguiling fictions of mellifluous poetry, while I wove together syllogisms, while I concentrated on drawing

Dum sedulus per omne
Autorum volvor genus, impiger undique carpo
Apis in modum Matinae,
Paedias solidum cupiens absolvere cyclum,
Sine fine gestienti
Singula correptus dum circumvector amore,
Dum nil placet relinqui,
Dumque prophana sacris, dum iungere Graeca Latinis
Studeoque moliorque,
Dum cognoscendi studio terraque marique
Volitare, dum nivosas
Cordi est et iuvat et libet ereptare per Alpeis,
Dulceis parare amicos
Dum studeo atque viris iuvat innotescere doctis,
Furtim inter ista pigrum
Obrepsit senium, et subito segnescere vireis
Mirorque sentioque
Vixque mihi spatium iam defluxisse valentis
Persuadeo iuventae.
Quur adeo circumspecte parceque lapillis,
Quur purpuris et ostro
Mortales utuntur, et aetas aurea, tanto
Preciosior lapillis
Et quovis auro, quovis preciosior ostro,
Prodigitur inque nugis
Conteritur miseris nullo vecorditer usu
Siniturque abire frustra?
Adde quod illa queant sarciri perdita, Crassos
Spires tibi licebit
Et Lydos spires Croesos, iam Codrus et Irus.
Sed quod semel severa
Pensilibus fusis Clotho devolverit aevum,
Id nec venena Circes
Nec magicum, Maia nati gestamina, sceptrum
Neque dira Thessalorum
Medeae succis revocare precamina possint,
Non si vel ipse divum

abstract and incorporeal diagrams, while I painstakingly wended my way through each class of writers, everywhere drawing indefatigably from them like the bees of Mount Matinus, longing to complete the whole, unbroken circle of learning, while I made the rounds of each separate subject, driven by endless enthusiasm and love, while I was loath to leave anything unattempted, while I was striving and struggling to combine secular with sacred studies and to join Greek with Latin, while in the pursuit of knowledge I eagerly flitted about over land and sea, while I joyed and delighted in clambering over the snowy Alps, while I strove to acquire sweet friends and took pleasure in becoming well known to learned men, all the while sluggish old age stole imperceptibly over me, and I feel – with amazement I feel – my strength suddenly slacken, and I can hardly believe that the time of my vigorous youth has already slipped by.

Why do mortals handle gems so cautiously and sparingly, why are they so careful about rich garments dyed in purple and crimson? And the golden age of their lives, so much more precious than gems, more precious than any gold or any purple garments, they madly squander and waste in miserable trifles of no use whatever and let it pass away in vain. Then too, when such riches are lost they can be replaced; even if you are now as poor as Codrus or Irus, you can still give yourself the airs of a Crassus or a Croesus of Lydia. But whatever of your lifetime strict Clotho has once and for all spun off from her hanging spindles can never be recalled, not by the potions of Circe, not by the magical sceptre borne by the son of Maia, not by the dire incantations of Medea together with the magic potions of the Thessalians – not even if the father of the gods himself were to sate you

Nectare te saturet pater ambrosioque liquore
(Nanque his ali iuventam
Arceri senium scripsit nugator Homerus),
Non si tibi efficaci
Rore riget corpus Tithoni lutea coniunx,
Non si ter octiesque
Phaon per Chias Venerem transvexeris undas,
Non si tibi ipse Chiron
Omneis admoveat quas tellus proserit herbas.
Nec anulus nec ulla
Pharmaca cum nervis annos remorantur eunteis.
Atqui ferunt magorum
Monstrifico sisti torrentia flumina cantu.
Iisdem ferunt relabi
Praecipites amnes verso in contraria cursu,
Et Cynthiae volucres
Et rapidas Phoebi sisti figique quadrigas.
Sed ut haec stupenda possint
Carmina, non speres tamen improbus ut tibi quondam
Aut iam peracta vitae
Saecla iterum referant aut praetereuntia sistant.
Sol mergitur vicissimque
Exoritur novus et nitido redit ore serenus.
Extincta luna rursum
Nascitur inque vices nunc decrescente minuta
Sensim senescit orbe,
Nunc vegeta arridet tenero iuveniliter ore.
Redit ad suam iuventam,
Bruma ubi consenuit, Zephyris redeuntibus annus,
Et post gelu niveisque
Ver nitidum floresque reversa reducit hirundo.
At nostra posteaquam
Fervida praeteriit saeclis labentibus aestas,
Ubi tristis occupavit
Corpus hyems capitisque horrentia tempora postquam
Nive canuere densa,
Nulla recursuri spes aut successio veris,
Verum malis supremum
Imponit mors una, malorum maxima, finem.

with nectar and ambrosial draughts (for Homer, that teller of tall tales, says that these nourish youth and ward off old age), not if the saffron consort of Tithonus should steep your body in invigorating dew, not if you, like Phaon, should ferry Venus three or even eight times from Chios across the waves, not if Chiron himself should apply to you all the herbs which the earth brings forth. No ring, no drugs hold onto our strength and keep back the passing years.

But they say that the miraculous incantations of the magicians stop the flow of torrential rivers. They say such charms make plunging streams reverse their course and flow backwards and cause the winged team of Cynthia and the swift steeds of Phoebus to stop fixed in their tracks. But even if incantations could perform such prodigious feats, still do not presume to hope that they can ever bring back parts of your life that are finished or halt what is now passing onward. The sun sinks and rises in turn, returning renewed and clear, with a shining countenance. The extinguished moon is born once again and changes by turns: now, as her circle gradually wanes, she shrinks and grows old; now she is reinvigorated, with a tender and youthful smile on her face. When winter grows old, the year returns to its youth as the western winds return, and after the ice and snow the returning swallow brings back the bright spring and the flowers. But after our hot summer has passed in the course of our declining years, when gloomy winter has taken possession of our body, and after the stubble on our temples has gone white under a heavy snowfall, there is no hope that a past spring will return or that a new one will follow. Instead our afflictions will finally be brought to an end only by death, the greatest of afflictions.

More Phrygum inter ista
Incipimus sero sapere et dispendia vitae
Incogitanter actae
Ploramus miseri et consumptos turpiter annos
Horremus, execramur.
Quae quondam heu nimium placuere et quae vehementer
Mellita visa dudum,
Tum tristi cruciant recolentia pectora felle,
Frustraque maceramur
Tam rarum sine fruge bonum fluxisse, quod omni
Bene collocare cura
Par erat et nullam temere disperdere partem.
At nunc mihi oscitanti
Qualibus heu nugis quanta est data portio vitae!
Satis hactenus, miselle,
Cessatum, satis est dormitum! Pellere somnos
Nunc tempus est, Erasme,
Nunc expergisci et tota resipiscere mente.
Velis dehinc equisque
Et pedibus manibusque et totis denique nervis
Nitendum, ut anteacti
Temporis et studio iactura volubilis aevi
Vigilante sarciatur,
Dum licet ac dum tristis adhuc in limine primo
Consistimus senectae,
Dum nova canicies et adhuc numerabilis et dum
Pilis notata raris
Tempora duntaxat spatium effluxisse virentis
Iam clamitant iuventae,
Nec tam praesentem iam testificantur adesse
Quam nunciant citatum
Ferre gradum et sterilem procul adventare senectam.
Cuiusmodi videtur
Tum rerum facies, quum autumni frigore primo
Iam vernus ille pratis
Decessit decor ac languescunt lumina florum,
Iam iam minus niteteis
Herbas affirmes Boreasque geluque nocentis
Iam praetimere brumae.

In such circumstances, we begin, like the Trojans, to grow wise when it is too late, and we miserably bewail the waste of a life lived unthinkingly, we abhor and shudder at the shamefully spent years. What once pleased us – alas, only too much so – what formerly seemed sweet beyond all honey sweetness, now, as our hearts recall it, tortures us with bitter gall, and we are vainly tormented by the thought that such a rare resource has slipped away fruitlessly, a resource which we should have taken every conceivable care to invest well, so as to lose no part of it through recklessness.

But now, how large a part of my life have I drowsily given over to trifles – and such trifles, alas! Enough now of this dallying, poor wretch, enough of this slumbering! Now is the time, Erasmus, to shake off sleep; now is the time to wake up and come to your senses with your mind totally alert. From now on, with all sails set and riding full tilt, with tooth and nail, with every ounce of strength, we must strive by vigilant effort to make good the loss of time past, to make up for the years that have rolled away, to do so while we still can and while we are standing only at the very threshold of gloomy old age, while this new greyness which can still be counted, these temples marked with only a few white hairs, are still proclaiming only that the time of vigorous youth has slipped away, while they do not so much testify that barren old age is actually present as announce that it has speeded up its pace and is approaching from afar. This is the way things seem at the first frost of autumn when that springtime beauty of the meadows has already departed, and the splendour of the flowers has waned, and you would swear that the grass, already less glossy, has forebodings of the north wind and the ice of destructive winter.

Ergo animus dum totus adhuc constatque vigetque
Et corporis pusillum
Detrimenta nocent, age iam meliora sequamur.
Quicquid mihi deinceps
Fata aevi superesse volent, id protinus omne
CHRISTO dicetur uni,
Quo, cui vel solidam decuit sacrarier, ut cui
Bis terque debeatur,
Principio gratis donata, hinc reddita gratis
Totiesque vindicata,
Huic saltem pars deterior breviorque dicetur.
Posthac valete, nugae
Fucataeque voluptates risusque iocique,
Lusus et illecebrae,
Splendida nobilium decreta, valete, sophorum,
Valete, syllogismi,
Blandae Pegasides animosque trahentia Pithus
Pigmenta flosculique.
Pectore iam soli toto penitusque dicato
Certum est vacare CHRISTO.
Hic mihi solus erit studium dulcesque Camoenae,
Honos, decus, voluptas.
Omnia solus erit, neque quicquam ea cura (quod aiunt)
Movebit Hippoclidem,
Terrea si moles compagoque corporis huius
Marcescet obsolescens,
Mens modo pura mihi scelerumque ignara per illum
Niteatque floreatque,
Donec summa dies pariter cum corpore mentem
Ad pristinum novata
Convictum revocabit et hinc iam vere perenni
Pars utraque fruetur.
Haec facito ut rata sint, vitae exorabilis autor
Vitaeque restitutor,
Quo sine nil possunt unquam mortalia vota et
Vires labant caducae.

Therefore, while the mind is still intact, firm, and strong, and the weaknesses of the body do only a little harm, come, let us now pursue a better course. Whatever remaining time the Fates wish to allot me, let it be from now on dedicated to Christ alone, so that he, who should have had my whole life consecrated to himself, who can claim it twice and thrice over, who bestowed it freely in the beginning and then restored it freely and rescued it so often, may at least have the poorer and shorter part of it dedicated to him. From now on, farewell, trifles and spurious pleasures, laughter and jests, frivolity and enticements. Farewell, brilliant dogmas of eminent philosophers. Farewell, syllogisms, delightful Muses, mind-winning colours and flowers of the goddess Persuasion. Now I am firmly resolved, with all the dedication of my heart and soul, to have time only for Christ. To me he alone will be study and sweet Muses, honour, glory, pleasure. He alone will be all things, and (like Hippocleides, as they say) I will not be at all concerned if the earthly bulk and the fabric of this body shrivels as it fades away, as long as through him I have shining and flourishing within me a pure mind and a sinless conscience, until the last day renews both body and mind and makes them live together as intimately as they once did long ago, so that thenceforth both parts together will enjoy a perpetual springtime.

Grant that these things may happen in due course, O creator of our life who hears our prayers, O restorer of our life, without whom the desires of mortals can do nothing and their powers collapse and fall.

3 Erasmus ad Ioannem Sapidum suum, in discessu

[August 1514 / December 1514]

Quando distrahimur, absens absentis amici,
  Candide Ioannes, hoc tibi pignus habe,
Quoque magis spatium seiunget corpora nostra,
  Mutuus hoc propius pectora iungat amor.

[Dedicatory letter to poem 4]

ILLUSTRISSIMO PUERO DUCI HENRICO
ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS S.P.D.

Meminisse debes, Henrice Dux illustrissime, eos qui te gemmis aurove honorant, dare primum aliena, quippe fortunae munera, praeterea caduca, deinde qualia quam plurimi mortales possint elargiri, postremo quae tibi ipsi domi abundent quaeque donare aliis quam accipere magno principi longe sit pulchrius. At qui carmen suo ingenio, suis vigiliis elucubratum nomini tuo dicat, is mihi non paulo praestantiora videtur offerre; utpote qui non aliena, sed propria largiatur, nec paucis annis intermoritura, sed quae gloriam etiam tuam immortalem queant efficere, tum ea quae perquam pauci possint donare (neque enim pecuniosorum et bonorum poetarum par copia), denique quae non minus sit regibus pulchrum accipere quam remunerari. Et opibus quidem nemo non regum abundavit, nominis immortalitatem non ita multi sunt assequuti; quam quidem illi pulcherrimis facinoribus emereri possunt, at soli vates eruditis carminibus praestare; siquidem et ceras et imagines et stemmata et aureas statuas et incisos in aes titulos et operosas pyramidas longa annorum series demolitur, sola poetarum monumenta ipsa aetate, quae res omneis debilitat, invalescunt. Quod prudenter intelligens Alexander ille, cognomento Magnus, a Cherylo, poeta non admodum sane bono, singulos versiculos tolerabileis singulis Philippicis ex pacto redimebat. Prospiciebat nimirum et Apellis tabulas et

3 Erasmus to his friend Johann Witz, at their parting

Now that we are torn apart, my sincere friend
Johann, in your absence keep this token of
your absent friend. The wider the distance that
separates our bodies from each other, the more
closely may our mutual love join our hearts
together.

[Dedicatory letter to poem 4]

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS BOY, DUKE HENRY,
FROM ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM, GREETINGS

You ought to remember, most illustrious Duke Henry, that those persons who honour you with jewels or gold are giving you, first, what is not their own, for such gifts belong to Fortune and are, moreover, perishable; further, they are such as very many mortals can amply bestow; and lastly they are things which you yourself possess in abundance and which it is much finer for a great prince to give than to receive. But someone who dedicates to you a poem which is the fruit of his own talent and sleepless toil offers, it seems to me, a present that is more distinguished by far, since he lavishes upon you what belongs to himself, not to another, something which will not fade away in a few years but can even bring you everlasting renown and which few indeed can bestow (for the supply of good poets by no means matches that of wealthy men) and which, finally, it is as fine for kings to receive as to reward. And while there never was a king who was not overflowing with riches, not so many have achieved immortal fame. Kings can indeed earn such fame by their glorious deeds, but poets alone can confer it through their learned lays, for waxen effigies and portraits and genealogies and golden statues and inscriptions on bronze and pyramids laboriously reared, these things decay in the long course of the years; only the poets' memorials grow strong with the lapse of time, which weakens everything else. The Alexander surnamed the Great showed a wise understanding of this fact when he purchased merely tolerable verses at a *Philippus* apiece, as he had agreed, from Choerilus, not a very good poet, to be sure. He foresaw, doubtless, that the paintings by Apelles and the statues by Lysippus would be

Lysippi statuas paucis annis interituras, nec quicquam omnino fortium virorum memoriam aeternam posse reddere praeter immortalitate dignas eruditorum hominum literas, nec ullum esse gloriae genus syncerius ac praestantius quam quod a posteris virtuti datur hominum, non fortunae, non ab amore, non a metu, non ab assentatione, sed libero iudicio profectum. Age iam, qui malos versus tam chare prodigus emit, nonne optet Homericos non singulis aureis, sed singulis urbibus emercari? Quem quidem poetam et in delitiis habuisse et Achilli invidisse legitur, beatum illum pronuncians non solum virtute, sed potissimum tali virtutum suarum praecone.

Quanquam non me clam est hac nostra memoria principes plerosque literis tam non delectari quam eas non intelligunt; qui utrunque iuxta ineptum existimant, imo pudendum, optimatem virum vel scire literas vel a literatis laudari, quasi vero sint ipsi vel cum Alexandro, vel cum Caesare, vel omnino cum ullo veterum aut gravitate aut sapientia aut benefactorum gloria conferendi. Ineptum putant a poeta laudari, quia desierunt facere laudanda, nec tamen a gnatonibus suis laudari refugiunt; a quibus rideri se aut sciunt, aut id si nesciunt, stultissimi sint oportet. Quos quidem ego vel ipso Mida stolidiores iudico, qui asininis auriculis deturpatus est, non quod carmina contemneret, sed quod agrestia praeferret eruditis. Midae itaque non tam animus defuit quam iudicium; at his nostris utrunque. A quorum stultitia quum intelligerem generosam tuam indolem vehementer abhorrere, dux clarissime, eoque iam nunc a puero tuos conatus spectare, ut non tam tuorum temporum quam veterum similis evadere cupias, non veritus sum hunc qualemcunque panegyricum nomini tuo nuncupare. Qui si tuae celsitudini longe impar (ut est) videbitur, memineris facito et Artaxersem, regem praestantissimum, aquam a rusticano quodam operario, quam ille manu utraque haustam obequitanti obtulerat, hilarem subridentemque accepisse, et eiusdem nominis alium (ut opinor) pro malo a pauperculo quopiam allato perinde ut pro magnificentissimo munere gratias egisse, ratum videlicet non minus esse regale parva prompte accipere quam magna munifice elargiri. Quid? Nonne etiam superi ipsi, qui nullis mortalium opibus egent, ita muneribus huiusmodi delectantur ut contempta interim divitum hecatombe rusticana mica et thusculo paupere

destroyed in a few years and that nothing on earth could make a brave man's memory live forever except those learned authors' writings which were themselves worthy of immortality and that there was no purer or more brilliant fame than that which posterity attributes to men's courage, not to their fortune, fame that proceeds from untrammelled judgment, not from affection or fear or flattery. Tell me now, would not a man who so wastefully purchases bad verses at such a high price be glad to contract for lines by Homer not at a gold coin apiece but at a city apiece? And indeed we read that Alexander delighted in Homer and envied Achilles, declaring that he was blessed not only in his valour but also in having such a one as Homer to sing its praises.

At the same time I am not unaware that in our times most princes lack the enjoyment of literature in proportion to their failure to understand it. They think it equally foolish, equally shameful indeed, for a nobleman either to know literature or to be praised by men of letters, though, of course, they are not to be compared with Alexander or Caesar or any of the ancients at all, either in dignity or wisdom or in glorious services to mankind. They think it is foolish to be praised by a poet for the simple reason that they have ceased to do praiseworthy deeds, though they do not shrink from the flattery of their toadies. Either they know such flatterers are mocking them – that is, they do if they have any sense – or if they do not, they are perfect fools themselves. In my opinion at least, they are stupider than Midas himself, who was disfigured with ass's ears not because he despised poetry but because he preferred crude to polished verse. Thus Midas was not so much mindless as tasteless; the nobles of our time are both. Because I am aware that your noble nature, most illustrious Duke, recoils from such folly and that from boyhood onward you have made it the goal of your endeavours to model your life on ancient rather than modern ideals, I have ventured to dedicate this laudatory poem, such as it is, to you. And if it should seem far inferior to your royal dignity, as indeed it is, pray remember the smiling good humour with which Artaxerxes himself, mightiest of kings, accepted the water that a country workman lifted up in his cupped hands for him to drink on horseback, or how another king of the same name, I believe, expressed his thanks for an apple brought to him by a poor little man in exactly the same terms he might have used for a sumptuous gift, evidently thinking that it is a no less royal trait to accept small gifts readily than to bestow great gifts generously. Indeed, do not the powers above, who have no need for the wealth of mortals, take such pleasure in these small gifts that upon occasion they spurn the rich man's offering of a hundred

placentur, animo nimirum offerentis, non rerum precio, nostra donaria metientes.

Et haec quidem interea tanquam ludicra munuscula tuae pueritiae dicavimus, uberiora largituri ubi tua virtus una cum aetate accrescens uberiorem carminum materiam suppeditabit. Ad quod equidem te adhortarer, nisi et ipse iam dudum sponte tua velis remisque (ut aiunt) eo tenderes et domi haberes Skeltonum, unum Britannicarum literarum lumen ac decus, qui tua studia possit non solum accendere sed etiam consummare. Bene vale, et bonas literas splendore tuo illustra, autoritate tuere, liberalitate fove.

4

Ode Erasmi Roterodami de laudibus Britanniae Regisque Henrici septimi ac regiorum liberorum, carmine hexametro et iambico trimetro acatalectico

[late September? 1499 / 1500]

Britannia loquitur.

Si iactare licet magnorum munera divum
Sibique veris fas placere dotibus,
Quur mihi non videar fortunatissima tellus?
Digna est malis, bona quae parum novit sua.
Ultima lanigeris animosa est India lucis,
Suis superbus est Arabs odoribus,
Thuriferis gaudet Panchaia dives harenis,
Ibera flumen terra iactat aureum,
Aegypto faciunt animos septem ostia Nili,
Laudata Rheni vina tollunt accolas,
Laeta nec uberibus sibi displicet Africa glebis,
Haec portubus superbit, illa mercibus.
At mihi nec fontes nec ditia flumina desunt
Sulcive pingues prata nec ridentia.

oxen and are satisfied with the peasant's pinch of salt, the poor man's fragment of incense? – for they doubtless assess what we give not by the value of the offering but by the intention of the offerer.

And so for the time being I have dedicated this small gift to you as a toy suited to your boyish age, intending to bring richer offerings when your powers, increasing with your years, will furnish me with richer themes for my verse. Certainly I would urge you on toward this goal, except that you yourself, of your own accord, are already making your way there by sail and oar, as the saying goes, and that you have living with you Skelton, the great light and ornament of English letters, who can not only inspire but also perfect your studies. Farewell. May you make learned writing illustrious by your own splendour, defend it by your authority, and encourage it by your generosity.

4 An ode by Erasmus of Rotterdam in praise of Britain and of King Henry VII and the royal children, in hexameters and iambic trimeters acatalectic

Britannia speaks.

If it is permissible to boast of the gifts
bestowed by the mighty gods and if it is right
to have a favourable opinion of oneself
because of genuine endowments, why should I
not think I am the most fortunate land of all?
A country that does not recognize its
advantages deserves its afflictions. India, at the
very edge of the world, takes pride in her
cotton-bearing groves; Arabia is proud of her
perfumes; wealthy Panchaia rejoices in her
incense-bearing sands; Iberia vaunts its golden
river; Egypt glories in the seven mouths of the
Nile; the inhabitants of the Rhine valley exult
in its famous wines; and Africa takes no little
pleasure in the rich farmlands with which she
is blessed. One land is proud of its ports,
another of its commerce. But I have no lack of
springs and wealthy rivers or of rich furrows or
of laughing meadows. I am teeming with men,

Foeta viris, foecunda feris, foecunda metallis,
Ne glorier quod ambiens largas opes
Porrigit Oceanus, neu quod nec amicius ulla
Caelum nec aura dulcius spirat plaga.
Serus in occiduas mihi Phoebus conditur undas,
Sororque nocteis blanda ducit lucidas.
Possem ego laudati contemnere vellera Betis:
Ubi villus albis mollior bidentibus?
Et tua non nequeam miracula temnere, Memphi,
Verum illa maior iustiorque gloria,
Quod Latiis, quod sum celebrata Britannia Graiis,
Orbem vetustas quod vocavit alterum.
Non tamen haec iacto, nam sunt antiqua, sed inde
Attollo cristas ac triumpho serio,
Quod mihi rex pulchri pars est pulcherrima regni,
Rex unicum huius saeculi miraculum.
Instructus pariter Martisque et Palladis armis,
Belli peritus, pacis est amantior.
Indulgens aliis, sibi nil permittit; habenas
Suis relaxans civibus, stringit sibi.
Hoc regnum ille putat: patriae charissimus esse,
Blandus bonis, solis timendus impiis.
Non Deciis sua Roma, suo non Attica Codro
Pluris fuit, fatis redempta mutuis.
Numinis ac caeli tanta est reverentia, quanta
Nec erat Metello nec marito Aegeriae.
Non mellita magis Pylio facundia regi,
Nec Caesari mens maior aut sublimior,
Nec Mecoenati vel dextra benignior unquam
Vel sanguinis tam magna parsimonia.
Creditus Aeneas Veneris de semine cretus,
Dictus parente Scipio satus Iove.

abundant with game, abounding in metals – not to boast of the copious riches proffered by the surrounding ocean or of friendlier skies and balmier breezes than in any other region. For me Phoebus vanishes late under the western waves and his charming sister brings on bright nights. I could scorn the fleeces of much-praised Baetica; where do the white sheep have softer wool than mine? And I could scorn your wonders, too, Memphis, not without good grounds, but there is more ample and more genuine glory in this fact: I, Britannia, was celebrated among the Latins and the Greeks, and the ancients called me a second world.

But still, I do not boast of these things, for they are ancient history, but rather I plume myself and triumph in earnest because of this: my king is the most beautiful part of a beautiful kingdom, a king who is the unparalleled wonder of these times. Equally trained in the weapons of both Mars and Athena, he is an expert in warfare, but an even greater lover of peace. Indulgent to others, he is strict with himself; giving his citizens free rein, he keeps a tight rein on himself. He thinks that kingship consists in this: to be most beloved in the eyes of his native land, to be mild to good men, to be feared only by the wicked. To the Decii their Rome was not more dear, nor Athens more dear to her Codrus – men who gave their lives to save their fatherlands. And he has more reverence for the God of heaven than Metellus or the husband of Egeria. In honeyed eloquence he is not surpassed by the king of Pylos; in greatness and loftiness of mind he is a match for Caesar; nor was Maecenas ever more open-handed in patronage or as parsimonious in bloodshed. Aeneas was thought to be sprung from the seed of Venus; Scipio was said to be begotten by his true father Jove. What if ancient ages

Quid si prisca meum vidissent saecula regem,
Hoc ore tam decente, tali pectore?
Nonne Iovem humanis ipsum succurrere rebus
Nostro latentem credidissent corpore?
Atque hic semper erit magni mihi numinis instar,
Meus hic Apollo saeculi pater aurei.
Hoc oriente meis gens ferrea cessit ab oris,
Fraudes reversa Astrea distulit malas,
Non secus ac toto vanescunt sydera caelo
Simul ore Titan emicavit igneo.
Claudere iam Ianum fas est, iam ducere longas
Custode rerum tam potente ferias.
Me miseram, quur huic aeternos Iuppiter annos
Non addidisti, cuncta quum donaveris?
Nolunt nostra suis aequari numina regnis.
At si qua magnos vota tangunt caelites,
Serus sydereas certe referatur in arces,
Fatale sera stamen amputet Atropos.
Finiit Alcides speciosos morte labores,
Debetur altum regibus caelum bonis.
Hunc repetant superi, sed tum, quum Nestoris aevum,
Ubi senectam vicerit Tithoniam.
Et vivet tamen usque mihi, dum regia proles
Referet parentis nomen, os et indolem.
Quae mihi purpureis iam quina adolescit in aulis,
Regum futuri tres patres, matres duae.
Non aliter pictis Pesti vernantis in hortis
Almo nitentes rore pubescunt rosae,
Formosae Veneri flos acceptissimus, et quo
Nec spirat alter aut renidet blandius,
Nec cui nexilibus sit gratia tanta coronis,
Ambire solus regiam dignus comam.

could have seen my king, this handsome countenance, such a noble heart? Would they not have thought Jove himself had come to aid mankind, disguising himself in a body like ours? And to me certainly this king will always be the counterpart of a mighty god; he will be my Apollo, the father of the golden age. When this king rose, the race of iron departed from my shores. Astraea returned and drove away malicious deceit, just as the stars vanish from the whole sky as soon as the fiery face of Titan flashes forth. Now it is right to close the doors of Janus; now is the time, under such a powerful guardian of our affairs, to take a long holiday. Ah, woe is me, Jupiter, since you endowed this man with all gifts, why did you not add an endless lifetime? The gods do not wish our kingdoms to be equal to theirs. But if any prayers can touch the hearts of the great powers on high, may it be a long time indeed before he is taken back to the palaces among the stars, a long time before Atropos cuts off his fatal thread. Hercules capped his splendid labours with his death; good kings deserve their reward in the heights of heaven. Let the powers above take back this king, but not until his life has grown longer than Nestor's and he has surpassed the old age of Tithonus.

But even then he will still go on living for me as long as his royal offspring reflect the name, the features, and the character of their father. I have five of them now growing up at the resplendent court, three who will be fathers of kings, two who will be royal mothers. They are growing up like roses in the bright-coloured gardens of Paestum in the springtime, glowing with life-giving dew, like the favourite flower of fair Venus, the rose, which surpasses all flowers in fragrance and seductive hue, of which the most beautiful wreaths are woven, which is the only flower worthy of aspiring to

Hic ubi cultoris lasciva industria docti
Miscere gaudet punicanteis candidis
Plurimaque in spina rutilat rosa et albicat una,
Ut lacteum si murici iungas ebur,
Omnibus idem odor est, ros omneis educat idem,
Eadem iuventa, forma par, idem frutex,
Atque eadem tellus succo nutricat eodem,
Foventur auris iisdem, eodem sydere.
Sunt duo quae variant cognataque germina pulchro,
Aetas colorque, dividunt discrimine.
Haec modo nata latet prope cortice tota virenti,
Tenuique rima tenera lucet purpura.
Haec nivei tantum fastigia protulit oris,
Sensim at dehiscens turgidos rumpit sinus.
Exerit haec totum discissa veste mucronem,
Clausas minata iam comas evolvere.
Illaque lacteolos nondum exinuavit amictus,
Vix credit auris tam rudeis adhuc opes,
Candida sed tenui suffunditur ora rubore,
Seu fratris hic est sive syderis color.
Maxima bis seno foliorum gaudet honore,
Tyrio micantes explicans ostro comas.
Non sic lana rubet bis concha imbuta marina,
Non sic Eois Phoebus emergens aquis.
Nec solum arridet pulchro venientibus ore,
Luteola sed iam pollicetur semina.
Hic meus Arcturus qui nominis omine felix
Virtute reddet quem refert vocabulo.
Aspice quod specimen generosae frontis in illo est,
Ut lucet oculis vividus mentis vigor.

crown the locks of kings and queens. Here, where the expert gardener, amusing himself at his task, delights in mingling the red with the white, where many roses glow red and white on one thorny stem, like crimson stain applied to milk-white ivory, they all have the same fragrance, all are fostered by the same dew; they share the same youth, the same beauty, the same stem; the same plot of earth nourishes them all with the same moisture, the same breezes cherish them, the same sunlight warms them. There are two things that distinguish them from each other, making a beautiful contrast among kindred buds: their age and their colour.

This newborn bud is almost totally concealed by its green sheath; only a thin slit lets the tender red shine out. This one displays its snow-white countenance only at the topmost tip, gradually splitting open and breaking forth from the swelling fold of its garment. This one has torn open its clothing and unsheathed its whole bud, giving signs now of unfolding its closed petals. That one has not yet unfolded its milk-white vesture, hardly entrusting to the breezes such riches as yet unripened, white but with a slightly flushed countenance, whether in this she has something of her brother's colouring or has it from the star. The largest rose exults in the glory of twelve petals, unfolding its gleaming, bright-red locks, more glowing red than wool twice steeped in dye made from molluscs or than Phoebus when he emerges from the waters of the dawn. Its fair countenance not only smiles on those who approach it, but its yellow down already gives promise of seed.

This is my Arthur, whose name is a happy omen and who makes good the valour ascribed to him by that appellation. Behold what a noble forehead he has! See how the lively

Praecoqua nec tardam expectat sapientia pubem,
Praevertit annos indoles ardens suos.
Talis Iesides illique simillima proles,
Hic quum timendas dissecat puer feras,
Haec quando ancipitem potuit dissolvere litem
Malamque fraudem fraude docta prodere.
Proxima consequitur nymphe quae nomina ducit
Ab unione, Persici foetu maris.
Omine delector: blando candore lapillus
Placet, pudore Margarita lacteo.
Hic teres est nec inaequali levore rotundus,
In Margaritae moribus scabrum nihil.
Est nova cum liquido gemmae cognatio caelo:
Claret sereno sole, pallet nubilo.
At mea virgo piis est addictissima divis
Caelumque mavult quam vagum pelagus sequi.
Hanc qui cum sociis vidisset ludere nymphis
Habilique fratrem tela torquentem manu,
'Aureus hic Phoebus, soror haec argentea Phoebi est,'
Per ipsa iuret alma Phoebi lumina.
Iam puer Henricus genitoris nomine laetus,
Monstrante fonteis vate Skeltono sacros,
Palladias teneris meditatur ab unguibus arteis.
Quam multus illi lucet in vultu pater!
Talis in Ascanio renitebat imago parentis,
Sic pulchram Achilles ore reddebat Thetin.
Nescio quid Maria praeclari spondet ab ipso
Nunquam occidentis syderis cognomine.
Sed cunas, Edmonde, tuas quo carmine dicam?
Adeste plectris huc, sorores, aureis
Et puero fidibus placidos accersite somnos

vigour of his mind shines in his eyes. Wisdom cannot wait for the slow years to make him a man but comes to him early; his fervent nature outstrips his years. He is like the son of Jesse and most like the offspring of David: like David when as a boy he cut terrifying wild beasts to pieces; like Solomon when he was able to resolve a doubtful case, skilful in using wise deception to expose malicious deceit. Next after him comes a maiden who takes her name from a pearl, such as is produced by the Persian sea. I am delighted by the omen of her name: the gem pleases us with its winning whiteness; Margaret, with her milk-white modesty. A pearl is smooth, evenly and perfectly round; Margaret's character is without any rough blemishes. The gem has a strange affinity with the open sky: it is bright if the sun is clear, pale if the sun is overcast. So too my maiden is most devoted to the holy saints and prefers to conform to heaven rather than to follow the shifting currents of the sea. Anyone who has seen her playing with her maiden companions and observed her brother shooting shafts with his expert hand would swear 'He is the golden Phoebus and she the silver sister of Phoebus' – would swear it by the bountiful light of Phoebus himself. Now comes the boy Henry, who rejoices in having his father's name; guided to the sacred springs by the poet Skelton, he has trained himself in the arts of Athena from his tenderest years. How much of his father shines forth in his countenance! So in Ascanius shone the image of Aeneas; so the face of Achilles reflected the beauty of Thetis. Mary gives promise of something quite splendid by the very fact of her name, taken from the star that never sets under the sea. But what cradle-song shall I sing for you, Edmund? Come, O Sisters, with your golden plucks and summon calm sleep for the

Ac fesceninis insonate versibus.
Muneribus blandis cunabula spargite, nymphae,
Aggerite, quicquid est odori graminis:
Ambrosiam, casiam calthamque thymumque crocumque
Et Syra amoma nec insuavem amaracum,
Tum florum mille species ac mille colores,
Sed plurima omneis inter ardeat rosa.
Hanc rubram, hanc niveam pulchris miscete corollis;
Gaudet paternis parva proles floribus.
Vos precor o puero date vellera candida, Parcae,
Eatque fausto molle stamen pollice.

5

Des. Erasmi Roterodami ad Gaguinum nondum visum, carmen hendecasyllabum

[c September 1495 / January 1496]

Alloquitur Musas suas.

Quid dum mittimini verenda ad ora
Gaguini, lacerae ac leves Camoenae,
Restatis trepidaeque pallidaeque
Nec non Parmeno uti Terentianus
Causas nectitis: 'ecquis? ecquid? ecquo?'
Vos solas adeo fugit Roberti
Nomen, scripta diserta cuius ingens
Novit, suspicit, ac adorat orbis?
'Ergo nos humilesque barbaraeque
Ad tanti patris irruemus altas
Docti, nobilis, ac potentis aedes?'
Magna est rusticitas, nihil pudere;
Summa est rusticitas, nimis pudere.
Ecquem fingitis, obsecro, Robertum?
Personam tragicam? Cavete cultum
Tam raris studiis et expolitum
Vulgi moribus aestimare pectus.
Sunt fastidia tetra barbarorum.

boy with your lyres and sing lullabies to him. Sprinkle the cradle, O nymphs, with sweet gifts, bring hither all fragrant herbs: tansy, lavender, and marigolds, both thyme and saffron, and Assyrian cardamom and delightful marjoram. Then bring flowers of a thousand kinds and a thousand colours, but among them all let the glowing rose be the most plentiful. Mingle now a red rose, now a white, in pretty garlands; the little child delights in the flowers of his forebears. And you, O Fates, I beg you, give the boy white wool for the thread of his life and let it run softly and smoothly over your thumb.

5 A hendecasyllabic poem by Erasmus of Rotterdam to Robert Gaguin, whom he had not yet met

He speaks to his Muses.

When you are sent to see the venerable countenance of Gaguin, O ragged and trifling Muses, why do you just stand there, trembling and pale, making up a chain of excuses like Terence's Parmeno: 'Who? What? Where?' Are you the only ones who are unaware of the name of Robert, whose learned writings the whole wide world knows, admires, and reveres?

'Are we lowly and barbarous creatures, then, to go rushing off to the lofty residence of this great father, so learned, noble, and mighty?'

It is very boorish to have no shame; it is most boorish of all to have too much. I ask you, what kind of person do you think Robert is? A stuffed shirt? Be careful not to follow vulgar standards in judging a mind cultivated and polished by such exceptional studies. Such harsh standoffishness is to be found among

Sunt commercia Gratiis solutis
Cum blando Aonidum choro sororum.
Vanum ponite pectoris timorem
Et doctum celeres adite vatem.
Vos quamvis humilesque barbarasque
Blando comiter ille candidoque
Exceptabit (ut est benignus) ore.
Si dictaque salute redditaque
Percontabitur illico 'unde, cuiae?'
Ne crassum pudeat solum fateri
Obscurive vocabulum magistri.
Si quid veneritis rogabit, hoc o-
ratum carminis huius ut poetam
Commendatum habeat suumque scribat.

6 In Annales Gaguini et Eglogas Faustinas, eiusdem carmen ruri scriptum et autumno

[autumn 1495 / January 1496]

Nuper quum viridis nemoroso in margine ripae
Irrigua spatiarer in herba,
Errabam tacitae per amica silentia sylvae,
Dulci tactus corda furore.
Iam nemora et fontes, iam rustica vita placebat
Turbam et fumida tecta peroso.
Cumque Marone meo gelidis in vallibus Hemi
Sisti terque quaterque precabar,
Quum subito affulgens Venerique simillima pulchrae
Obvia fit tua, Fauste, Thalia.
Protinus illa oculis est eminus agnita nostris,
Comi arrisit molliter ore.
Ut coram stetit, 'ecquid agit meus,' occupo, 'Faustus?
Quidve decus commune Gaguinus?'

barbarians. The untrammelled Graces associate with the winsome choir of the Heliconian sisters. Put this empty fear out of your hearts and hurry off to visit the learned poet. However lowly and barbarous you may be, he will receive you with a genial, courteous, and frank look, because he is kind. After you have exchanged greetings, if he goes right on to ask 'Where do you come from? To whom do you belong?' do not be ashamed to confess the uncultivated soil you come from or the obscure name of your master. If he asks why you have come, say you come to beg that he might consider the writer of this poem as commended to his service and might enroll him as one of his own.

6 A poem by the same author on the *Annals* of Gaguin and the *Eclogues* of Fausto, written in the countryside during the autumn

Recently, as I was strolling on the well-watered grass among the trees along the edge of the green bank of a stream, as I roamed in the friendly quiet of the silent trees, my heart was touched by a sweet rapture. Now I took pleasure in the groves and springs, now I enjoyed the life of the countryside, detesting the crowds and the smoky houses. And like my dear Virgil I was begging again and again to be set down in the cool valleys of the Haemus mountains, when suddenly, Fausto, I encountered your Muse Thalia, radiant and almost as beautiful as Venus herself. Even at a distance my eyes recognized her instantly; her face had a kind and tender smile.

When she stood before me, I spoke first: 'What is my friend Fausto doing, and Gaguin, the glorious friend we have in common, what is he about?'

'Vivit uterque, et uterque suo devinctus Erasmo
Aut eadem aut meliora precatur.'
'Gaudeo. Verum age dic, quidnam molitur uterque
Quod cantet schola Franca legatve?
Quae, reor, a tam ditibus atque feracibus arvis
Iamdudum annua munera sperat
Autumnumque suum.' 'Primum tuus ille Robertus
Exaequat sermone soluto
Stemmata Francorum et decus et fera praelia regum.
Iam nihil est, quod Gallia docto
Invideat Latio, suus ipsi contigit alter
Livius ac Salustius alter.'
'Quid tuus ille parat vates? Quonam monumento
Faustum nigris invidet umbris?
An silet, alterna cupiens recreare quiete
Longis hausta laboribus arva?'
'Ille quidem felix agit ocia, qualia quondam
Scipiades agitare solebat
Urbe procul tacitis solus, neque solus, in agris,
Ocia pulchri plena negoci.
Quippe inter colles vinetaque Gallica solus,
Parrisiis vagus errat in agris.
Sunt comites pingui gaudentes rure Camoenae.
Illic raptus Apolline toto
Et sese et Musis dignum Phoeboque poema
Agresti meditatur avena,
Quale nec aequari doleat sibi Tityrus ipse
Qui patulae sub tegmine fagi
Sylvestrem tenui tentabat arundine Musam,
Quale trahat camposque pecusque,
Quale queat rigidas deducere montibus ornos,
Sistere flumina, flectere saxa,

'Both are alive and well and both of them, devoted as they are to their Erasmus, hope that he is the same, or even better off.'

'I am delighted to hear it. But come now, tell me, what compositions have they undertaken for the learned community of France either to sing or to recite? For France, I imagine, has been expecting for some time the annual autumn harvest from such rich and fertile fields.'

'First, your friend Robert is doing justice in prose to the dynasties and glories and fierce battles of the French kings. Now France has no reason to envy learned Rome: she has another Livy, another Sallust of her own.'

'What is that poet of yours working on? With what literary monument does Fausto begrudge his name to the dark shades of the underworld? Or is he keeping silent out of a desire to reinvigorate, by means of a fallow interval, the fields exhausted by long labours?'

'He is indeed enjoying a happy time of leisure, as Scipio once enjoyed such a time of leisure, far from the city, alone – and yet not alone – in the silent fields, a leisure full of noble activity. In fact he is roaming and roving alone among the hills and vineyards of France, in the fields outside Paris. He is accompanied by the Muses, who delight in the fertile countryside. There, totally enraptured by Apollo, he is working out on his rustic oaten flute a poem worthy of himself and the Muses and Phoebus, a poem which Tityrus himself would not be sorry to see compared even with his own poems – the same Tityrus who tried out the thin reed-pipe of his rustic Muse under the shade of a spreading beech tree – a poem which draws to itself the fields and the cattle, which can draw the unbending ash trees down from the mountain slopes, stop rivers, move

Reddere quale queat placidos tigresque luposque,
    Quale feros evincere manes,
Denique (quod proprie tecum laetabere) castum:
    Nulla hic Livia, nulla Columba,
Nusquam hic formosum Corydon ardebit Alexin,
    Phyllis toto in carmine nulla,
Quod neque Sorbonae nequeat censura probare
    (Et multos habet illa Catones),
Quod neque grammaticus tenerae dictare iuventae
    Plagoso vereatur in antro,
Nec tetrico Hippolytum pudeat recitare parenti.
    Felicem ter et amplius illum,
Quisquis Faustina dicetur arundine Gallus,
    Vel Varus vel Pollio quisquis,
Vivet et aeternum pulchro cum carmine notus
    Quadrifido cantabitur orbe.'

7 Eiusdem in morbo de fatis suis querela

[spring? 1496 / 20 January 1497]

Miror, quae mihi sydera
    Nascenti implacido lumine fulserint,
O Gaguine meum decus.
    Nam seu iure aliquo nostra negotia
Ignes aetherei regunt,
    Me primum teneras lumen ad insolens
Aedentem querimonias
    Nec mitis rutilo sydere Iuppiter
Aspexit, neque prospera
    Arrisit radiis mi Venus aureis.
Tantum Mercurius celer
    Adfulgens nitidis eminus ignibus
Adflarat sua munera,
    Sed stella vetuit falcifer invida

stones, a poem which can render tigers and wolves tame, which can conquer the fierce shades in the underworld, and finally – something you will find especially delightful – a poem which is chaste: no Livia here, no Columba, no Corydon burning with love for the beautiful Alexis, not a Phyllis in the whole poem. It is a poem which even the censors of the Sorbonne could not help approving – and there's many a Cato among them – a poem which no schoolmaster would fear to recite to the tender youths in that den of his, full of the sound of whippings, a poem which Hippolytus would not be ashamed to recite to his stern father. Blessed, thrice blessed and more, is any Gallus who is celebrated by the pipe of Fausto, or any Varus or Pollio; he will live and, together with the beautiful poem, he will be known and sung forever to the four corners of the earth.'

7 A lamentation by the same author about his fate, written when he was ill

I am amazed at whatever stars shone down on me at my birth with such harsh light, O Gaguin, my glory. For if the fires in the heavens do rule our affairs with some binding law, the glittering star of Jupiter did not look kindly on me when I first uttered my feeble complaints at the unaccustomed light, nor did Venus smile favourably on me with her golden rays. Only swift Mercury, shining from afar with his clear beams, breathed his gifts into me, but he was thwarted by the baleful star

Vulcanique minax rubens
Rivalis, calidus cum gelido sene.
Seu tres terrigenum deae
Fortunas triplici numine temperant,
Sum durissima stamina
Sortitus. Volucrem seu potius deam
Versare omnia credimus,
Hanc in perniciem certe ego deierem
Coniurasse meam miser.
Felicis mihi nec fata Polycratis
Nec Scyllae precor improbus.
Arpinas toties consul iniquius
Fortunam insimulat suam,
Quae tot prospera, tot dulcia paululo
Fermento vitiaverit.
Ingrate ille quidem rusticus ac foro
Rerum nescius utier,
Alternas dominae qui queritur vices.
Sat felicem ego iudico,
Qui praesentia lenire potest mala
Actis prosperius memor
Ac sperare iterum iam fore, quod fuit.
At me matris ab ubere
Fati persequitur tristis et asperi
Idem ac perpetuus tenor.
In me, crediderim, proruit improbi
Pixis tota Promethei
Et quicquid stabulat triste vel asperum
Nigri in limine Tartari.
Heu quod simplicibus vatibus invidum
Numen, quis genius malus
Quaeve infesta novem Iuno sororibus
Sic nostrum caput impetit?
O fatis genite prosperioribus,
Bis, Gaguine, meum decus,
Hunc si tu minime temnis amiculum,
Non totus fuero miser,
Nec cedent gravibus pectora casibus.

with his sickle and by the threatening red rival of Vulcan, the hot-blooded god together with the cold old man.

Or if the three goddesses control the fortunes of earthborn men with their threefold divinity, I was allotted a very cruel thread of life.

Or if instead we believe that the winged goddess whirls everything around, I would certainly swear that she has plotted to destroy me in my misery.

I am not so outrageous as to ask for the fate of the fortunate Polycrates or Sulla. The Arpinate who so often became consul was wrong to assail Fortune just because she soured her many favours and sweet successes with a little touch of displeasure. Anyone who complains about the vicissitudes of lady Fortune is ungrateful and naive and does not know how to take the market as he finds it. I judge a person to be happy enough if he can mitigate present evils by remembering past successes and can hope that things will once again be what they were.

But from my mother's breast I have been dogged by the same unceasing round of sad and harsh misfortune. I have been assaulted, I would think, by the whole box of the wicked Prometheus and the kennel of sad and harsh afflictions at the threshold of the black underworld. Alas, what god hostile to simple poets, what evil genius of mine, what Juno full of hatred for the nine sisters pours down these troubles on my head?

O born to a happier fate, O Gaguin, my glory twice over, if you do not scorn this humble friend of yours, I will not be completely miserable, nor will my heart collapse under the burden of its misfortunes.

8 **Arx vulgo dicta Hammensis** [June 1506? / 8 January 1507]

Me, quia sim non magna, cave contempseris, hostis:
Arx Tarpeia Remi non mage tuta fuit.
Quam bene defensat primum hic qui sustinet agger,
Tum quae me cingit non inamoena palus!
Ista quidem omnigenos mihi commoda servit in usus,
At subito infusis, quum volo, stagnat aquis.
Iam vero ut cesset vigilum custodia pernox,
Stertat ut aerea Lynceus in specula,
Attamen excubias grus officiosa diurnas
Intus, nocte foris pervigil anser agit.
Grus neque docta nec admonita, speculantis ad aera
Responsans, acri clangit in astra tuba.
Et procul insidias (nam praesentire videtur)
Fida sono vigili prodit et arcet avis.
Anser item non doctus obit sua munia; quum fas
Pabulat, et nota ad symbola rursus adest.
Ast ubi vicino se condidit aequore Titan,
Milite tum denso moenia nostra subit,
Partiturque aliquis mira arte locosque vicesque
Quive aetate prior sorteve lectus erit.
Nec cedunt statione sua, dum rursus ab undis
Emicet et clarum lux agat alma diem.
Adde quod hic miles tam fidus et impiger annos
Complures nullo iam meret aere mihi.

8 The castle commonly called Hammes

Take care, enemy, not to hold me in contempt because I am not large. The Tarpeian citadel of Remus was not more safe than I am. How well am I defended, first of all by these ramparts which uphold me and then by the not unpleasant marsh which encircles me! Indeed this marsh is advantageous to me in all sorts of useful ways, but, whenever I wish, it can suddenly be flooded with water and become a standing lake. Even if the nightly watch should grow slack and the sharp-eyed sentinel should snore in the lofty watch-tower, the dutiful crane forms a guard within by day, and outside the wakeful goose keeps watch by night. The crane, neither instructed nor admonished, corresponding to the watchman's horn, sends his shrill trumpet notes up to the stars. This faithful bird betrays and wards off even distant infiltrators with his vigilant sound, for he seems to know about them ahead of time. The goose, likewise uninstructed, fulfils his duties. When it is proper he feeds, and at the well-known signals he is back once again. But when Titan disappears beneath the neighbouring ocean, then like dense soldiery they come up under my walls and one of them, chosen either by seniority or by lot, assigns with wondrous skill their stations and their turns at watch. Nor do they leave their posts until the sun springs up once more from the waters and everything becomes clear in the refreshing daylight. On top of that, this loyal and zealous soldiery has served me for many years without pay.

9

Epitaphium Odiliae figendum in cimiterio sub signo crucifixi

[July 1498? / 8 January 1507]

Sepulta vivum te salutat Odilia.
Quid ad sepultae verba mox fugit color?
Vivum saluto viva. Quur lubitum est rei
Placidae bonaeque dira dare vocabula?
Mala vita mors est et sepulchrum et inferi.
Una haec tibi timenda, si mortem times.
Nam quod vocant mori, est piis renascier.
Nostri peribit nihil et haud pilus, nisi
Perit feraci semen abditum scrobe,
Mox se benigno redditurum foenore.
Si rem putaris, quid mori est nisi seri?
Condi sepulchro, quid nisi occari sata?
Iamque in propinquo est ille fatalis dies,
Quum vere nostro flantibus Favoniis
⟨Haec ossa sicca, siccus hic cinisculus,⟩
Rediviva putri pullulabunt e cavo
Moxque emicabit laeta corporum seges,
Quorum viror perennis haud unquam amplius
Marcescet. Hanc in spem fidelis interim
Sopita gremio terra servat fragmina.
At mens caducis expedita vinculis,
Invisa quanquam, vivit ac te cominus
Sentit videtque, triplici discrimine
Vitae anteactae merita carpens praemia
Messemque pro semente quam fecit metens.
⟨Sua cuique nostrum nota sors, at vos latet.⟩
Bona pars relictis artubus circumvolans
Captat pias hac commeantium preces,
Ut a luendis expiata noxiis,
Quas terreo contraxit e contagio,

9 An epitaph for Odilia, to be set up at her burial place under a crucifix

You who are alive, Odilia greets you from her tomb. Why do you suddenly grow pale when you hear words spoken from the tomb? I who am alive greet you who are alive. Why do we decide to assign fearful names to something that is peaceful and good? A bad life is death and tomb and hell. If you fear death, this is the only death you should fear. For to the good what is called death is a rebirth. Nothing of us perishes, not a single hair, unless a seed perishes when it is hidden in a fruitful furrow, soon to return with a generous increase. If you consider the matter, what is it to die except to be planted? What is it to be laid away in the tomb except for the planted seeds to be harrowed? And even now that fated day is not far off when our springtime will come, the west wind will blow, and these dry bones, this handful of dry ashes, will return to life and sprout up from the mouldering hollows, and then the joyful crop of bodies will spring up forever strong and nevermore to wither.

Toward this hope, in the meanwhile, the faithful earth keeps in her lap the unconscious fragments. But the mind, freed when these shackles fall away, lives, though it is unseen. It perceives you, it sees you from close by. It receives its reward in one of three ways, according to the merits of its past life, and it will reap its harvest according to what it sowed. Each of us knows his lot, but it is hidden from you. A good number of us hover about the limbs we have left behind, longing to get the pious prayers of those who come and go here, so as to be purged of the offences that need to be expiated, offences contracted by earthly contagion, and to be able to rise

Iam pura purum adire possit aethera.
Has flagitato subleva precamine,
Memor vices te mox manere mutuas.
Pendentis alto victimae de stipite
Mors obsecranda est, obsecranda vulnera.
Hoc fonte si quod efficax piaculum
Vivisque manat, manat hinc et mortuis.
Si porro properas, tum precatus verbulo
Lucem et quietem, perge cursum. Te quoque
Para sepulchro, mox sequuturus. Vale.

10 Eiusdem querela de filio superstite [July 1498? / 8 January 1507]

Dictum erat ad sacras mihi nomen Odilia lymphas,
Idque mei solum iam superesse vides.
Caetera mors rapuit, cineres atque arida tantum
Terra parens gremio confovet ossa suo.
Quid tibi te dignum nisi te, mors saeva, precemur,
Scindere cui cordi est quae bene iunxit amor?
Iam nihil est charam a membris discerpere vitam;
Quiddam etiam dulci dulcius est anima.
Tu potes a gnato dilectam avellere matrem,
Impia, vel centum rumpere vincla potes.
Quos natura potens, te praeter in omnia victrix,
Mutua quos pietas, quos ita rara fides,
Quos mores placiti et dulcis concordia vitae
Tam bene, tam multis nexibus unierant,
Hos tu ut distraheres tollis sine pignore matrem,
Atque ita pars melior orba relicta mei est.
Sed bene, quod mors nostra scidit, tua, CHRISTE, resarcit,
Plusque boni reddit quam dedit ista mali.

pure into the pure heavens. Lift them up through the prayers they beg for. Remember that the same fate lies in store for you. Pray by the death of the victim hanging on the lofty tree, pray by his wounds. If from this fountain flows powerful expiation for the living, from there it also flows for the dead. And so, if you are in a hurry, say a little prayer for light and rest and go on your way. Prepare yourself, too, for your tomb, for you will soon follow after us. Farewell.

10 The same lady's lament about her son, who was still alive

I was given the name Odilia at the sacred font and, as you see, that is all that is left of me. Death has snatched away the rest, and mother earth fondles in her lap nothing but ashes and dry bones. O cruel Death, what fitting gift should we pray for you to have except yourself, since it is your pleasure to split what love has joined so well? Now it does not matter that my limbs have been bereft of life. For there is something that is sweeter than the sweet breath of life. You, O impious Death, have the power to tear a beloved mother from her son, the power to break innumerable bonds. Those who were joined by mighty nature (who conquers everything but you), those who were so firmly united by so many links, mutual affection, extraordinary faithfulness, agreeable habits, the harmony of a sweet life, those two you tore apart by taking the mother without the son and thus leaving my better part orphaned and bereft of me. But what was slashed apart by my death, your death, Christ, heals completely, and the evil done by that death, yours more than outweighs in good.

11 Respondet filius sub pictura Christi crucifixi, Moysi, et serpentis.

[July 1498? / 8 January 1507]

Vita fugax haud longa dedit divortia nostri:
En mors aequa tibi quod tulit ipsa refert.
Una duos pietas vivos bene iunxerat, ut nunc
Amborum cineres una recondit humus.
Amborum vultus tabula visuntur eadem;
Subripuit leto hoc ingeniosa manus.
At tu spectator, sortis memor omnibus aequae,
Haec saltem ex animo fundito vota sitis:
'CHRISTE, necis domitor ac vitae perpetis autor,
Iugem animis vitam morte repone tua.
Tu sacra illa silex, teretis quae verbere virgae
Vitaleis scatebras gentibus icta dedit,
Tuque salutiferum serpentis in arbore signum,
Quod veteris colubri cuncta venena domat.
Quin hodieque piis vitae fons ille perennis
Pectore defosso sanguis et unda scatet.
Ille dat exanimes reduci recalescere flatu,
Haec animae maculas abluit omnigenas.
His age muneribus dulci cum pignore matrem
In dextrum referens assere, CHRISTE, gregem.'

12 In filiam Bekae, quod sonat rivum lingua nostrate

[1502–4 / 8 January 1507]

Sum Gulielma, patre Arnoldo cognomine Beka; is
Iuris fons gemini, non modo rivus erat.
Cui, gener Antoni, placuisti ex omnibus unus,

11 The son replies from under a picture representing Christ crucified, Moses, and the serpent.

Fleeting life did not keep us separated for long. Behold, what death took from you it justly gives back. Single-hearted affection joined the two of us firmly in life, just as a single plot of earth now conceals the ashes of us both. Both our faces are seen in one and the same painting; this much was snatched from death by the skilful hand of the craftsman. But you, O onlooker, remember the fate that comes equally to all. At least pour forth from your heart this prayer for those buried here: 'O Christ, victor over death and source of everlasting life, restore by your death perpetual life to their souls. You are that rock which gave forth living streams to the nations when it was struck by the polished staff. You are the salvific sign of the serpent on the tree, which overcomes all the venom of the ancient serpent. Indeed, to this very day you are for the faithful that perennial fountain; from your pierced side flow blood and water. That blood makes the dead grow warm again and restores the breath of life; this water washes from the soul all manner of stains. Come then, by these gifts of yours, Christ, when you raise up the mother and her sweet son, claim them for the flock at your right hand.'

12 On the daughter of Beka, which in our language means 'brook'

I am Wilhelmina, surnamed Beka after my father Arnold. In his mastery of the twin laws he was not only no mere brook: he was a spring. You, Antoon, as his son-in-law, were the one who pleased him above all the others;

Isbrandum referens ore animoque patrem.
Nec minus est mea vita tibi quam forma probata;
Templa, domus, proles, haec mea cura fuit.
Quatuor enixam pueros totidemque puellas
Mors rapit intra aevi septima lustra mei.
Lector, age huic requiem cinerique animaeque precatus
Vive diu, imo diu est hic nihil, ergo bene.

13 Epitaphium Margaretae Honorae

[1497–9? / 8 January 1507]

Hic sita Margareta est, merito cognomine Honora,
Fiscini, tedis digna, Guihelme, tuis.
Quam bene congruerant et forma et pectus et anni
Et ne morte quidem dissoluendus amor.
Rapta sed est viridis primaevo in flore iuventae,
Ut rosa lacteolis semadaperta comis.
Dimidius superest dulci sine coniuge coniunx,
Moerens ut viduus compare turtur ave.

14 Episcopo Traiectensi David, notho Philippi ducis Borgondionum

[May? 1496 / 8 January 1507]

Hic situs est praesul, non tantum nomine, David,
Digna patre proles, magne Philippe, tua.
Iste gregem plusquam patria pietate fovebat,
Pacis amans, virtuti ingeniisque favens.

you bring to mind your father Ysbrandtsz, both in looks and temperament. You approved no less of my way of life than of my person; church, home, children – these were my concerns. After I had borne four boys and as many girls, death snatched me away in the first half of my fourth decade. Come now, reader, when you have said a prayer for the rest of both my ashes and my soul, live long – nay, nothing here is long – therefore live well.

13 An epitaph for Margaret Honora

Here is Margaret laid to rest, deserving of her surname Honora, worthy of your hand in marriage, William Fiscinius. In her how well were matched beauty and understanding and years and love, love which not even death can dissolve. But she was snatched away in the first flowering of her vigorous youth, like a rose that has only half opened its milk-white petals. Without his sweet wife her husband remains behind, half what he was, mourning like a turtle-dove bereaved of its mate.

14 For David, bishop of Utrecht, the illegitimate son of Philip, duke of Burgundy

Laid to rest here is David, who was a bishop in more than name. Mighty Philip, he was a worthy scion of you, his father. He cherished his flock with a more than fatherly devotion. He was a lover of peace and a patron of virtue and of gifted men.

15 Eidem [May? 1496 / 8 January 1507]

Hic David ille, duci proles iactanda Philippo.
  Commissum patrio fovit amore gregem.

16 Iacobo Batto, Graeco dimetro iambico [1502 / 8 January 1507]

Ἰάκωβε Βάττε, θάρσεο,
Καλῶς θανὼν παλιμφύει.

17 Iidem Latini versus [1502 / 8 January 1507]

Iacobe Batte, ne time,
Bene moriens renascitur.

18 In tergo codicis Battici [before 1502 / 8 January 1507]

Sum Batti. Qui me manibus subduxerit uncis,
  Huic ne quo Battus defuat opto loco.

19 Duo salina argentea abbati cuidam dono missa a monialibus monasterii vulgo dicti Vallis virginum [autumn 1497? / 8 January 1507]

Virginea de valle duo sine labe salilla
  Adsumus; hanc mensam non nisi pura decent.

In altero salino

Virginitas nitor argenti, sapientia sal est.
  Virgo dat argentum, tu, pater, adde salem.

15 For the same man

Here lies David, a scion of whom Duke Philip should be proud. With fatherly love he cherished the flock committed to his charge.

16 To Jacob Batt, in Greek iambic dimeters

Jacob Batt, take heart; whoever dies well is born again.

17 The same verses in Latin

Jacob Batt, have no fear; whoever dies well is born again.

18 On the back of a codex belonging to Batt

I belong to Batt; if anyone takes me away in his grasping claws, I hope that, wherever it may be, he may not lack a Battus.

19 Two silver salt-cellars, sent as a gift to a certain abbot by the nuns of the convent commonly called Maidendale

Here we are, two salt-cellars without flaw, come from Maidendale. For this table only the pure is fitting.

On the second salt-cellar

Shining silver stands for maidenhood; salt, for wisdom. A maiden gives the silver; you, father, add the salt.

20 In sex tintinabula restituta, quae fulmine conflagrarant

[1497–1501? / 8 January 1507]

Concinimus sex aera, at ego cui maxima vox est
Alpha et ω Triadi rite dicata vocor.
Nos aedemque sacram Scasti pia cura Girardi
Praesulis absumptam fulmine restituit.

In tintinabulum Mariae sacrum

Aenea mi vox est, ac sic nulla aenea vox est,
Ut par Christiparae laudibus esse queat.

In idem

Maria nomen inditum est mihi mutuum,
Qua trinitati nil sedet vicinius.

Tertium Baptistae sacrum

Vox clamantis erat, cuius gero nomina; plebem
Ad CHRISTI cultum nocte dieque voco.

Quartum Petro sacrum

Petro sacra fugo cacodaemonas, arceo fulmen,
Funeraque et festos cantibus orno dies.

Quintum Magdalenae sacrum. Scazon

Sum Magdalenae; iuvit impium fulmen,
Meliora quando cuncta dat pius praesul.

20 On six bells that were recast after they were ruined in a fire caused by lightning

We six bronze bells ring together in harmony, but I who have the biggest voice am called the alpha and the omega and am rightly dedicated to the Trinity. We and the holy church building destroyed by lightning were restored through the pious solicitude of the prelate Gerard Scastus.

On the bell sacred to Mary

I have a voice of bronze, but there is no voice of bronze that can be equal to the task of praising her who gave birth to Christ.

On the same

The name I have been given is borrowed from Mary, for no one has a seat closer to the Trinity than she does.

The third, sacred to the Baptist

I bear the name of one who was a voice crying out; I call the people night and day to the worship of Christ.

The fourth, sacred to Peter

Sacred to Peter, I put the evil demons to flight; I ward off lightning; with my song I adorn both funerals and feast-days.

The fifth, sacred to the Magdalen, in scazons

I belong to the Magdalen; the wicked lightning bolt had a good effect, since the pious prelate renders everything better than before.

Sextum omnibus sanctis sacrum

Exilis mihi vox, sed quae ferit eminus aures;
  Dat mihi caelicolum nomina tota cohors.

Aliter

Non mihi Dodones, non aera prophana Corinthi
  Certent, nam cunctis tinnio caelitibus.

21 In aulicum quendam clero infestum [8 January 1507]

Ursalus ecce Midas, sed Lydo stultior illo,
  Se properat quovis nobilitare modo
Et furit in clerum; capit hinc exordia famae
  Eque Mida subito vertitur in Phalarim.
Sic quondam exusto peperit sibi nomina templo,
  Credo, autor generis Graeculus ille mali.
Tam stolidam mentem nullis aboleveris undis,
  At rabiem solus tollere mucro queat.

22 In eundem [8 January 1507]

Tam stolidum, credo, nec te, Mida, pectus habebat,
  Malce, nec in clerum tam violentus eras,
Quam quidam – non est sententia dicere nomen,
  Nam famam affectat qualibet ille via.
Huic utinam aut aliquis asininas addat Apollo
  Aut ambas Petrus demetat auriculas,
Aut certe crepet ipse magis faciatque paterni
  Quod cognomenti syllaba prima monet.

The sixth, sacred to all the saints

My voice is thin but it strikes the ear from afar; the whole host of saints in heaven give me their names.

Another

Not the bronze of Dodona, not the unhallowed bronze of Corinth can vie with me, for I ring out for all the saints in heaven.

21 On a certain courtier who is anticlerical

See how Ursalus, a Midas but more stupid than that Lydian, is trying to become well known in short order, by any means whatever. And so he rages against the clergy, thinking to make this the starting point of his fame, and from a Midas he has suddenly changed into a Phalaris. In the same way, I believe, that Greekling once got himself a great name by burning a temple – he was the originator of a vicious race. You could not do away with such a stupid mind as Ursalus' with floods of water; only a sword-point could put down his rage.

22 On the same man

I don't think that even you, Midas, had as stupid a mind or that you, Malchus, were as violent against the clergy, as a certain person – I don't intend to tell you his name, for this man pursues fame by any means whatever. Would that some Apollo would give him ass's ears or some Peter would lop off both his ears. Or rather let him burst and so do what is meant by the first syllable of his father's family name.

23 In eundem [8 January 1507]

Bacchanti in clerum tibi dixerat, Ursale, quidam
Et ius Caesareum laedier atque sacrum.
Hic tu ridebas hominem multumque diuque –
Et merito, quid enim hoc stultius ac levius? –
Qui praeter tibi iura coqui notissima iuris
Auditum nomen crederet esse aliud.

24 In picturam fabulae Giganteae [8 January 1507]

En stolida sine patre sati tellure Gigantes
Montibus accumulant montes ipsumque minantur
Caelicolum regem supera detrudere ab arce.
Sed male vaesanae cedent sine pectore vires.

25 In eosdem fulmine depulsos [8 January 1507]

Iuppiter extructas disturbat fulmine moles,
Ignibus involvens rapidis monteisque virosque.
Sic sic vis sine consilio, sic impia facta
Praecipitata ruunt superis ultoribus usque.

26 In tabulam Penthei trucidati [8 January 1507]

Penthea cernis Echioniden,
Hospitis orgia qui Bromii
Spreverat. Impius ecce deo
Vindice iam malefacta luit.
Matris enim Orgiadumque manu,

23 On the same man

When you were raging against the clergy, Ursalus, someone said to you that to do so is an offence against the legal saws of the emperor and the church. Thereupon you laughed long and loud at the man, and rightly, for what could be more stupid and empty-headed than to think that to your ears the word 'saws' means anything other than the sauce of the cook, which you know very well indeed?

24 On a picture based on the story of the Giants

See how the Giants, born of the senseless earth with no father, are piling mountains on top of mountains and threatening to cast down from his lofty palace the very king of the heaven-dwellers. But mere mad power without intelligence will fail.

25 On the same Giants, cast down by lightning

With lightning Jupiter shatters the massive structure they have built up, enveloping both mountains and men in raging flames. So it is that force without deliberation, so it is that wicked deeds are constantly hurled down headlong by the avenging gods.

26 On a picture of the slaughtered Pentheus

You are looking at Pentheus, the son of Echion, who scorned the wild rites of the foreign god Bacchus. See how the wicked man, struck by the vengeance of the god, now pays for his crimes. For he perishes at the hands of

Dum fera creditur esse, perit.
Quam sceleri bene poena suo
Congruit et mala digna malis!

27 In picturam Europae stupratae [8 January 1507]

Hic qui a monte boves ad proxima littora vertit,
  Aurea te quis sit virga monere potest.
Tum testes alae neque non talaria, testis
  In flavo bicolor crine galerus erit.
Si rogitas quid agat, patrio subservit amori
  Inscius, obsequio furta dolosa tegens.
Raptor enim nivei latitat sub imagine tauri
  Improbus ac praedam per freta longa vehet.
Ut Cretam attigerit, mox taurus desinet esse
  Iuppiter, et virgo non erit ista diu.
Quid non caecus amor mortalia pectora cogat,
  Si taurum aethereum non piget esse Iovem?
Aut quae formosis satis est cautela puellis,
  Hic quoque stuprator si metuendus erat?

28 In fronte libelli dono missi episcopo Atrebatensi. Scazon [autumn 1503 / 8 January 1507]

Avibus sequundis vade, charteum munus,
Exile quanquam te brevis dicat vates.
Liceat modo placere praesuli docto,
Precio lapillos viceris et Erithreos.

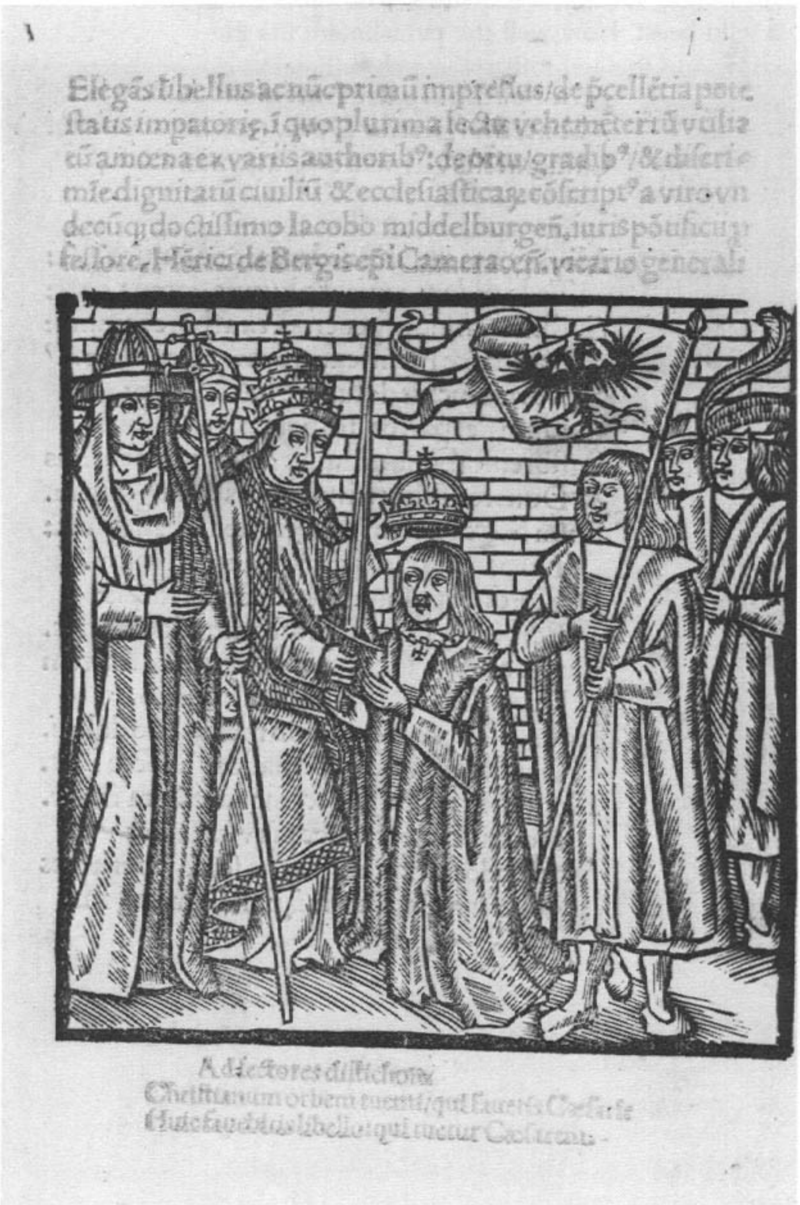
his mother and the bacchantes, who think he is a wild beast. How well the punishment fits the crime and the evil inflicted matches the evil committed!

27 On a picture of the rape of Europa

Who this person is that is making the oxen veer from the mountain toward the nearby shore, you can tell by his golden wand. Other marks of his identity are the wings on his sandals, and also the two-coloured hat on his blond hair. If you ask what he is doing, he is accommodating himself to his father's amorous passion, though he is unaware of this, even as he obediently conceals the treacherous theft. For the outrageous ravisher is hiding under the appearance of a snow-white bull, and he will carry his prey far across the sea. As soon as he reaches Crete, Jupiter will cease to be a bull, and she will no longer be a virgin. To what lengths does blind passion goad the hearts of mortals, if even heavenly Jupiter was not ashamed to be a bull? Or what precautions can be sufficient to protect beautiful girls, if even such a god as this must be feared as a ravisher?

28 At the beginning of a little book sent as a gift to the bishop of Arras, in scazons

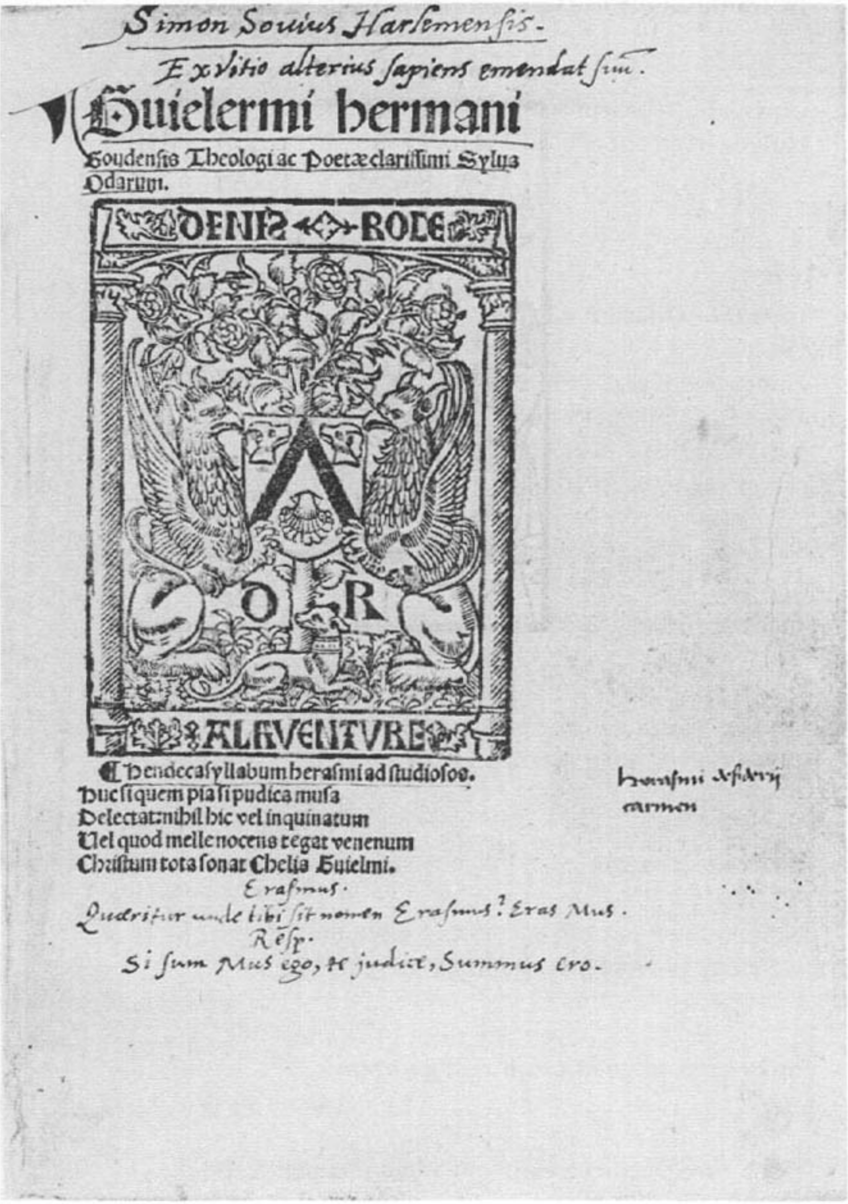
Go, paper gift, with favourable omens, even though you are a meagre work dedicated by a slight poet. If only you can manage to please the learned prelate, you will be more valuable than pearls, even those from the Persian Gulf.



Elegãs libellus ac nũc primũ impreſſus/de p̄cellẽtia pote-
ſtatis imꝑatorię, ĩ quo plurima lectu vehemẽter iucũda vtilia
cũ amoena ex variis authorib⁹: de ortu/gradib⁹/& diſcri-
mĩe dignitatũ ciuiliũ & eccleſiaſticaꝝ cõſcript⁹ a viro vn-
decũq; doctiſſimo Iacobo middelburgeñ. iuris põtificii ꝓ-
feſſore. Hẽrici de Bergis epi Cameraceñ. vicario generali

Ad lectores diſtichon.
Chriſtianum orbem tueris/qui ſancte Caeſar es
Huic faueas libello: qui tuetur Caeſarem.

J. Anthoniszoon *De praecellentia potestatis imperatoriae,* title-page
Antwerp: Dirk Martens 1502 (NS 1503)
Courtesy The Newberry Library, Chicago



Simon Sovius Harlemenſis.

Ex vitio alterius ſapiens emendat ſuu.

Guielermi hermani
Goudenſis Theologi ac Poetæ clariſſimi Sylua
Odarum.

DENIS ROCE

O R

ALAVENTURE

Hendecaſyllabum herasmi ad ſtudioſos.
Huc ſi quem pia ſi pudica muſa
Delectat: nihil hic vel inquinatum
Vel quod melle nocens tegat venenum
Chriſtum tota ſonat Chelis Guielmi.

herasmi desiderij
carmen

Eraſmus.
Quæritur unde tibi ſit nomen Eraſmus? Eras Mus.
Reſp.
Si ſum Mus ego, te judice, Summus ero.

Willem Hermans *Sylva odarum*, title-page
Paris: G. Marchant, 20 January 1497
Gemeentebibliotheek, Rotterdam

29 In fronte libelli de imperatoria maiestate

[13 February 1503 / 1 April 1503]

Christianum orbem tuenti qui favetis Caesari,
Huic favebitis libello qui tuetur Caesarem.

30 In fronte Odarum Guilielmi

[20 January 1497]

Huc, siquem pia, si pudica Musa
Delectat: nihil hic vel inquinatum
Vel quod melle nocens tegat venenum.
CHRISTUM tota sonat chelis Guihelmi.

31 In fronte libelli Buslidio dono missi

[November 1503? / 8 January 1507]

Non ego Buslidiae decus adfero bibliothecae,
  Sed decus apponit bibliotheca mihi.

32 In fronte alterius

[November 1503? / 8 January 1507]

Non equidem ornabis tu Antoni bibliothecam,
  Te magis ornabit bibliotheca, liber.

33 In caecum tragoediarum castigatorem

[autumn 1506 / 8 January 1507]

Quur adeo, lector, crebris offendere mendis?
  Qui castigavit, lumine captus erat.

29 On the title-page of a little book on the majesty of the emperor

If you are well disposed toward the emperor, who defends the Christian world, you will be well disposed toward this little book, which defends the emperor.

30 On the title-page of Willem's *Odes*

Come hither, all you who delight in a pious and chaste muse. There is nothing here that is either defiled or that covers deadly poison with honey. The lyre of Willem resounds with nothing except Christ.

31 On the title-page of a little book sent as a gift to Busleyden

I bring no honour to Busleyden's library. Rather, the library confers honour on me.

32 On the title-page of another

No, book, you will not grace the library of Antonius. Rather, the library will grace you.

33 On a blind corrector of some tragedies

Why, reader, are you so offended by the frequent errors? The man who did the correcting was quite blind.

34 Sub pictura vultus Christi

[1503? / 8 January 1507]

Hic intuetur et intimos mentis sinus.
Fac tota niteant pectoris penetralia.

35 Agit carmine gratias pro misso munere

[1505–6 / 8 January 1507]

Antistes sacer elegantiorum ac
Princeps, Carmiliane, literarum,
En versus tenuis tibi poeta
Hos pro munere splendido rependit.
Hoc est scilicet, aere mutat aurum.
At quid tandem aliud deis vel ipsis
Gratus sed tenuis referre vates
Possit quam numeros modosque? Verum
Largiri numeros tibi, Petre, hoc est
Sylvae ligna, vago mari addere undas.

36 In fronte Enchiridii

[15 February 1503]

Nil moror aut laudes levis aut convicia vulgi:
  Pulchrum est vel doctis vel placuisse piis.
Spe quoque maius erit mihi si contingat utrunque;
  Cui CHRISTUS sapit, huic si placeo, bene habet.
Unicus ilie mihi venae largitor Apollo,
  Sunt Helicon huius mystica verba meus.

37 Libellus dono missus

[1 January 1506? / 8 January 1507]

Mittere quur verear magno leve munus amico,
  Quum capiant summos thuscula pauca deos?

34 Under a picture of Christ's face

This man looks into the innermost recesses of the mind. See to it that the secret places of your heart are all bright and shining.

35 A poem offering thanks for a gift sent to him

Carmeliano, holy high priest and prince of literary refinement, here are some verses from an impoverished poet, sent to you in repayment of your splendid gift – that is, here is bronze in exchange for gold. But after all, what can a poet who is grateful but poor offer even to the gods themselves except verses and songs? But to bestow such lines on you, Pietro, is like bringing logs to a forest or adding water to the shifting sea.

36 On the title-page of *Enchiridion*

I do not care about the praise or the insults of the superficial mob. The fine thing is to please either the learned or the pious. If I happen to do either of these, it is more than I hoped for. If I please someone who relishes the wisdom of Christ, it is well. Christ alone is my Apollo, the source of my vein; his mystic words are my Helicon.

37 A little book sent as a gift

Why should I be afraid to send a little gift to a lofty friend, since even the highest gods are captivated by a few bits of incense?

38 Ioanni Okego musico summo epitaphium

[c February 1497 / 8 January 1507]

Ergone conticuit
Vox illa quondam nobilis,
Aurea vox Okegi?
Sic musicae extinctum decus?
Dic age, dic fidibus
Tristes, Apollo, naenias.
Tu quoque, Calliope
Pullata cum sororibus,
Funde pias lachrymas.
Lugete, quotquot musicae
Dulce rapit studium,
Virumque ferte laudibus.
Artis Apollineae
Sacer ille Phoenix occidit.
Quid facis, invida mors?
Obmutuit vox aurea,
Aurea vox Okegi,
Vel saxa flectere efficax,
Quae toties liquidis
Et arte flexilibus modis
Per sacra tecta sonans
Demulsit aures caelitum
Terrigenumque simul
Penitusque movit pectora.
Quid facis, invida mors?
Vel hoc iniqua maxime,
Aequa quod omnibus es.
Sat erat tibi promiscue
Tollere res hominum.
Divina res est musica.
Numina quur violas?

39 Henrici episcopi Cameracensis epitaphium

[autumn 1502 / 8 January 1507]

Henricus hic est, Bergicae stirpis decus,
Qui laude morum avita vicit stemmata.

38 An epitaph for the superlative musician Jan Ockeghem

Has it fallen silent then, that voice once so renowned, the golden voice of Ockeghem? Is the glory of music thus snuffed out? Sing, Apollo, come sing a sad dirge to your lyre. You also, Calliope, clad in mourning together with your sisters, pour forth loving tears. Mourn, all who are enraptured by the sweet pursuit of music, and extoll this man with your praises. That sacred Phoenix of Apollo's art is dead.

What are you doing, O envious Death? The golden voice has been silenced, the golden voice of Ockeghem, the voice that could move even stones, the voice that so often resounded in the vaulted nave with fluid and subtly modulated melodies, soothing the ears of the saints in heaven and likewise piercing the hearts of earthborn men.

What are you doing, O envious Death? You are unjust precisely because you deal justly with everyone. It would be enough for you to take away indiscriminately the things that belong to mankind. Music is something divine. Why do you violate the divine?

39 An epitaph for Hendrik, bishop of Cambrai

Here is Hendrik, the splendour of the Bergen lineage, who surpassed his ancestral pedigree

Gregis salute nil habuit antiquius,
In quem pius paterna gessit viscera.
Hic incitatus amore miro caelitum,
Iacobe, sedem visit impiger tuam,
Arcemque Petri visit et Solymas sacras.

40 De eodem [autumn 1502 / 8 January 1507]

Berganae stirpis septem de fratribus unum
Condidit Henricum hoc invida Parca loco.
Ille gregis Cameracini praesulque paterque,
Cui simul et patriae, non sibi natus erat,
Bisque Iacobaeam visit pius advena sedem,
Dehinc Romam et Solymas vectus adusque sacras.
Sic pietate vagus, virtute gravissimus, aevum
Exegit felix et sine labe suum.

41 In magnatem quendam, sed ficto nomine, qui laudes suas exiguo munusculo pensarat [1498–1500? / 8 January 1507]

Correxit errorem meum
Lepide Marullus, nam mihi
Laudatus aequo largius
Nimium pusillo prodigum
Vatem redonat munere.
O pectus, o memorabilem
Huius modestiam viri!
Non vult cani quae non facit,
Vult et sileri quae facit.
Proin pudendis praemiis
Invitat ad palinodiam,
Invitat ad silentium.
Non suadet hoc frugalitas
Tenaxque parsimonia,

through praiseworthy conduct. He considered nothing more important than the salvation of his flock, to whom he devoted his heart like a loving father. Aroused by a marvellous love of the saints in heaven, this man zealously visited your shrine, James, and he visited the citadel of Peter and holy Jerusalem.

40 On the same man

Of the seven brothers from the lineage of Bergen, envious Fate buried one, Hendrik, in this place. He was the bishop and the father of the flock of Cambrai. For them and for his fatherland he was born, not for himself. And as a pious pilgrim he twice visited the shrine of James. Afterwards he travelled to Rome and all the way to holy Jerusalem. Wandering thus out of piety, most steadfast in virtue, he finished his life a happy and a blameless man.

41 On a certain magnate (under a fictitious name) who rewarded a eulogy of himself with a very small remuneration

Marullus corrected my mistake neatly, for when I had praised him too much, he rewarded his prodigal poet by paying him too little. O the insight, the remarkable modesty of the man! He does not want to be celebrated in verse for what he does not do; he also wants what he does do to be passed over in silence. And thus by shameful rewards he invites me to recant what I have said; he invites me to be silent. He is not motivated to do this by thriftiness and tight-fisted stinginess, since at

Quum sannionibus quoque
Foedisque morionibus
Prolixa donet munera.
Quod ista donat vatibus,
Quae dare minus quam nil dare est,
Pudore, non vitio facit.

42 Ode dicolos, distrophos, altero versu heroico hexametro, altero iambico dimetro. De casa natalitia pueri IESU deque paupere puerperio virginis deiparae Mariae

[c Christmas 1490? / January 1496]

Ecquid adhuc veterum sequimur spectacula rerum?
Huc huc frequentes currite.
Haec casa, quae lacera et stat agrestibus horrida culmis,
Novum dabit spectaculum,
Quale nihil saeclis proavi videre vetustis,
Nihil videbunt posteri.
Hic cuius tonitru tellusque tremiscit et aether
Teneris crepat vagitibus.
Hic orbis magni moderator maximus infans
Virginea mulget ubera.
His ego non stabulis augusta palatia Romae
Feliciora iudicem,
Non (operosa licet) Solomonia templa nec auream
Lydi tyranni regiam.
Salve, clara domus caeloque beatior ipso,
Partus sacrati conscia.
Iure tibi Iovis invideant Capitolia falsi,
Divis superba saxeis.
Aegyptus sancta invideat cunabula, monstris
Finem datura turpibus.
Nec minus apta deo es, quod hiantibus undique rimis
Imbres et Euros accipis,
Quod lodicis egens rigidoque incommoda foeno
Foetus rubenteis excipis.
Talia nascentem decuere cubilia CHRISTUM, ut
Qui dedocere venerit

the same time he lavishes gifts on buffoons and filthy fools. He rewards poets by giving them less than nothing, not out of stinginess but out of shame.

42 An ode in couplets alternating between two kinds of lines, heroic hexameters and iambic dimeters. On the shed where the boy Jesus was born and on the impoverished delivery of the Virgin Mary, the mother of God

Why do we still search out the marvels of ancient times? Hither, come crowding hither! This shed, which stands dilapidated and bristling with rustic thatch, will provide a new marvel, the likes of which our forefathers never saw in past ages, nor will posterity see the like. Here the one whose thunder makes heaven and earth tremble puts forth his weak cries. Here the almighty ruler of the universe is a baby sucking his milk from virgin breasts. This stable is more fortunate, in my judgment, than the august palace of Rome or the temple of Solomon (though it was indeed elaborate) or the golden palace of the Lydian tyrant. Hail, splendid dwelling, more blessed than heaven itself, since you experienced this sacred birth. The Capitoline temple of the false god Jupiter, proud of its stone deities, should rightly envy you. Egypt should envy the holy cradle which will put an end to its shameful and monstrous gods.

You are no less suitable to God because on all sides your gaping cracks let in the wind and rain or because you lack a coverlet and so receive the ruddy child into your stiff and disagreeable hay. Such a bed was suitable for the newborn Christ, since he came to preach

Fastum nullaque non suadentem turpia luxum.
Non hic renident purpurae
Sertave frondea, non imitantes fulmina taedae,
Non mensa sumptuosior,
Nec strepit officiis domus ambitiosa, nec alti
Fovent puerperam thori.
Pannosus iacet in duris praesepibus infans,
Divinus attamen vigor
Emicat et patrios vagitu dispuit ignes.
Sensere praesentem deum
Quodque licet puero iumenta tepentibus auris
Frigus decembre temperant.
Upilio calamis iisdem, quibus ante capellis,
Agreste, sed pium canit,
Aethereique chori volitant cunabula circum.
Ut mensibus vernis apum
Degenerem simul ac pepulere examina regem,
Regi novo faventibus
Applaudunt alis sublimemque agmine tollunt:
Sic turma caelitum, duci
Circumfusa suo, gaudens stupet atque iacentem
Pronis adorat vultibus
Et natalitium sonat ad praesaepia carmen.
Coniux pudicus interim,
Fusus humi, magnum trepidus veneratur alumnum.
Porro puella, nobilis
Pars bona spectacli, defixis haeret ocellis
Primumque sese non capit
Seque suumque stupens genitrix virguncula partum,
Nulli marito debitum.
At simul eiecit pietas materna stuporem,
Praedulce pignus corripit
Ac modo porrectis prohibet vagire papillis,
Modo tepente frigidum
Blanda fovet gremio parvisque dat oscula labris.
Nunc pectori adprimit suo,
Nunc bleso teneros invitat murmure somnos.
Amabili invicem modo
Laetam prole deo videas gestire parentem,
Prolem parente virgine.

against pride and luxurious excesses that lead to all sorts of shameful vice. Here there is no splendour of purple cloth, no wreaths woven from leafy boughs, no torches emulating flashes of lightning, no sumptuous banquet tables, no showy house full of the busy hum of servants, no lofty bed to comfort the lady in labour. Swaddled in rags, the babe lies in the hard manger. But nevertheless a divine force flashes forth from him and his cries spew forth his Father's fires. The beasts of burden sense that God is present there, and they do what they can for the boy to temper the December cold with their warm breath. The herdsman, on the same reed-pipe he has just before played for his goats, plays a rustic but loving song. The heavenly choirs fly around the cradle. Just as in the spring months a swarm of bees, as soon as they have expelled their unworthy king, applaud the new king with their buzzing wings and lift him up with their moving mass: just so the troop of angels surround their commander in joyful amazement, and with lowered faces they adore the child lying there and sing his birthday song at the manger. Meanwhile the chaste husband, lying prostrate on the ground, fearfully venerates his mighty fosterling. And then the girl, an important part of the noble spectacle, cannot take her eyes off the babe, and at first she is at a loss, a virgin mother amazed at herself and her offspring, one born with no help from her husband. But as soon as motherly love has overcome her amazement, she picks up the sweet child and then she stops him from crying by giving him her breast, and then she holds the cold babe gently in her warm lap and kisses his little lips. Now she presses him to her bosom; now with a murmuring lullaby she invites gentle sleep. It is a lovely sight: by turns the joyful mother delighting in her divine child and the child in his virgin mother.

43 Des. Erasmi Roterodami expostulatio IESU cum homine suapte culpa pereunte

[1510–11? / 1 September 1511]

Cum mihi sint uni bona quae vel frondea tellus
Vel Olympus ingens continet,
Dicite, mortales, quae vos dementia cepit,
Haec aucupari ut unde vis
Malitis quam de proprio deposcere fonte,
Adeo benigno et obvio,
Mendacesque iuvet trepido miseroque tumultu
Umbras bonorum persequi,
Pauci me, qui sum verae largitor et autor
Felicitatis, expetant?
Forma rapit multos: me nil formosius usquam est,
Formam ardet hanc nemo tamen.
Suspiciunt ceras antiquaque stemmata multi,
At me quid est illustrius,
Ut qui sim genitore deo deus ipse profectus,
Genitrice natus virgine?
Unde fit, ut mecum vix gestiat unus et alter
Affinitatem iungere?
Maximus ille ego sum caelique solique monarcha:
Servire nobis cur pudet?
Dives item et facilis dare magna et multa roganti,
Rogari amo: nemo rogat.
Sumque vocorque patris summi sapientia: nemo
Me consulit mortalium.
Ipse ego sum aetherei splendorque decusque parentis:
Me nemo stupet aut suspicit.
Sum firmus iuxta ac iucundus amicus amico,
Me pariter ac meas opes
Candidus atque lubens charis impertio: nemo hanc
Ambit necessitudinem.
Sum via qua sola caeli itur ad astra, tamen me
Terit viator infrequens.
Cur tandem ignarum dubitat mihi credere vulgus,
Aeterna cum sim veritas?
Pollicitis cur, stulte, meis diffidere perstas,

43 The expostulation of Jesus with mankind, perishing by its own fault, by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam

Since all the good things to be found in the greenery of the earth or in the vastness of the sky belong to me alone, tell me, mortals, what fit of madness makes you prefer to hunt for them anywhere else rather than ask for them from their source, so generous and accessible, and makes you eager to pursue the deceptive shadows of good things with such anxiety and miserable agitation, while few seek after me, the source and giver of true happiness? Many are obsessed with beauty: nothing anywhere is more beautiful than I am, yet no one burns with love for this beauty. Many admire ancestral statues and ancient pedigrees, but what can be more illustrious than I, since I who am myself God was begotten by God the Father and born of a virgin mother? How is it that only one or two are eager to ally themselves with me by marriage? I am that greatest monarch of heaven and earth: why are people ashamed to serve us? I am rich as well and quick to give many great gifts to anyone who asks – I love to be asked: no one asks. I am and I am called the wisdom of the highest Father: no one among mortals asks me for advice. I myself am the splendour and the glory of the heavenly Father: no one looks up to me with amazement. As a friend I am equally faithful and genial to my friend; openly and willingly I share both myself and my resources with those who are dear to me: no one seeks this bond of friendship. I am the only way that leads up to the stars in the heavens, but rarely am I trodden by any traveller. Why in the world does the ignorant mob hesitate to believe me, since I am eternal truth? Fool, why do you persist in not trusting

Cum sit nihil fidelius?
Autor ad haec vitae cum sim unicus ipsaque vita,
Cur sordeo mortalibus?
Lux ego sum: cur huc vertunt sua lumina pauci?
Dux: cur gravantur insequi?
Vivendi recte certissima regula solus:
Aliunde formas cur petunt?
Ipse ego sum solus vera et sine felle voluptas:
Quid est quod ita fastidior?
Unica pax animi: quin huc deponitis aegri
Curas edaces pectoris?
Si benefacta truces etiam meminere leones
Referuntque beluae vicem,
Respondere feri merito didicere dracones,
Si meminit officii canis,
Si redamant aquilae, redamant delphines amantem,
Cur efferacior feris
Me me non redamas homo, cui semel omnia feci,
Quem condidi, quem sanguine
Asserui proprio propriaeque a morte recepi
Dispendio vitae volens?
Si bos agnoscit dominum, si brutus asellus
Agnoscit altorem suum,
Cur me solus, homo, male gratus nosse recusas
Et conditorem et vindicem?
Unus ego hic tibi sum cunctorum summa bonorum:
Quid est quod extra me petas?
Quorsum distraheris per tot dispendia, grassans
Laboriosa inertia?
Sum placabilis et pronus miserescere: quin hoc
Miser ad asylum confugis?
Idem iustus et implacabilis ultor iniqui:
Cur non times offendere?
Corpus ego atque animum nutu sub Tartara mitto:
Nostri metus vix ullum habet.
Proinde, mei desertor homo, secordia si te
Adducet in mortem tua,
Praeteritum nihil est. In me ne reiice culpam,
Malorum es ipse autor tibi.

my promises, since no one is more trustworthy? Since I am also the only source of life, since I am life itself, why do mortals think me so paltry? I am the light: why do so few turn their eyes hither? I am the leader: why are they so reluctant to follow? I alone am the most reliable rule of right living: why do they seek their patterns elsewhere? I myself am the only true pleasure, with no admixture of bitterness: why is it that I am found so distasteful? I am the only peace of mind: why do you not come hither and lay down the cares eating at your troubled hearts? If even savage lions remember good deeds and wild beasts repay them, if fierce snakes have learned to do a good turn to someone who has earned it, if a dog remembers its duty, if eagles and dolphins return love for love, why, oh why do you not return my love, O man more beastly than the beasts, for whom I made all things once for all, whom I created, whom I freed with my own blood, whom I saved from death by willingly giving up my own life? If an ox recognizes its master, if a dumb ass recognizes the man who feeds it, why are you alone, O mankind, so ungrateful that you refuse to recognize me, both your creator and your redeemer? For you I alone am the sum of all good things here: what is there for you to seek apart from me? What good is it to be torn among so many pursuits, wasting your energy in toilsome idleness? I am forgiving and quickly moved to mercy: in your misery why do you not take refuge in this sanctuary? I am also a just and implacable punisher of evil: why do you not fear to offend me? With a nod I send body and soul together down to hell: hardly anyone is constrained by fear of me. And so, O mankind, if you desert me and stupidly cause your own death, there is nothing I have not done. Do not put the blame on me; you yourself are the

Nam quid adhuc superest si te neque provocat ardens
Suique prodiga charitas,
O bis marmoreum pectus, neque mitigat unquam
Adeo profusa benignitas,
Si neque tantarum vel spes certissima rerum
Expergefacit et allicit,
Si neque Tartareae cohibet formido gehennae,
Nec ullus admonet pudor,
Immo si durant magis haec adduntque stuporem
Tam multa tamque insignia,
Ut facile immanesque feras chalybemque petramque
Rigore victo molliant,
Quid faciat pietas, quibus artibus abstrahat ultro
Devota morti pectora?
Invitum servare nec est mentis, puto, sanae
Et patria prohibet aequitas.

44 Carmen iambicum [1510–11 / 1 September 1511]

Non invenusto antiquitas aenigmate
Studii magistram virginem
Finxit Minervam, ac literarum praesides
Finxit Camoenas virgines.
Nunc ipse virgo matre natus virgine
Praesideo virgineo gregi,
Et sospitator huius et custos scholae.
Adsunt ministri virgines,
Pueros meos mecum tuentes angeli.
Mihi grata ubique puritas,
Decetque studia literarum puritas.
Procul ergo sacro a limine
Morum arceant mihi literatores luem,
Nihil huc recipiant barbarum.
Procul arceant illiteratas literas,
Nec regna polluant mea.

source of your own afflictions. For what is there still left to do if you are neither aroused by burning and self-sacrificing charity, O heart twice as hard as marble, nor are ever softened by such abundant kindness, if you are not awakened and allured even by the firmest hope for such great rewards, not restrained by fear of the depths of hell, not prompted by shame, nay, if you are hardened and numbed by these things, so numerous and so extraordinary that they would easily overcome the hardness of monstrous beasts and soften steel and stone – if this is so, what can kindness do, with what other devices can it hold back hearts willingly devoted to death? To save someone against his will is not, I think, a sane thing to do, and the justice of my Father forbids it.

44 A poem in iambic metre

In an allegory not without elegance, the ancients imagined the virgin Minerva as the mistress of study, and they imagined the virgin Muses as the guardians of reading and writing. Now I, myself a virgin born of a virgin mother, am the patron of a virgin flock, the preserver and guardian of this school. My assistants are virgins, angels who join me in guarding my boys. Purity is everywhere pleasing to me and purity is an appropriate goal for literary studies. Therefore let my teachers of reading and writing keep all moral filth far from this sacred threshold; let them admit nothing barbarous here. Let them keep far hence all illiterate literacy and let them not defile my kingdom.

45 Sapphicum [1510–11 / 1 September 1511]

Coeperit faustis avibus precamur,
Semper augescens meliore fato,
Hic novae sudor novus officinae,
    Auspice IESU.
Hic rudis (tanquam nova testa) pubes
Literas Graias simul et Latinas
Et fidem sacram tenerisque CHRISTUM
    Combibet annis.
Quid fuit laeta sobolem dedisse
Corporis forma, nisi mens et ipsa
Rite fingatur studiisque castis
    Culta nitescat?
Stirpe ab hac sensim nova pullulabit
Civium proles, pietate iuxta ac
Literis pollens breviterque regno
    Digna Britanno.
Ludus hic sylvae pariet futurae
Semina, hinc dives nemus undequaque
Densius surgens decorabit Anglum
    Latius orbem.

46 Imago pueri IESU in ludo literario, quem nuper instituit Coletus [1510–11 / 1 September 1511]

Discite me primum, pueri, atque effingite puris
  Moribus, inde pias addite literulas.

47 Carmen phalecium [1510–11 / 1 September 1511]

Sedes haec puero sacra est IESU,
Formandis pueris dicata. Quare
Edico procul hinc facessat aut qui
Spurcis moribus aut inerudita
Ludum hunc inquinet eruditione.

45 A poem in sapphic metre

We pray that all may augur well as the new labours of this new workshop begin and that they may ever grow and prosper under the auspices of Jesus.

Here the raw young men, like a new earthenware jar, will soak up from their tender years Greek as well as Latin learning, and the holy faith, and Christ.

What good is it to have produced offspring who rejoice in beautiful bodies if the mind itself is not also properly shaped and cultivated and brought to a gleaming polish by studies that are spotless and pure?

From this stock a new progeny of the citizens will gradually sprout up, flourishing in holiness as well as learning and worthy before long of the British realm.

This school will bring forth the seeds of a future forest. From here a rich grove, springing up thicker and thicker on all sides, will adorn the world of England more and more widely.

46 An image of the boy Jesus in the elementary school recently established by Colet

Learn me first of all, boys, and make an image of me by your pure conduct. Then add to that the rudiments of holy reading and writing.

47 A poem in phalaecian metre

This building is consecrated to the boy Jesus and dedicated to forming the character of boys. Therefore I banish far hence anyone who would defile this school either by impure conduct or by uninstructed instruction.

48 Aliud [1510–11 / 1 September 1511]

Quin hunc ad puerum, pueri, concurritis omnes?
  Unus hic est vitae regula fonsque piae.
Hunc qui non sapiat, huius sapientia stulta est,
  Absque hoc vita hominis mors (mihi crede) mera est.

49 Christiani hominis institutum Erasmi Roterodami. Ad Galat. quinto: Valet in CHRISTO fides, quae per dilectionem operatur. [1513–14 / September 1514]

Fides

Credo. Primus articulus

Confiteor primum ore pio venerorque fideli
Mente deum patrem vel nutu cuncta potentem,
Hunc qui stelligeri spaciosa volumina caeli
Et solidum omniparae telluris condidit orbem.

Et in IESUM. II

Eius item gnatum IESUM, cognomine CHRISTUM,
Quem dominum nobis agnoscimus ac veneramur.

Qui conceptus. III

Hunc MARIA afflatu divini numinis alvo
Concepit virgo, peperit purissima virgo.

Passus sub Pontio. IIII

Et grave supplicium immeritus damnante Pilato
Pertulit, infami suffixus in arbore mortem

48 Another poem

Why, boys, do you not all rush together to this boy? He alone is the rule and the source of a holy life. If anyone is not wise enough to know this boy, his wisdom is foolish. Without him human life, believe me, is death pure and simple.

49 Basic principles of Christian conduct by Erasmus of Rotterdam. Based on Galatians 5: What counts is faith in Christ that works through love.

Faith

The Creed. The first article

First of all, I profess with a pious mouth and I venerate with a faithful mind God the Father, who rules all things at his slightest nod, the same God who created the vast spheres of the starry heavens and the solid orb of the all-fruitful earth.

And in Jesus. The second article

And also his son Jesus, surnamed Christ, whom we acknowledge and venerate as our lord.

Who was conceived. The third article

By the breath of the Divine Spirit Mary conceived him in her womb, still remaining a virgin, and brought him forth, still a most pure virgin.

Suffered under Pontius. The fourth article

And, though innocent, he was condemned by Pilate and suffered a heavy punishment. He

Oppetiit, tumulatus humo est claususque sepulchro.
Interea penetrat populator ad infera regna.

Tertia die. V

Mox ubi tertia lux moesto se prompserat orbi,
Emersit tumulo superas redivivus in auras.

Ascendit. VI

Inde palam aethereum scandit sublimis in arcem.
Illic iam dexter patri assidet omnipotenti.

Iterum venturus est. VII

Idem olim rediturus ut omnem iudicet orbem,
Et vivos pariter vitaque ac lumine cassos.

Credo in spiritum. VIII

Te quoque credo fide simili, spirabile numen,
Halitus afflatusque dei sacer, omnia lustrans.

Sanctam ecclesiam. IX

Et te confiteor, sanctissima concio, qua gens
Christigena arcano nexu coit omnis in unum
Corpus et unanimis capiti sociatur IESU.
Hinc proprium nescit, sed habet communia cuncta.

Remissionem peccatorum. X

Hoc equidem in coetu sancto peccata remitti
Credo, vel iis sacro fuerint qui fonte renati

underwent his death fixed to a tree of infamy. He was buried in the earth and shut up in a sepulchre. In the meantime he invaded and plundered the kingdom of hell.

On the third day. The fifth article

As soon as the third day dawned on a grieving world, he rose from the grave, alive once more in the air above.

He ascended. The sixth article

Then he rose in full view high up to the heavenly palace. There he now sits at the right of his almighty Father.

He will come again. The seventh article

The same Christ will one day return to judge the whole world, both the living and those deprived of life and light.

I believe in the Spirit. The eighth article

With a similar faith I also believe in you, O life-sustaining divinity, Holy Spirit and Breath of God, illuminating all things.

In the holy church. The ninth article

And I profess you, most holy assembly, in which the whole family of Christ comes together by a secret bond into one body and with one soul is joined to its head, Jesus. Hence it knows nothing of what is private but holds all things in common.

In the forgiveness of sins. The tenth article

In this holy gathering, indeed, I believe that sins are forgiven, both of those who have been reborn through the holy font or of those who

Vel qui diluerint ultro sua crimina fletu.

Carnis resurrectionem. XI

Nec dubito quin exanimata cadavera sursum
In vitam redeant, animas sortita priores.

Vitam aeternam. XII

Utraque pars nostri, corpusque animusque deinceps
Iuncta simul vitam ducent sine fine perennem.

Sacramenta VII

Hoc quoque persuasum est, ecclesia mystica septem
Munera dispensat, quae sacramenta vocantur.
Hinc variae dotes et gratia plurima menti
Caelitus inseritur, si quis modo sumpserit apte.

Ordo. I

Ordine nanque sacro confertur sacra potestas
Ut fungare ministeriis CHRISTO auspice sanctis.

Matrimonium. II

Munere coniugii nati hunc prodimus in orbem,
Usque adeo pulchri pulcherrima portio mundi.

Baptismus. III

Munere baptismi longe felicius iidem
Quam prius in te, CHRISTE, renascimur atque novamur.

of their own accord have washed away their offences with their tears.

In the resurrection of the flesh. The eleventh article

I have no doubt that soulless corpses will arise once more to life, each being allotted the soul it had before.

In life everlasting. The twelfth article

Thenceforth both parts of us, body and spirit joined together, will lead an endless and everlasting life.

The seven sacraments

I am also persuaded of this: the church dispenses seven mystical gifts, which are called sacraments. By them various gifts and an abundance of grace from heaven are implanted into the mind, if only they are received fittingly.

Holy orders. The first sacrament

For holy orders bestows the holy power to exercise the sacred ministries under the auspices of Christ.

Matrimony. The second sacrament

By the gift of marriage we are born and come forth into this world, ourselves the most beautiful part of a world so beautiful.

Baptism. The third sacrament

By the gift of baptism we become far more blessed than we were before because in you, Christ, we are reborn and renewed.

Confirmatio. IIII

Deinde in amore dei nos confirmatio sacra
Constabilit mentemque invicto robore durat.

Eucharistia. V

Mysticus ille cibus (Graeci dixere synaxin),
Qui panis vinique palam sub imagine CHRISTUM
Ipsum praesentem vere exhibet, intima nostri
Viscera caelesti saginat et educat esca
Inque deo reddit vegetos et reddit adultos.

Poenitentia. VI

Si quem forte deo capitalis reddidit hostem
Noxia, continuo metanoea medebitur illi.
Restituet lapsum rescissaque foedera rursum
Sarciet, offensi placabit numinis iram,
Commissi modo poeniteat pigeatque nocentem
Isque volens peragat praescripta piamina culpae.

Unctio. VII

Unguinis extremi munus nos munit et armat
Migrantemque animam per summa pericula tuto
Transmittit patriae et superis commendat euntem.

Amor dei

Haec est indubitata fides. Cui pectore certo
Nixus amabo patrem super omnia cunctipotentem,
Qui me condideritque et in hunc produxerit orbem.
Rursus amore pari dominum complectar IESUM,
Qui nos asseruit precioque redemit amico,
Spiritum item sanctum, qui me sine fine benigno

Confirmation. The fourth sacrament

Then holy confirmation makes us firm in the love of God and hardens the spirit with invincible strength.

The Eucharist. The fifth sacrament

That mystical food (the Greeks call it 'synaxis'), which under the outward appearance of bread and wine clearly tenders to us Christ himself truly present, fattens and fosters our inmost hearts with heavenly food and makes us vigorous and mature in God.

Penance. The sixth sacrament

If perhaps a mortal sin makes someone God's enemy, a change of heart will immediately heal him. It will reinstate the fallen and restore the broken covenant; it will placate the anger of the offended Deity, provided that the sinner repents and is sorry for his transgression and that he willingly carries out the prescribed expiation of his guilt.

Anointing. The seventh sacrament

The gift of the last oil fortifies and arms us and through the greatest dangers safely conveys the travelling soul over to its homeland, and, as it goes, commends it to the powers above.

Love of God

This is the undoubted faith. Relying on it with a firm heart, I will above all love the omnipotent Father, who has all power over all things, who created me and brought me forth into this world. Moreover, I will embrace with an equal love the Lord Jesus, who set us free and paid our ransom like a friend. Likewise I will love the Holy Spirit, who warms me

Afflatu fovet atque animi penetralia ditans
Dotibus arcanis vitali recreat aura.
Atque hic ternio sanctus et omni laude ferendus
Toto ex corde mihi, tota de mente, supremis
Viribus, obsequio meritoque coletur honore.
Hunc unum reverebor et hoc semel omnis in uno
Spes mea figetur, hoc omnia metiar uno,
Hic propter sese mihi semper amabitur unus.

⟨Amor sui⟩

Post hunc haud alia ratione ac nomine charus
Ipse mihi fuero, nisi quatenus omnis in illum
Ille mei referatur amor fontemque revisat.

Fuga peccati

Culpam praeterea fugiam pro viribus omnem,
Praecipue capitale tamen vitavero crimen,
Quod necat atque animam letali vulnerat ictu.

Superbia. Invidia. Ira

Ne fastu tumeam, ne vel livore maligno
Torquear aut bili rapiar fervente, cavebo.

Gula. Luxuria. Pigritia

Ne vel spurca libido vel insatiabilis alvus
Imperet, enitar, ne turpis inertia vincat,

Avaritia

Ne nunquam saturanda fames me vexet habendi,
Plus satis ut cupiam fallacis munera mundi.

endlessly with his kind breath and, enriching the innermost recesses of my mind with secret gifts, recreates me with his life-giving spirit. And this Trinity, holy and worthy to be exalted with all praise, I will obey and worship and deservedly honour with all my heart, with all my mind, with my utmost strength. I will revere only this triune God; on him only all my hope will be fixed once for all; by him only will I measure all things. Only him will I always love for his own sake.

⟨Love of self⟩

Next to him, I will be dear to my own self, but only provided that and in so far as all that love of myself is referred to him and goes back to its source.

Fleeing from sin

Moreover, I will flee all guilt to the best of my ability; but I will especially avoid mortal sin, which kills the soul and wounds it with a lethal stroke.

Pride. Envy. Anger

I will take care not to swell with pride or to be tormented with malicious envy or to be carried away by seething anger.

Gluttony. Lust. Sloth

I will struggle not to be subject to impure desires or an insatiable stomach or to be conquered by shameful laziness.

Avarice

I will try not to be plagued by an insatiable hunger for possessions so as to desire more

Fuga malorum hominum

Improba pestiferi fugiam commertia coetus
85 Omnia summo animi conatu proque virili.

Studium pietatis

Atque huc incumbam nervis ac pectore toto,
Ut magis atque magis superet mihi gratia, virtus,
Augescatque piae divina scientia menti.

Oratio

Orabo superosque precum libamine puro
90 Placare adnitar, cum tempore sedulus omni,
Tum vero eximie quoties lux festa recurret.

Frugalitas victus

Frugales epulae semper, mensaeque placebit
Sobria mundicies et avari nescia luxus.

Ieiunium

Servabo reverens quoties ieiunia nobis
95 Indicit certis ecclesia sancta diebus.

Mentis custodia

Sancta uti sint mihi secretae penetralia mentis,
Ne quid eo subeat foedumve nocensve, studebo.

Linguae custodia

Ne temere iuret, ne unquam mendacia promat,

than enough of the gifts of this deceiving world.

Fleeing from evil men

With the greatest effort of my mind and with all my strength I will avoid all dealings with wicked and corrupting company.

The pursuit of holiness

And I will strain every nerve and try with all my heart to be more and more ruled by grace, by virtue, and to enlarge the holiness of my mind by the knowledge of God.

Prayer

I will pray and will strive to win over the powers above by a pure libation of prayers, zealous in such prayer at all times, but especially when their holydays recur.

Temperance in eating

My feasts will always be frugal and I will find pleasure in meals marked by a sober elegance, with no trace of greedy luxury.

Fasting

I will reverently observe fasts on those fixed days which holy church has indicated to us.

Guarding the mind

I will take pains to keep the secret recesses of my mind holy, so that nothing filthy or harmful may approach there.

Guarding the tongue

I will take care to keep my tongue from

Turpia ne dictu dicat mea lingua, cavebo.

Manus custodia

A furto cohibebo manus, nec ad ulla minuta
Viscatos mittam digitos, et si quid ademptum
Cuiquam erit, id domino properabo reddere iusto.

Restitutio rei forte repertae

Id quoque restituam, si quid mihi forte repertum est;
Me penes haud patiar prudens aliena morari.

Amor proximi

Nec secus atque mihi sum charus, amabitur omnis
Proximus (est autem, ni fallor, proximus ille
Quisquis homo est), ac sic ut amor referatur amici
In CHRISTUM vitamque piam veramque salutem.
Huic igitur, fuerit quoties opus atque necesse,
Sedulus officio corpusque animumque iuvabo,
Ut mihi succurri cupiam, si forsan egerem.
Id tamen in primis praestabo utrique parenti,
Per quos corporeo hoc nasci mihi contigit orbe.
Tum praeceptori, qui me erudit instituitque,
Morigerus fuero ac merito reverebor honore.
At rursus dulcisque scholae studiique sodales
Semper (uti par est) syncero amplectar amore.

Assidua confessio

Si quando crimen fuero prolapsus in ullum,
Protinus enitar, pura ut confessio lapsum

swearing thoughtlessly, from ever putting forth lies, from saying what it is shameful to say.

Guarding the hands

I will restrain my hands from stealing, and I will not lay sticky fingers on the slightest thing whatsoever; and if anything has been taken away from someone, I will hasten to return it to its rightful owner.

Giving back something found by chance

I will also give back whatever I might happen to find; I will be too prudent to allow the property of others to remain in my possession.

Love of neighbour

And just as I am dear to myself, I will love all my neighbours – and unless I am mistaken, anyone who is a human being is my neighbour – and I will do so in such a way that my love for a friend is referred to Christ and to a holy life and to true salvation. Therefore, whenever it is needful and necessary, I will assist him in body and mind, eagerly and dutifully, just as I would wish to be helped if I should lack for something. But I will especially do this for both my parents, through whom I happened to be born into this corporeal world. Next I will be obedient to my teacher, who instructs and trains me, and I will give him the obedience and honour he deserves. Then, too, I will always, as is fitting, embrace with a sincere affection the companions of my studies in this sweet school.

Frequent confession

If I should ever fall into any sin, I will immediately make an effort to recover from my

Erigat ac iusta tergatur noxia poena.

Sumptio corporis CHRISTI in vita

Ast ubi sacrati me ad corporis atque cruoris
Caelestes epulas pietasque diesque vocabit,
Illotis manibus metuens accedere, pectus
Ante meum quanta cura studioque licebit
Purgabo maculis, virtutum ornabo nitelis.

Morbus

Porro ubi fatalis iam terminus ingruet aevi
Extremumque diem cum morbus adesse monebit,
Mature sacramentis me armare studebo
Atque his muneribus quae ecclesia sancta ministrat
Christigenis: reteget confessio crimina vitae
Sacrifico, sumam CHRISTI venerabile corpus.

Mors

Quod si vicinae propius discrimina mortis
Urgebunt, supplex accersam qui mihi rite
Oblinat ac signet sacro ceromate corpus.
Atque his praesidiis armatus, sic uti dignum est
Christicola, forti ac fidenti pectore vita
Decedam, bonitate dei super omnia fretus.

Hoc fac et vives.

fall by a sincere confession and to wipe away the damage by performing a just penance.

Receiving the body of Christ during my lifetime

But when piety and the proper day call me to the heavenly banquet of the consecrated body and blood, fearing to approach with unwashed hands, I will purge my heart beforehand of its stains with all the care and diligence I can muster, and I will adorn it with the scintillating brightness of the virtues.

Illness

Then, when the fated limit of my lifetime thrusts itself upon me and illness warns that my last day is at hand, I will take care to arm myself betimes with the sacraments and with those gifts which holy church ministers to the family of Christ: in confession I will reveal the sins of my life to a priest, and I will receive the venerable body of Christ.

Death

But if the dangers of approaching death draw near and press upon me, I will humbly summon someone who will anoint me according to the proper rites and make the sign of the cross on my body with holy oil. And armed with these defences, I will depart from this life in a manner worthy of a Christian, with a strong and trusting heart, relying above all on the goodness of God.

Do this and you will live.

50 In laudem Michaelis et angelorum omnium, ode dicolos hendecasyllaba sapphica, suffigenda in templo Michaeli sacro

[early spring 1491? / January 1496]

Caelitum princeps, Michael, et omnes
Spiritus sacri, libeat precamur
Supplicum votis tribuisse pronas
    Caelitus aures.
Sordidae sed ne merito canentum
Sordeant odae, citus huc ab arce
Devolet fulgente Seraph decoris
    Igneus alis,
Qui foco sacro usque calentis arae
Calculum vivum rapiens (ut olim)
Applicet nostris placidus labellis
    Oraque tergat.
Luridae quicquid maculae perurat,
Desidem pellens animo teporem.
Igneas cantent acies (ut aequum est)
    Ignea verba.

⟨De Michaele⟩

Porro tu primas tibi vendicato
Carminis partes, Michael beate,
Primipilari duce quo triumphant
    Agmina caeli.
In quibus luces, itidem ut pyropus
Nobiles inter radiat lapillos,
Utve formosus socia inter ardet
    Lucifer astra.
Ius tibi summum necis atque vitae
Tradidit magni moderator orbis,
Tu potes servare probos et idem
    Perdere sontes.
Tu piorum tutor et advocatus,
Tu dei in templo nitidas ad aras
Visus es dextra tenuisse plenam
    Thuris acerram.
Inde surgens fumus odore multo
Ibat ad summi solium tonantis,
Ac dei nares liquidi iuvabant
    Dona vaporis.

50 A hendecasyllabic sapphic ode, containing two kinds of lines, in praise of Michael and all the angels, to be hung up in a church dedicated to Michael

Prince of the heavenly hosts, Michael, and all you sacred spirits, deign, we beseech you, to bend down from heaven and give ear to the prayers of your suppliants.

But lest the unclean hymns of the singers should rightly be deemed unworthy, let a burning seraph swiftly fly hither from the shining citadel on his comely wings.

Let him seize a live coal from the holy fire of the ever-burning altar, as once before, and let him calmly place it on our lips and cleanse our mouths.

Let him burn away any ugly spots, driving from our hearts all lukewarm sluggishness. Let the fiery ranks, as is fitting, be celebrated in words of fire.

⟨Michael⟩

And so, blessed Michael, claim for yourself the first share in the song, a captain who leads the heavenly hosts in triumph.

You shine out among them just like a fiery ruby among precious stones, or like Lucifer burning in his beauty amid his fellow stars.

To you the ruler of the whole world handed over the final right to judge life and death. You have the power to save the upright and likewise to destroy the guilty.

You are the protector and advocate of the good. You appeared by the shining altar in the temple of God, holding the thurible full of incense in your right hand.

From it rose fragrant fumes up to the throne of the all-highest, the wielder of thunder, and the offering of the billowing exhalation pleased the nostrils of God.

Tu pias laetis animas reponis
Sedibus, cantu procul audiendo
Squalidis olim gelida exciebis
Funera bustis.
Quam dedit laetos pia turba plausus,
Cum gravi caelum quateret ruina
Hostis et serpens veterator, acri
Non sine pugna.
Ille sublimes subito sub auras
Emicans septem (stupuere cuncti)
Ora tollebat, colubris tumebant
Colla trecentis.
Flammeis ardens oculis, Avernum
Virus efflabat furiale monstrum
Fulminisque instar piceos vomebat
Faucibus ignes.
Te nihil terret rabies minacis
Beluae, sed vi domitam superna
Cogis absorptam superas ad auras
Reddere praedam.
Quae tuas fulvas fugitat sub alas
Laeta, praesenti sed adhuc periclo
Palpitans, elapsa velut rapaci
Ales ab ungui.
Ergo ne quid iam trepident, cadaver
Triste deturbas. Labat, ac labantis
Pondus exhorrens aperit profunda
Tartara tellus.
Non secus quam si Siculo Peloro
Pendulum in fluctus abeat cacumen,
Territum cedit refluumque late
Dissilit aequor.
Ferreis illic domitus catenis
Horridum quassat caput, ac minatus
Multa nequicquam, furibundus iras
Volvit inanes.
Te manet palma, o Michael, suprema,
Te novi plausus. Tibi non iniquas
Impius poenas dabit Antichristus,
Orbe levato.

You bring pious souls to their blissful abode. With a trumpet blast that will be heard even from far away, you will one day rouse up the cold bodies of the dead from the squalor of their graves.

How joyfully the holy throng applauded when the enemy, the sly old serpent, after a fierce struggle, came crashing down and shook heaven itself!

Suddenly he sprang forth (everyone was astounded) and he lifted up his seven mouths high into the air, the necks swollen with hundreds of snakes.

His eyes aflame, the raging monster breathed out a hellish poison. His jaws spewed out pitch-black flames, flashing like bolts of lightning.

For you the rage of the threatening beast holds no terrors: you defeat him with power from on high and force him to bring up into the air the prey he has swallowed.

Joyfully they flee to take refuge under your tawny wings, panting at the prospect of still-present danger, like a bird that has escaped from grasping talons.

To dispel any fear, you thrust down the miserable hulk. It falls and, in terror of the falling weight, the earth opens up the abyss of hell.

Just so, if the overhanging crag of Pelorus in Sicily should fall into the waves, the surface of the terrified sea gives way, splits, and draws back, leaving a wide chasm.

Subdued there with iron chains, he shakes his bristling head, making many vain threats, thrashing about in furious and futile rage.

The final palm of victory, O Michael, is still in store for you. You will be applauded yet once more. When the world has been relieved, you will exact just punishment from the wicked Antichrist.

Laetus idcirco meritos uterque
Orbis en hymnos canit, altus aether
Inclyto gaudet duce, gaudet aeque
Praeside tellus.
At meri cantus celebrantur isthic,
Hic (uti res sunt variae atque mixtae)
Reddimus proni querulis remixta
Carmina votis.
En vides quantis miseri premamur
Cladibus (nostro merito, fatemur),
Tota proh caeci terimus nefandis
Saecula bellis.
Si tibi haud frustra data cura nostri est,
Si tibi pax non temere vocablum
Mutuat, belli procul o cruentos
Pelle furores.
Fac tua lenis prece rex Olympi
Vindicem condat miseratus ensem,
Ferias donet referatque fessis
Ocia terris.

De singulari laude Gabrielis angeli

Te quibus digne recinemus odis,
Gabriel, quem rite chorus supernus
Proximum primo colit? O tonantis
Armiger alti,
Illius tu strennuus administras
Bella, nec quisquam melior piorum
Castra tutari et rabidas nocentum
Frangere vires.
Tu tenes oracula sacra. Te olim
Nuncio casus didicit futuros
Ille quem insonti leo gaudet atrox
Lambere rictu.
Tu Zachariae vetulo marito,
Thura dum festis adolet sacellis,
Pignoris seri subitus stupenti
Nuncius adstas.

Behold, therefore, both worlds rightly sing joyful hymns. Heaven above rejoices in its glorious leader; the earth likewise rejoices in its guardian.

But there the celebratory songs are unqualified and pure. Here, where affairs are mixed and various, we bow down and sing hymns intermingled with wailing supplications.

Behold, you see how many disasters overwhelm us in our misery – through our own fault, we confess. Whole ages, alas, we wear away in blind and wicked warfare.

If it is not in vain that you have been assigned the task of taking care of us, if it is not for nothing that peace has lent you her name, oh, drive far from us the bloody rage of war!

Through your prayers, make the mild king of heaven take pity on us and sheathe his avenging sword, make him grant us a holiday and give the weary world a rest.

The special praise of the Archangel Gabriel

With what hymns shall we celebrate you worthily, Gabriel, whom the choir of heaven venerates as second only to the supreme captain? O armour-bearer of the Thunderer on high,

you conduct his wars vigorously, nor is anyone better at defending the camps of the pious or at breaking the savage forces of their assailants.

You have charge of the sacred prophecies. Once as a messenger you revealed future events to the man whom the fierce lion licked with delight, baring his teeth in a harmless grin.

You appeared to the aged husband Zachary as he was burning incense on a feast-day in the temple; you suddenly stood before him and

Cuncta quid frustra sequimur canendo?
Illius dulce est meminisse nunci,
Laetius quo nil lachrymosus unquam
Audiit orbis.
Nec salus olim neque spes salutis
Ulla erat, sed mors Stygiis profecta
Sedibus gentem rapiebat omnem
Vindice nullo.
Tum novas autor meditatus artes,
Ipse ut invisat homo factus orbem,
Te rei tantae, Gabriel, ministrum
Deligit unum.
'Advola terris,' ait, 'et saluta
Virginem, matrem mihi mox futuram.
Fac sacramentum tege, ne ille sciscat
Callidus hostis.
Sic opus facto.' Neque plura fatus
Ille, tu lapsu placido volucres
Dissecas nubes decorasque pictis
Aethera pennis,
Qualis adversos feriente nimbos
Sole resplendet, monumenta pacti,
Iris, antiqui, varioque caelum
Cingit amictu.
Vidit obliquis oculis volantem
Dextero caelo metuitque latis
Incubans terris draco luridoque
Palluit ore.
Tecta tu pernix Nazaraea tangis
Mox et illapsus thalamis pudicae
Virginis mandata refers sereno
Regia vultu.
Nostra cui primum hic lyra gratuletur
Haesitat, mundone malis levato,
An deo foetae potius puellae,
An tibi, divae
Conscio mentis meritoque summis
Rebus accersi. Tibi tam sacrato

dumbfounded him by announcing that he would have a child so late in life.

Why should we vainly try to sing all your deeds? It is sweet to remember that one message, the most joyful message ever heard by a weeping world.

Once there was no salvation, no hope even of salvation. But rather death, sent forth from the Stygian realms, had seized all mankind, and there was no liberator.

Then the creator devised an unheard-of stratagem, to enter the world himself by becoming man, and to execute this great plan he chose you alone.

'Fly to the earth,' he said, 'and salute the virgin who will soon become my mother. Conceal this mystery lest that wily enemy should learn of it.

'That is what you must do.' He spoke no more, and you descended gently, cutting through the flying clouds and adorning the air with your bright-coloured plumage,

just as Iris, when the sun strikes rain-clouds in the opposite part of the sky, draws her resplendent, many-coloured cloak across the heavens, a memorial of the ancient pact.

With an envious, sidelong glance, the dragon, brooding over the whole expanse of the earth, saw you flying under the favourable heavens, and he felt fear. His ghastly face grew pale.

Swiftly you reach the rooftops of Nazareth and, descending right away to the bedchamber of the chaste virgin, with a serene countenance you deliver the commands of the King.

Here we hesitate in our song, hardly knowing whom to congratulate first: the world, relieved of such evils; or rather the girl, pregnant with God; or you,

who were privy to the thoughts of God and deservedly summoned to carry out the highest

Tamque felici licuit vel uni
Munere fungi.
Noster, o salve, bone pacifer, qui
Surculum adportans oleae virentem
Nuncias primus meliora mersis
Saecula terris.

De laude Raphaelis

Proxime primis, Raphael, canere,
Ordinis pars non humilis superni,
Tute nam clarum comitem duobus
Tertius addis.
O salus ac certa hominum medela
Rebus afflictis, ope cuius olim
Reddito vidit reducem Thobias
Lumine gnatum,
Nec modo salvum, sed et aere largo
Divitem, multa serie clientum
Divitem ac longis gregibus novaque
Coniuge laetum.
Ethnici Phoebumque genusque Phoebi
Saxeos olim coluere divos,
Hos rati morbis dubiis rogatam
Ferre salutem.
Nos magis nos te colimus, potentem
Vel nigro manes revocare ab Orco,
Rursus et pigris animam liquentem
Spargere venis.
Tu simul membris, simul o medere
Mentibus, praesens opifer, luemque
In tuos euheu male saevientem
Exige terris.

De omnibus angelis

Nec tacendi estis, proceres ducesque
Caeteri, nobis, breviterque cuncti
Milites regis ditione late
Cuncta tenentis,
Ambitu quem ter triplici triformem

mission. To you alone it was granted to perform such a sacred, such a happy task.

All hail, our kind bringer of peace! Carrying a green olive branch, you were the first to announce better times to a drowning world.

An encomium of Raphael

Next after the first two, Raphael, you shall be celebrated in song. Far from low is your station among the ranks on high, for you take the third place, an illustrious companion to the other two.

O health, O unfailing cure for the afflictions of mankind, by your help long ago Tobit, his sight restored, saw his son returning

not only safe but also enriched with an abundance of money, enriched with a long train of followers and with herds stretched out in the distance, and taking joy in his new bride.

The pagans once venerated stone statues of Phoebus and the progeny of Phoebus as gods, thinking they would answer their prayers by healing dangerous diseases.

As for us, instead of them we venerate you, who have the power even to call back shades from the darkness of hell and to infuse flowing life into exhausted veins.

Oh, heal both our members and our minds, ever-present bringer of help, and drive from the earth the plague which rages, alas, so fiercely against your charges!

All the angels

Nor should we pass you over in silence, you other nobles and princes and, to put it briefly, all you warriors of the King who rules all things in his wide dominion.

Him in his threefold divinity you encircle with your thrice-three rounds, on the right

Dextera levaque frequentiores
Cingitis quam nocte silente plenam
    Sydera lunam.
O salutandi novies beati,
Ocium quorum mala nulla terrent,
Certa quos divi beat intuentes
    Copia vultus.
Invidet vestrae miser ille sorti,
Eminus sedes quotiens ademptas
Suspicit frendens et inauspicati
    Poenitet ausus.
Vespero quondam similis rubenti
Inter aeternos rutilabat ignes,
At simul regis diadema miles
    Ambiit audax.
Iam pares volvens animo cathedras,
Flammeo telo grege cum sequaci
Ictus eiectusque rudem ruina
    Terruit orbem.
Excipit partim cava Styx ruenteis,
Abditur lucis bona pars opacis,
Cursitat magnum per inane multo
    Plurima turba,
Densior quam Cecropiis in hortis
Tinnulos aeris crepitus secuta
Evolant examina quamque caelo
    Decidit imber.
Pugnat hoc unum haec vigil improboque
Omnis incumbit studio, pios ut
Distrahat, tundat geminoque raptos
    Funere perdat.
Ah nefas, quantam daret illa stragem!
Cui salus tandem, nisi frangeretur
Obviis vobis furor et nocendi
    Dira libido?
Vestra nos tutela fidelis ortos
Excipit nec luce prius relinquit.

hand and the left, more numerous than the stars surrounding the full moon on a noiseless night.

Oh, we must salute you, blessed nine times over! Your peace can never be affrighted by any evil because you are blessed by the unfailing abundance of your vision of the face of God.

That miserable wretch, gnashing his teeth, envies your lot whenever he looks up at the distant abode he has lost, and he rues the audacity of his ill-omened enterprise.

Once he glowed like the red star of evening among the eternal fires, but at the same time the presumptuous soldier coveted the King's crown.

Even as he was turning over in his mind how to get a throne equal to God's, he and his flock of followers were struck by a fiery lightning bolt. He was cast out and the formless world was terrified by his fall.

Some of them fell into the Stygian hollows of hell; a good number are hidden in the dusky woods. A much bigger mob of them flit about in wide, empty space,

denser than the swarms of bees flying forth in the gardens of Attica, drawn by the sound of tinkling bronze, and more numerous than the raindrops falling from the sky.

Ever on the watch, this mob struggles for one thing only: every one of them strives with all his wicked energy to perplex the pious, to buffet them, to snatch them away and destroy them with a double death.

Oh, horrible is the havoc they would wreak! Who, after all, could be saved if you did not stand up to them and crush their rage and their abominable lust for destruction?

When we get up, you undertake to guard us faithfully, nor do you leave off till the daylight disappears. Always trusting in your

Semper hac freti nihili furentem
Ducimus hostem.
Imus hac tuti tumidum per aequor,
Asperas tuti penetramus Alpeis,
Vivimus vestro morimurque demum
Munere tuti.
Vos parum firmis dare robur, iidem
Anxios nostis gemitus levare
Nunciis felicibus ac subinde
Visere castos.
Caelici cives, adeone vobis
Exules curae sumus, ut vacet sic
Obsequi nobis pigeatque nunquam
Sortis iniquae?
Nuncii crebri volitatis inter
Arduos caelos humilesque terras,
Hinc preces fertis querulas, at istinc
Dona refertis.
Porro nos tantis meritis (quod unum
Possumus) gratos memori Camoena
Reddimus cantus ferimusque templis
Dona dicatis.
Ferias anno referente sacras,
Celat hic festus simulacra fumus,
Hic chorus supplex manibus facessit
Vota supinis.
Quae patris summi penetrent ad aures
Semper ac per vos rata sint precamur,
O patroni praesidiumque felix
Christigenarum.

51 Erasmi Roterodami carmen iambicum, ex voto dicatum virgini Vvalsingamicae apud Britannos

[spring 1512 / September 1515]

Ὦ χαῖρ᾽ Ἰησοῦ μῆτερ εὐλογημένη,
Μόνη γυναικῶν θεοτόκος καὶ παρθένος.
Ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλας σοὶ διδόασι δωρεάς,
Ὁ μέν γε χρυσόν, ὁ δὲ πάλιν τὸν ἄργυρον,
Ὁ δὲ τιμίους φέρων χαρίζεται λίθους.
Ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ἀπαιτοῦσ᾽ οἱ μὲν ὑγιαίνειν δέμας,

guardianship, we make light of the furious enemy.

Under your protection we travel safely on the rising seas, we safely cross the rough passes of the Alps. In life, and finally in death, we are safe through your service.

You know how to give strength to the weak, to encourage the troubled and the grieving with words of good cheer, and to look to the chaste time and time again.

O citizens of heaven, are you so concerned about us exiles that you take time to wait on us thus, never wearying of your unfair task?

You fly continually back and forth between the heights of heaven and the lowly earth. From here you carry up our lamentations and prayers, but from there you bring back gifts.

And so we repay such great favours in the only way we can: our muse remembers to sing hymns of thanksgiving and we bring offerings to the churches dedicated to you.

When the year brings around your feast-days, here we envelop your images with solemn incense, here the choir prays to you earnestly, raising its hands in supplication.

We beg that our prayers may always penetrate to the ears of our Father on high and that they may be validated by you, O patrons and blessed guardians of the family of Christ.

51 An iambic poem by Erasmus of Rotterdam, a votive offering to the Virgin of Walsingham in Britain

All hail, blessed mother of Jesus, unique among women as the virgin mother of God. Different people bring you different gifts: one offers gold; another, silver; another honours you with a gift of precious stones. In return, then, some ask you for bodily health, others

Ἄλλοι δὲ πλουτεῖν, καί τινες γυναικίου
Κυοῦντος ἐρατὸν οὔνομ᾽ ἐλπίζειν πατρός,
Πυλίου τινὲς γέροντος αἰῶνας λαχεῖν.
Αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀοιδός, εὐμενής, πένης γ᾽ ὅμως
Στίχους ἐνέγκας, οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστ᾽ ἄλλο τι,
Δόσεως ἀμοιβὴν εὐτελεστάτης, γέρας
Μέγιστον αἰτῶ, θεοσεβῆ τὴν καρδίαν
Πασῶν θ᾽ ἅπαξ ἁμαρτιῶν ἐλευθέραν.

Εὐχὴ τοῦ Ἐράσμου.

52 Epitaphium scurrulae temulenti. Scazon

[summer 1509? / September 1511]

Pax sit, viator, tacitus hos legas versus,
Ut sacra verba mussitant sacerdotes,
Ne mihi suavem strepitus auferat somnum
Repetatque vigiles ilico sitis fauces.
Nam scurrula hocce sterto conditus saxo,
Quondam ille magni clarus Euii mystes,
Ut qui bis octo lustra perbibi tota.
Oculis profundus deinde somnus obrepsit,
Ut fit, benigno membra cum madent Baccho.
Atque ita peractis suaviter bonis annis
Idem bibendi finis atque vivendi
Fuit. Sed etiam me aliquis ebrium credat
Aut somniare, qui ista dormiens dicam.
Vale, viator. Iam silenter abscede.

53 Encomium Selestadii carmine elegiaco per Erasmum Roterodamum

[1514–15 / August 1515]

Nobile Slestadium, tua quis pomeria primus
  Signans tam dextris condidit auspiciis?

for riches, and some for the fair hope that their wives may conceive and bestow on them the lovely name of father; others ask to obtain the long lifetime of the old man of Pylos. But as for me, a poet well disposed though poor, now that I have brought verses – for that is all I have – in return for this humblest of gifts, I beg you for the greatest of boons: a devout heart, completely free for once from sin.

The prayer of Erasmus

52 An epitaph for a drunken jokester, in scazons

Peace be with you, passer-by. Read these verses silently, the way priests mumble their holy texts, so that the noise does not disturb my sweet sleep and make my throat thirsty once again the minute I wake up. For I, the snoring jokester buried under this stone, was once a famous devotee of the mighty Bacchus, seeing that I drank my way through eight whole decades. Then a deep sleep came over my eyes, the way it happens when one's limbs have been soused by kind Bacchus. And so, having thus lived out my good years in sweet contentment, I came to the end of drinking and living at the same moment. But someone may think I am still drunk or dreaming, since I am saying these things in my sleep. Passer-by, farewell. Now depart silently.

53 A poem in elegiac distichs by Erasmus of Rotterdam in praise of Sélestat

Noble Sélestat, who first laid out your boundaries and founded you under such

Unde tibi genius tam felix tamque benignus?
Sydera nascenti quae micuere tibi?
Cum videaris enim neque muro insigne capaci,
Plebe nec innumera divitiisve scatens,
Urbibus in cunctis tamen haud felicior ulla est,
Quotquot Caesarea sub ditione vigent.
Non ego iam memoro, quod fertilis undique campus
Adiacet et segetem prosperat alma Ceres,
Quodque hinc vitiferos monteis, hinc ditia Rheni
Flumina prospectas, grata quod aura fovet.
Commoda bella, sed haec tecum communia multis,
Dotibus hisce simul vinceris et superas.
Illa tibi propria est, quod et una et parva tot aedis
Virtute insigneis ingenioque viros.
Tot pariter gemmas, tot lumina fundis in orbem,
Quot multis aliis vix genuisse datum est.
Doctrinae proceres tot habes, quot proditor ille
Vix belli proceres occuluisset equus.
Quam non Vvimphlingus, quam non Spiegellius urbem,
Quam non Kirherus nobilitare queat?
Unde tibi Sapidus, doctis quoque dignus Athenis?
Unde sacer Phrygio, Storkius unde tibi?
Unde tibi Arnoldus, Musis excultus, et unde
Matthias niveo pectore Schurerius?
Ut sileam reliquos, non te satis ille Beatus
Rhenanus, lingua doctus utraque, beat?
Quae tibi cum liquido tacita est cognatio caelo?
Num quod Palladia numen ab urbe favet?
Corpora gignit humus, mens aethere manat ab alto.
Membra aliae pariunt, tu paris ingenia.
Quis non invideat tam splendida commoda, ni quod

favourable auspices? Where did you get a tutelar genius so fortunate and so generous? What stars shone at your birth? For, though you make no remarkable showing through capacious walls and you do not have a huge population or abundant riches, still there is hardly a more fortunate city among all those which flourish under the rule of the emperor. I will not mention now the fertile fields which surround you or the crops with which Ceres has bountifully endowed you, the view of the mountain slopes with their vineyards on one side, the sight of the wealthy Rhine on the other, the air so pleasant and salubrious. These are fine advantages, but many cities have them in common with you; in such gifts as these you both surpass and are surpassed.

Your own special gift is this: you alone, small as you are, produce so many men who are extraordinary for their virtue and intelligence. You pour forth into the world at one time so many gems, so many luminaries, that many other cities combined have hardly produced the like. You have so many chieftains of learning that the treacherous horse hardly hid as many chieftains of warfare. What city would not be enobled by Wimpfeling, by Spiegel, by Kierher? Where did you get Witz, a man worthy even of learned Athens? Where did you get the theologian Phrygio? Where Storck? Where Arnold, the refined poet? Where Matthias Schürer, so pure of heart? To say nothing of the rest, is not Beatus Rhenanus, learned in both tongues, enough by himself to beatify you? What secret affinity do you have with the bright skies? Are you favoured by some divinity from the city of Pallas Athena?

The soil generates bodies; the mind flows down from the heights of the sky. Other cities give birth to limbs; you give birth to intellects. Who would not envy such splendid benefits, if

Non tibi sed mundo fertilis ista paris?
Gloria te penes est unam, sed fructus ad omneis
Pervenit, humanum qua patet orbe genus.
Haec memor hospitii tibi carmina panxit Erasmus
Haud lepida, at grata qualiacunque cheli.

54 Ad Sebastianum Brant, archigrammateum urbis Argentinensis. Phalecium Erasmi

[August 1514 / December 1514]

Ornarunt alios suae Camoenae,
Ornas ipse tuas magis Camoenas.
Multos patria reddidit celebres,
Urbem tu celebrem celebriorem
Multo constituis, Sebastiane,
Lingua, moribus, eruditione,
Libris, consilio, severitate.
Sic cum foenore plurimo rependis
Acceptum decus, e tuo vicissim
Illustrans patriamque literasque.

55 Ad Thomam Didymum Aucuparium, poetam laureatum, Erasmi Rot. carmen

[August 1514 / December 1514]

Quas mihi transcribis, doctissime Didyme, laudes,
Ut sunt maiores quam quas agnoscere possim,
Ni prorsus frons nulla foret, sic rursus eaedem
Sunt adeo doctae talique e pectore natae,
Ut minime libeat quas das rescribere, veras
Esse perinde optans quam sunt lepidae atque venustae.
His ego non sane placeo mihi. Tu mihi, vates

it were not that you bestow your fertile births not on yourself but on the world? The glory is in your possession alone, but the fruit reaches the whole human race all over the world. Mindful of your hospitality, Erasmus fashioned these verses for you – hardly elegant but, whatever they may be, composed on the lyre of gratitude.

54 To Sebastian Brant, chief secretary of the city of Strasbourg. By Erasmus, in phaleucian metre

The muses of others have brought them honour, but instead you bring honour to your muses. Many have gained fame because of their fatherland; you have made your famous city much more famous, Sebastian, by your eloquence, character, learning, books, counsel, uprightness. Thus the honour you have received you repay at a high rate of interest, using your own resources in turn to add splendour to your fatherland and to the world of letters.

55 A poem addressed to Thomas Didymus Vogler, poet laureate, by Erasmus of Rotterdam

The praises that you have conveyed to me in your writings, most learned Didymus, though they are too high for me to acknowledge without seeming quite shameless, still, on the other hand, they are so learned and proceed from such a great mind that I am loath to write in refusal of what you have bestowed on me, hoping that it might have as much truth as it has elegance and charm. Indeed I am not pleased with myself because of it; it is with

Lauro digne, places, nam dum me reddere magnum
Carmine magnifico docte conniteris, ipsum
Te ostendis vere magnum vereque stupendum,
Ut qui viribus ingenii possis elephantum
Reddere de musca nihilique attollere tricas.
Sed quo iudicium minus approbo, maxime vates,
Hoc mage laetor amore tuo candoreque mentis.

56 Des. Erasmi Roterodami carmen iambicum ad Andream Ammonium Lucensem, invictissimi regis Anglorum a libellis

[c 20 October 1511 / March 1518]

Quicunque dotes reputet, Ammoni, tuas
Oculisque totum lustret admotis prope
Oris decus, proceritatem heroicam
Vultuque toto et universo corpore
Bene temperatam dignitate gratiam,
Nitentium blandum vigorem luminum
Linguaeque plectrum tam suave tinniens,
Mores dehinc horas ad omneis commodos,
Facileis, amicos, melle melleos magis,
Veneres, lepores, gratias, risus, iocos,
Mitem indolem mentisque candorem novum
Mireque mixtam simplicem prudentiam –
His pectus adde sordido aversum lucro
Dextramque quam pro sorte largiusculam!
Iam quam benigni vena dives ingeni,
Quot animus unus expolitus literis!
Ac rursus his par addita est facundia,
Demum universa haec rara condit comitas,
Et improbi livoris arcet fascinum
Modestiae iucunditas, cum dotibus
In tam superbis nil superbum in moribus –
Haec quisquis, inquam, pensitet tot affatim

you that I am pleased, O poet worthy of the laurel. For while you strive learnedly in your magnificent poem to make me great, you show that you yourself are truly great and truly amazing by using the power of your genius to make an elephant out of a fly, a mountain out of a molehill. But though I cannot approve of your judgment, by the same token, most eminent of poets, I find all the more joy in your love and your kindness of heart.

56 An iambic poem to Andrea Ammonio of Lucca, secretary to the most invincible king of England

Whoever reckons up your endowments, Ammonio, and runs his eyes close up over all of your handsome countenance, whoever notes your heroic height, the fine mixture of grace and dignity in your whole face and your whole body, the charming liveliness of your bright eyes, your sweet voice, ringing as clear as a plucked string, and then your manners suited to all occasions, good-natured, friendly, more honey-sweet than honey itself, your charm, elegance, grace, humour, wit, your easy-going temperament, the unusual kindness of your heart, your marvellous combination of prudence and simplicity – and add to that a mind averse to low money-grubbing and a free-handed generosity (beyond what your lot allows), and then such a rich vein of kindly intelligence, such an integrated mind formed by wide reading, and, on top of that, eloquence on a par with such gifts, and finally a rare affability as a seasoning to all these qualities, and a pleasing modesty that wards off the evil eye of envy (since in spite of such proud endowments you conduct yourself with no pride) – if (I say) someone should weigh all

Congesta in unum, nonne merito dixerit
Soli parentem fuisse naturam tibi,
Contra novercam caeteris mortalibus? –
Horum licet tibi ipse debes pleraque.
Restant tuae, Fortuna, iam partes, uti
Dotes ita amplas opibus exaeques tuis,
Nisi vis videri aut caeca plane aut invida.

57 Ad Lucam Paliurum Rubeaquensem, episcopi Basileiensis cancellarium, Eras. Rot. carmen

[c 1515 / March 1518]

Exhaustum immodico novale cultu
Mentitur queruli spei coloni.
Effoetum ingenium labore longo
Nil dignum parit hoc amore nostro,
Quo te prosequor unice inter omneis,
Mellitissime Paliure, amicos,
Nec dignum meritis tuis nec ipsi
Quod respondeat eruditioni.
Quod solum licet, hoc in omne tempus
Praestabo: ex animo medullitusque
Nostrum (sic meritum est) amabo Lucam.

58 In fugam Gallorum insequentibus Anglis apud Morinum, AN. M.D.XIII. Scazon Des. Erasmi Roterodami. Alludit ad carmen Martialis de Catone.

[autumn 1513 / March 1518]

Audivit olim censor ille Romanus:
'Ludos iocosae quando noveras Florae,
Cur in theatrum, Cato severe, venisti?
An ideo tantum veneras ut exires?'
At iure nunc imbellis audiat Gallus:
'Ludum cruenti quando noveras Martis,

these gifts heaped so lavishly on one man, could he not rightly say that nature was a mother to you alone, but a stepmother to other mortals? – though you yourself are responsible for most of these excellencies. All that now remains is that you, Fortune, should match these ample endowments with your riches, unless you wish to appear either downright blind or else envious.

57 A poem to Lukas Klett of Rouffach, chancellor to the bishop of Basel, by Erasmus of Rotterdam

A field worn out by overcultivation disappoints the hopes of the farmer and makes him complain. A mind worn out by long labours brings forth nothing worthy of the love which I feel for you alone, most sweet Klett, among all my friends, and also nothing worthy of your deserts, nothing matching even your learning. All that I can do, I will do for all time: I will love my Lukas, as he deserves, with all my heart and in the very marrow of my bones.

58 On the flight of the French, pursued by the English, near Thérouanne in the year 1513. In scazons, by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. He is making a playful allusion to a poem by Martial about Cato.

That Roman censor was once told: 'Since you knew what the games of jolly Flora are like, why, O strict Cato, did you come into the theatre? Did you come for no other reason than to leave?' But now the cowardly Frenchman can rightly expect to hear: 'Since you knew what the game of bloody Mars is

Animos ferocis quando noveras Angli,
Quid, quaeso, in aciem, timide Galle, prodisti,
Ferro minaci splendidas agens turmas?
An ideo tantum veneras, uti foede
Fugiens sequenti terga verteres hosti,
Ac si pedum certamen esset, haud dextrae?'
Cato foeminas videre non potest, Gallus
Viros. Cato mutare non potest vultum,
Gallus nequit mutare pectus ignavum.

59 Cum multos menses perpetuo pluisset et per unam modo dieculam se mundo sol ostendisset rursusque non minus odiose quam antea plueret, ERASMUS Basileam repetens in itinere sic lusit in Iovem, AN. M.D.XV.

[late June 1515 / March 1518]

Menses cum prope Iuppiter per octo
Vota surdus ad omnium pluisset,
Agros iam male perdidisset omneis,
Vexasset segetesque vineasque,
Tandem desierat, pudore credo,
Et tandem licuit videre solem,
Quem migrasse polo timebat orbis,
Aeternam ratus imminere noctem.
Vix dum sesquidiem nitere passus
Obducit nebulisque nubibusque
Totum qua patet undequaque mundum,
Ac rursum similis sui esse pergit.
Istoc si moderere pacto Olympum,
Nec quicquam es nisi nubium coactor,
Quis non officium probet Gigantum
Et cognomina consueta vertens
Pessimum vocet infimumque divum?

like, since you knew the courage of the fierce Englishman, why, I ask you, O fearful Frenchman, did you come out to join battle, marshalling your splendid array of threatening troops and weapons? Did you come for no other reason than to take to your heels so basely and turn your back to the pursuing enemy, as if it were a contest for feet and not for the sword-arm?' Cato cannot bear to look at the women; the Frenchman, at the men. Cato cannot change the expression on his face; the Frenchman cannot change his craven heart.

59 When it had rained continuously for many months and then the sun showed himself to the world for only one short day before it rained once more as disagreeably as before, Erasmus made fun of Jupiter in the following poem as he was on the return trip to Basel in the year 1515.

After Jupiter, deaf to the prayers of everyone, had rained for almost eight months, and had already utterly ruined all the fields and damaged both the crops and the vineyards, he finally stopped (ashamed of himself, I think), and he finally let the sun appear; the whole world was afraid that the sun had departed from the heavens and thought that night would hang over their heads forever. Hardly had he allowed it to shine for a day and a half when he covered everything the whole world over in all directions with fog and clouds, and he proceeded once more just like his old self. If this is the way you govern Olympus, acting as nothing but cloud-gatherer, who would not approve of the Giants' undertaking as a service? And who would not invert your usual titles and call you the worst and the lowest of the gods?

60 Epitaphium Philippi coenobitae Cluniacensis

[1514–15? / March 1518]

Viator Isti cur lubet assidere saxo
Cum toto, Pietas, choro sororum?
Pietas Hic nostrae iacet unicus catervae
Vindex, ille Philippus, ille dudum
Coetus gloria prima Cluniaci.
Viator Luctum at pulla solet decere vestis;
Vos albis video nitere totas.
Pietas Cuius tam nivei fuere mores,
Cui tam candida sit peracta vita,
Huius funera non puto decere
Aut pulla aut lachrymis nigrandum ⟨amictum⟩.

61 Erasmus Roterodamus Guilielmo Neseno calamum dono dedit cum hoc epigrammate.

[spring 1516? / March 1518]

Calamus loquitur.

Tantillus calamus tot tanta volumina scripsi
Solus, at articulis ductus Erasmiacis.
Aediderat Nilus, dederat Reuchlinus Erasmo,
Nunc rude donatum me Gulielmus habet,
Isque sacrum Musis servat Phoeboque dicatum,
Aeternae charum pignus amicitiae,
Ne peream obscurus, per quem tot nomina noscet
Posteritas, longo nunquam abolenda die.

Epigrammatum
Des. Erasmi Roterodami finis

60 An epitaph for Philippe, a monk of Cluny

Passer-by Why have you chosen to sit by this gravestone, Piety, together with the whole band of your sisters?

Piety Here lies the only champion of our troop, that Philippe who was once the pride and glory of the congregation at Cluny.

Passer-by But it is usual and fitting that grief be expressed by black clothing; I see that you are all dressed in shining white.

Piety Since his character was white as snow, since the life he led was shining white, I do not think that his funeral would be fittingly marked by black clothing or garments darkened by tears.

61 Erasmus of Rotterdam gave a reed pen as a present to Wilhelm Nesen, together with this epigram.

The reed pen speaks.

Little reed pen that I am, I wrote so many large volumes all by myself, though I was guided by the finger joints of Erasmus. The Nile produced me, Reuchlin gave me to Erasmus, and now, honourably discharged, I belong to Wilhelm. And he preserves me as sacred to the Muses and dedicated to Apollo, a dear token of eternal friendship, lest I, who made so many names known to posterity, names never to be wiped out in the long course of time, should perish in obscurity.

The end of the epigrams
of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam

POEMS NOT IN THE *EPIGRAMMATA* OF 1518 BUT PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE BY ERASMUS

62 Ad amplissimum patrem Antonium de Berghes, abbatem divi Bertini, de morte fratris episcopi Cameracensis carmen elegiacum Erasmi

[autumn 1502 / 1 April 1503]

Mors, gnata invidiae sed matre nocentior ipsa,
  Taelo eodem cupiens plurima damna dare,
Sustulit eximium generosa ex arbore ramum:
  Berghanae Henricum spemque decusque domus.
Sic varios luctus de funere suscitat uno,
  Dum flet patronum patria moesta pium,
Pastoremque bonum dum grex desiderat orbus,
  Dum consultorem principis aula gravem,
Dum Moecaenatem paupertas docta benignum
  Turbaque subsidium plorat egena suum,
Denique dum pullata suae dispendia stirpis
  Bergica gens iustis prosequitur lachrymis.
Tu quoque iam toties, praesul Bertinice, fratrem
  Luges, heu tanto tercius ex numero.
Iusta doles, verum et iusto modus esto dolori;
  Gaude habuisse quod haut semper habere licet.
Non periit, verum precessit ad aethera frater:
  Hoc nivei mores, hoc pia vita meret.

POEMS NOT IN THE *EPIGRAMMATA* OF 1518 BUT PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE BY ERASMUS

62 To the most venerable father, Antoon van Bergen, abbot of St Bertin, an elegiac poem by Erasmus on the death of his brother, the bishop of Cambrai

Death, the daughter of Envy but even more destructive than her mother, wishing to do the most damage she could with one and the same cast of her spear, took away the pre-eminent branch from a noble tree, Hendrik van Bergen, the hope and the splendour of his house. Thus from this one funeral she evokes many different kinds of grief: his grieving fatherland weeps for its loyal protector; his orphaned flock misses its good shepherd; the court of the prince mourns for its weighty counsellor; learned men in their poverty, for their beneficent patron; and the common people, for succour in their indigence; and finally the Bergen family, in black garments, attends with just tears the loss to their lineage. You also, abbot of St Bertin, one of three survivors among so many brothers, have, alas, so often mourned a brother already. Your grief is just, but even a just grief must have its bounds. Rejoice that you have at least had what cannot be had forever. Your brother has not perished but has gone before you to heaven. He deserved this by his pious life, his morals

Vos modo relliquias generis servate perhennes,
  Numina magnanimis non inimica viris.

63 Illustrissimo principi Philippo reduci Homerocenton

[c February 1504]

Χαῖρε Φίλιππε, πάτρας γλυκερὸν φάος, ὄρχαμε λαῶν.
Ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ νόστησας ἐελδομένοισι μάλ' ἡμῖν
Σῶς τ' ἠύς τε μέγας τε, θεοὶ δέ σε ἤγαγον αὐτοί,
Οὖλέ τε καὶ μάλα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν,
Καὶ παισὶν παίδων καί τοι μετόπισθε γένωνται.
Ἄλκιμος ἔσσ' αἰεί, καί σου κλέος οὐκ ἀπολεῖται.

64 Illustrissimo principi Philippo foeliciter in patriam redeunti gratulatorium carmen Erasmi sub persona patriae

[c February 1504]

O semper memoranda dies plaudendaque semper,
Quam niveo faciles ducunt mihi vellere Parcae!
Ecquis Erithraeis tam candidus unio conchis
Innitet, ut merita queat huius munera lucis
Insignire nota, quae te, optatissime princeps,
Iam lassis desideriis votisque tuorum
Restituit? Nunc nunc videor mihi reddita demum,
Te, mea spes, decus ac votorum summa, recepto.
Scilicet una parum est tam festae gemma diei,
Quae semel anteactae novat omnia commoda vitae,
Quae tot laeta simul cumulo mihi congerit uno.
Lingua deest animo, neque enim in sua gaudia pectus

white as snow. O you heavenly powers not hostile to high-minded men, at least preserve for years upon years the surviving members of this race.

63 A cento from Homer, to the most illustrious Prince Philip, upon his return

Hail Philip, the sweet light of our fatherland, leader of the people. O beloved, we sorely longed for you, and now that you have returned safe and valiant and mighty and the gods themselves have brought you back, health and joy be with you! May the gods bestow happiness upon you and upon your childrens' children and those who will be born in after years. Always be brave and your glory will never perish.

64 A congratulatory poem by Erasmus, to the most illustrious Prince Philip, upon his happy return to his homeland, spoken in the person of that homeland

O day ever to be remembered and ever to be applauded, day brought to me by the favourable Fates, spinning snow-white wool! What pearl from Persian shell shines white enough to mark worthily the gifts of this day, which restores you, most longed-for Prince, to the weary desires and longings of your people? Now, now at last I seem to be my old self again, now that I have received you, my hope, my honour, and the sum of my desires. Indeed, one gem is not enough for such a festive day, which renews all at once all the good things of my past life, which heaps together for me all at once so many joys in one pile. My tongue is not adequate to my feelings,

Sufficit, ad iustos desunt sua brachia plausus.
Sospes ab Hispano rediit meus orbe Philippus,
Sospes, cunque meo redierunt cuncta Philippo.
Ecce canunt reducem populusque patresque Philippum,
Clamat io reducem laeta undique turba Philippum,
Responsant reducem vocalia tecta Philippum.
Nec fallax ista est iteratae vocis imago:
Saxa etiam reducem sentiscunt muta Philippum
Et recinunt reducem minime iam muta Philippum.
Quum procul hinc aberas, squalebant omnia luctu;
Mox ut salvus ades, renitescunt omnia cultu.
Sic ubi tristis hyems Aquilonibus asperat auras,
Nuda senescit humus, moerent sine floribus horti,
Torpescunt amnes, languet sine frondibus arbos,
Stat sine fruge seges, marcent sine gramine campi.
Rursus ubi Zephyris tepidum spirantibus anni
Leta iuventa redit, gemmantur floribus horti,
Effugiunt amnes, revirescit frondibus arbos,
Fruge nitent segetes, hilarescunt gramine campi.
Sic simul auricomus se condidit aequore Titan,
Mox perit haec nitidi facies pulcherrima mundi,
Pigra quies subit, et nigrantibus horrida pennis
Nox operit mortique simillimus omnia torpor.
Rursum ubi purpureis Aurora revecta quadrigis
Rorantes tenero detexit lumine terras,
Cuique repente sua species redit atque renasci
Quaeque putes blandoque magis iuvenescere vultu.
Tu ver dulce meum, tu lumen amabile, solus

nor is my heart sufficient to feel its joys, nor are my arms adequate to applaud the occasion worthily. My Philip has returned safe from the land of Spain, safe, and with my Philip all things have returned.

Lo, the people and the nobles sing the return of Philip; on all sides the happy crowd cries 'hurrah' for the return of Philip. In reply the houses lift their voices to cry out for the return of Philip. Nor is this re-echoed voice merely a fictitious figure of speech: even the mute stones feel the return of Philip, and now not mute at all they re-echo the return of Philip. When you were far away from here, everything was unsightly with grief. As soon as you are here safe and sound, everything is bright and neat once again. Just so, when sad winter makes the air harsh with winds from the north, the soil grows bare and old, gardens grieve without flowers, rivers grow sluggish, trees languish without leaves, the stalks stand without grain, the fields shrivel without grass. When the joyous youth of the year comes back again, blowing with balmy western winds, the gardens are begemmed with flowers, the rivers take flight, the trees revive with their green leaves, the stalks are bright with grain, the fields rejoice in their grass. Just so, as soon as golden-haired Titan has vanished beneath the sea, the most beautiful sights of this shining world disappear, sluggish repose takes over, and night, bristling with black feathers, and a stillness much like death itself shroud all things. When Dawn returns once more, brought back by her rosy, four-horse team, and reveals with her tender light the dewy earth, everything suddenly becomes its old self again and you would think that everything is reborn, taking on an even younger and more charming look. O my sweet spring, my lovely light, you

Cuncta rapis fugiens ac redditus omnia reddis.
Quam misere absentem lugebant cuncta Philippum,
Quam mihi sollicitis trepidabant viscera curis,
Dum tibi nunc iterum peragratur Gallia triplex,
Nunc magni lustras soceri latissima regna,
Nunc tumidum visis Rhodanum gelidisque propinqua
Arva iugis, dulci placide regnata sorori,
Nunc rapidum superans Rhenum petis ampla parentis
Imperia et varias gentesque urbesque pererras,
Illarum studio ac pro rerum pondere velox,
Ad mea vota tamen lentissimus. Ut mihi segnes
Torpidius solito visi prorepere menses!
Ut geminae noctes, ut tardius ire videri
Invitis sol fessus equis! Quin saepe fathiscens
Impatiensque morae pietas haec aeminus in te
Latrabat calidis convicia mixta querelis:
'O nimium saecure mei, iam tertia bruma
Appetit, et cessas etiam lentusque lubensque,
Atque oculos sine fine tuos peregrina morantur,
Nec sentis quod sola malisque metuque fatigor.
Num tibi nuper inest adamas in pectore natus?
Nuncubi somniferae gustasti flumina Lethes,
Qui dulcis patriae terraeque altricis alumnus
Non meminisse potes? Tam longo ferreus aevo
Non meminisse potes? Sic te regna extera tangunt?'
Esto bis affinis se tollat in aethera Betis
Et geminis tumeat titulis. Germania iure,
Haud ego diffiteor, magno genitore superbit.

alone take everything away when you leave and give it all back when you return.

How miserably everything mourned the absent Philip, how my heart fluttered with cares and anxieties, while now you were making your way once more through tripartite France, now you were traversing the extensive kingdom of your great father-in-law, now you were visiting the swelling Rhône and the fields near to the icy peaks, ruled tranquilly by your sweet sister, now you were overcoming the swift Rhine and seeking out the ample empire of your father and wandering among various peoples and cities. In your attention to them, you were swift enough, considering the importance of the affairs, but measured by my desires, you were slower than slow. How the lazy months seemed to me to creep more slowly than usual! How the nights seemed to double in length! How the weary sun with his unwilling team seemed to move more slowly! Indeed, faint and impatient with the delay, this loyal love of mine often called out to you from afar, yelling reproaches mingled with feverish laments. 'O Prince too heedless of me, already the third winter is approaching, and still you linger with willing tardiness, and foreign lands endlessly catch and hold your eye, nor do you realize that I, all alone, am worn out by afflictions and fear. Has the heart in your breast recently turned to adamant? Have you somewhere tasted the soporific streams of Lethe, that you cannot remember your sweet homeland, the soil that nursed you like a son? that you, iron-hearted as you are, cannot remember me for such an age of time? Are you so taken with foreign realms?'

So be it, let Spain, doubly related to you by marriage, lift her head on high and swell with her twofold titles. Germany, I will not deny it, is rightly proud of your great father. Not

Nec domina temere Sabaudia leta sorore est.
Francia iam tritavos cognataque stemmata centum
Ostentare potest. Uno hoc ego nomine primas
Assero nec cedo socero neque cedo sorori
Nec centum cedo vinclis neque cedo parenti,
Numinibus tantum superisque secunda beatis,
Hoc, inquam, titulo quod te mihi protinus uni
Elapsum arcanis uteri Lucina latebris
Tradidit in gremium, quod dulcia murmura primae
Auribus una meis hausi letissima vocis
Reptastique sinu generosus pusio nostro.
Qualibus o mihi tum saliebant pectora votis!
Qualibus o mihi nunc saliunt praecordia votis!
Tunc ego plaudebam natum festiva Philippum,
Nunc ego plaudo magis reducem festiva Philippum;
Illo quanta die praesensi gaudia mente!
Hoc maiora die persentio gaudia mente.
Vicisti mea vota, bonis gratissime divis,
Optatis mihi maior ades. Nunc thure Sabaeo
Templa vaporentur, nunc omnis luceat ara,
Victima nunc dextro properet votiva tonanti.
Is mihi te quondam dederat, mihi reddidit idem;
Et dederat magnum, at maiorem reddidit idem.
Perge, precor, Lachesis, simili de vellere totam
Principis in longumque velis deducere vitam,
Nec pullis unquam vicies bona stamina filis.
Tuque, pater, qui digna soles immittere dignis
Eque πίθοις misces mortalia fata duobus,
Huic nihil aut certe minimum de tristibus addas,
Sed mihi perpetuo sit, ut est, laetissimus ille.

without reason does Savoy rejoice that it has your sister as its mistress. France indeed can boast of your distant ancestors and a hundred related family trees. For this one reason alone I claim the primacy, neither do I yield to father-in-law nor to sister nor to a hundred bonds of blood, nor to your father. Second only to the gods and the blessed souls on high, I do not yield (I say) for this reason: when Lucina had brought you forth from the secret recesses of the womb, she immediately gave you to me alone, she placed you in my lap; I alone, with the greatest joy, drew into my ears the sweet murmurs of your first words; and as a noble little lad you crept on my bosom. O with what wishes for you my heart then leapt! O with what wishes for you my breast now leaps! Then I applauded in celebration of Philip's birth. Now I applaud even more in celebration of Philip's return. On that day my mind felt premonitions of such great joys. On this day my mind feels in fact even greater joys. You have surpassed my wishes, most pleasing as you are to the kindly gods; beyond my hopes you are here with me.

Now let the churches fume with Sabaean incense; now let every altar shine forth; now let the votive victim hasten to the propitious Thunderer. Formerly he gave you to me; he has likewise given you back to me. And he gave you to me in your greatness; but he has likewise given you back to me even greater than before. Proceed, Lachesis, I beg you, spin out the whole long life of the prince with this same white wool; do not ever spoil the good threads with dark strands. And you, O father, who bestow worthy things on the worthy and mix together the fates of mortals from the two earthenware jars, do not add afflictions to this man's lot, or at least the fewest that can be, but let me forever have him full of joy, as he

Contra ego perpetuo sim, ut sum, letabilis illi,
Mutuaque haec nobis ac tam pia gaudia nunquam
Humanis infesta bonis turbaverit Ate.

65 Ad R.P. Guilhelmum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, Erasmi carmen iambicum trimetrum

[January 1506 / 13 September 1506]

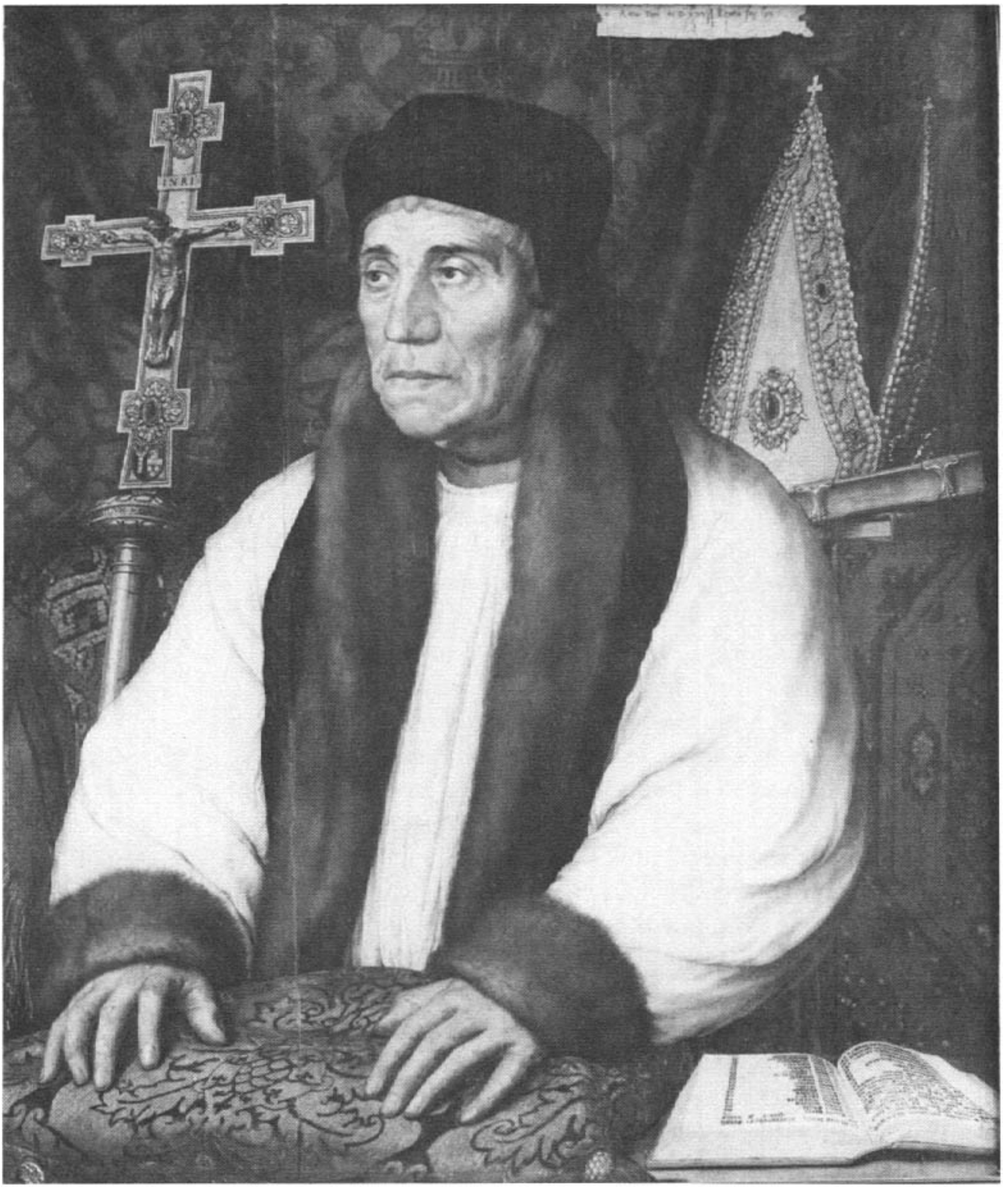
Scite poetas doctus appellat Maro
Cygnos, Guilhelme, praesulum eximium decus.
Res mira dictu, ut cuncta consensu novo
Vati atque holori congruant divinitus.
Niveus utrique candor: alter lacteis
Plumis, amico candet alter pectore.
Musis uterque gratus ac Phoebo sacer,
Et limpidis uterque gaudet amnibus,
Ripis adaeque uterque gaudet herbidis,
Pariter canorus uterque, tum potissimum,
Vicina seram mors senectam quum premit.
Sed qui tenent arcana naturae, negant
Audiri holorem, ni sonent Favonii.
Nil ergo mirum, barbaro hoc si saeculo
Canorus olim obmutuit vatum chorus,
Quum tot procaces undique obstrepant Noti
Boreaeque tristes invidorum et pinguium,
Nulli faventum provocent Favonii.
Quod si bonis clementer ingeniis tuae
Benignitatis blandus aspiret favor,
Ita ut facit, tota statim Britannia
Vates videbis exoriri candidos,
Adeo canoros atque vocales uti
In alta fundant astra cygnaeum melos,
Quod ipsa et aetas posterorum exaudiat.

now is. May he, on the other hand, forever find me a source of joy, as I now am. And may this interchange of loving joy between us never be disturbed by Ate, hostile to the goods enjoyed by mankind.

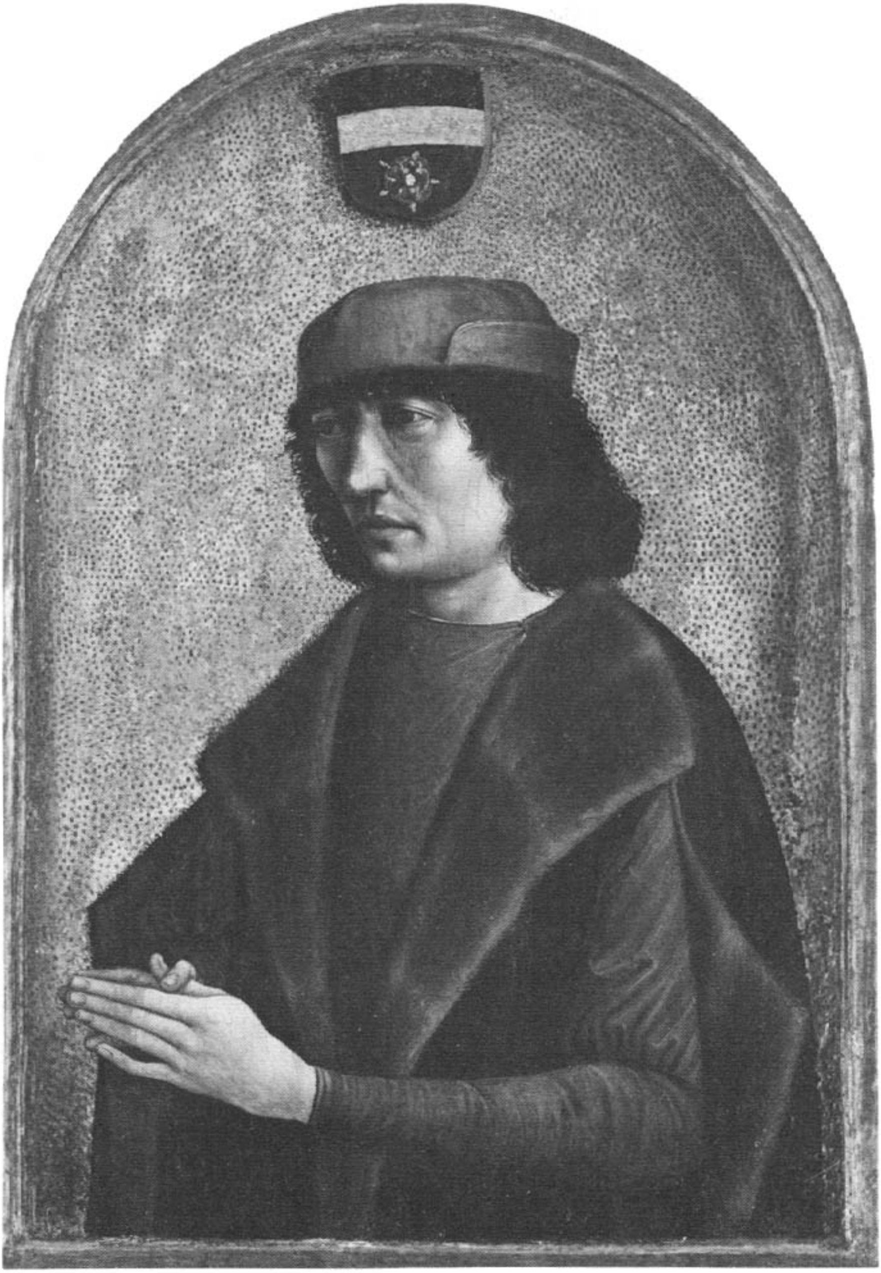
65 To the most reverend father, William, archbishop of Canterbury, a poem by Erasmus in iambic trimeters

William, pre-eminent splendour among bishops, the learned Virgil wittily calls poets swans. It is a marvellous thing to relate how all the features of the poet and the swan are strangely matched in a providential correspondence. Both are white as snow: the one has milk-white plumes; the other, a heart shining white with friendship. Both are favourites of the Muses and sacred to Phoebus. Both delight in clear streams; both are equally delighted with grassy river banks. Both are equally melodious, especially when death comes near and presses upon advanced old age.

But those who know the secrets of nature say that a swan is never heard except when the west wind is whispering. Therefore it is not surprising that in this barbarous age the once melodious choir of the poets has fallen silent, since roaring everywhere are the blatant south winds and the dismal north winds of the envious and the dull. No one is roused by the west winds of favouring patronage. But if the sweet favour of your beneficence blows mildly on good minds, as in fact it does, you will very soon see bright-white poets arising all over Britain, so melodious and vocal that they will pour forth swanlike melody up to the lofty stars, melody that will still be heard in the era of coming generations.



William Warham
Copy by Hans Holbein the Younger of his
original portrait of 1527, now lost
Musée du Louvre, Paris



Jérôme de Busleyden
Portrait by a Franco-Flemish master, c 1480–1500
Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut
Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection

66 Epitaphium carmine iambico trimetro D. Iacobi de Croy, ducis et episcopi Cameracensis

[c November 1516? / August 1518]

Utriusque gentis Croicae et Lalaingicae
Decus perenne, Iacobus hoc situs loco.
Praesulne fuerit melior an dux clarior,
Tibi, Camerace, nemo facile dixerit.
Evectae ad astra virgini matri sacer,
Cui fuerat usque pectore addictus pio,
Evexit hunc e rebus humanis dies.

67 In hymnos Bernardi Andreae Tolosatis poetae regii Erasmi Roterodami hexastichon

[April 1517? / 7 July 1517]

Maeonius vates ac Thracius Orpheus olim
  Hymnidicis cecinit numina vana modis.
Bernardina chelys veros canit ordine divos,
  Gaudens omniiugis divariare metris.
Haec lege, cui pietas, cui sunt coelestia cordi:
  Illa iuvant aures, haec refovent animum.

66 An epitaph in iambic trimeters for Lord Jacques de Croy, the duke and bishop of Cambrai

Jacques, the perennial glory of the houses of Croy and Lalaing, lies buried in this spot. No one would find it easy to tell you, Cambrai, whether he was better as a bishop or more illustrious as a duke. The day consecrated to the taking up into heaven of the Virgin Mother, to whom his pious heart was always devoted, was the day which took him up and away from human concerns.

67 A six-line poem by Erasmus of Rotterdam on the hymns of Bernard André of Toulouse, the king's poet

The Maeonian poet and Thracian Orpheus once sang rhythmic hymns to empty divinities. The lyre of Bernard sings of true saints according to their order [in the liturgical year], taking pleasure in gaining variety by using all sorts of metres. Read these if piety or the things of heaven are dear to your heart. Those poems delight the ear; these refresh the mind.

68 Epitaphium ad pictam imaginem clarissimi viri Hieronymi Buslidiani, praepositi Ariensis et consiliarii Regis Catholici, fratris reverendissimi patris ac domini Francisci, Archiepiscopi quondam Bizontini, qui Lovanii magnis impendiis instituit collegium, in quo publice tres linguae doceantur, Hebraica, Graeca, Latina

[c 26 March 1518 / August 1518]

Ἴαμβοι τρίμετροι

Ὁ τήνδε γράψας σώματος μορφὴν καλῶς,
Ὤφελες ἄγαλμα ζωγραφεῖν καὶ τοῦ νοός.
Ἐσιδεῖν ἂν εἴη πίνακος ἐν μιᾶς πέδῳ
Ἀρετῶν ἁπασῶν ἐρατὸν ἐγγύθεν χορόν·
Τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν ἱεροπρεπῆ πάνυ,
Τὴν σεμνότητα τήν τε σωφροσύνην ἅμα,
Τὴν χρηστότητα τήν τε παιδείαν καλήν –
Καὶ ταῦτα κἄλλα μόνος ὑπῆρχ' Ἱερώνυμος
Ὁ Βουσλεδιακῆς οἰκίας σέλας μέγα.

69 Trochaici tetrametri

[c 26 March 1518 / August 1518]

Nominis Buslidiani proximum primo decus,
Itane nos orbas virenti raptus aevo, Hieronyme?
Literae, genus, senatus, aula, plebs, ecclesia
Aut suum sydus requirunt aut patronum flagitant.
Nescit interire quisquis vitam honeste finiit:
Fama virtutum perennis vivet usque posteris.
Eruditio trilinguis triplici facundia
Te loquetur, cuius opibus restituta refloruit.

68 An epitaph to accompany a painting of the illustrious Jérôme de Busleyden, provost of Aire and councillor to the Catholic King, brother of the most reverend father and lord François, formerly archbishop of Besançon, who established in Louvain at great expense a college in which public instruction might be given in the three languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin

Iambic trimeters

O artist who drew the shape of this body so beautifully, you ought also to have done a portrait of the mind. Then we could have viewed on the ground of this one painting the lovely choral dance of all the virtues: piety full of reverence, dignity linked with self-restraint, honesty and a good education – these things and more were united in the single person of Jérôme, the great shining light of the house of Busleyden.

69 [Another epitaph for Jérôme de Busleyden] Trochaic tetrameters

O Jérôme, all but the highest ornament of the name Busleyden, are you thus snatched away in the prime of life, leaving us orphaned? Literature, your family, the Council, the court, the people, the church either ask to have their star returned to them or demand to have their patron back.

Anyone who has finished an upright life is incapable of perishing: the perennial fame of his virtues will always live for posterity. The three learned tongues will always speak of you with the threefold eloquence which was restored and reinvigorated by your wealth.

70 Erasmus Roterodamus in Brunonem Amerbachium

[November 1519 / March 1528]

Hic iacet, ante diem fatis ereptus iniquis,
Gentis Amerbachiae gloria prima Bruno.
Non tulit uxori superesse maritus amatae,
Turtur ut ereptae commoriens sociae.
Hunc blandae lugent Charites Musaeque trilingues
Canaque cum casta simplicitate fides.

71 Erasmi Rot. epitaphium in mortem Martini Dorpii

[8 November 1525 / March 1528]

Martinus ubi terras reliquit Dorpius,
Suum orba partum flet parens Hollandia,
Theologus ordo luget extinctum decus,
Tristes Camoenae candidis cum Gratiis
Tantum patronum lachrymis desiderant,
Lovaniensis omnis opplorans schola
Sidus suum requirit, 'o mors' inquiens
'Crudelis, atrox, saeva, iniqua et invida,
Itan' ante tempus floridam arborem secans,
Tot dotibus, tot spebus orbas, omnium
Suspensa vota?' Premite voces impias.
Non periit ille: vivit ac dotes suas
Nunc tuto habet, subductus aevo pessimo.
Sors nostra flenda est, gratulandum est Dorpio.
Haec terra servat, mentis hospitium piae,
Corpusculum, quod ad canorae buccinae
Vocem resignans optima reddet fide.

70 On Bruno Amerbach, by Erasmus of Rotterdam

Here lies Bruno, the first glory of the Amerbach family, snatched away by the unjust Fates before his time. The husband could not bear to survive his beloved wife, like a turtle-dove that dies at the same time that its mate is snatched away. The charming Graces mourn him, and the trilingual Muses, and venerable Faith together with chaste Simplicity.

71 An epitaph on the death of Maarten van Dorp, by Erasmus of Rotterdam

Now that Maarten van Dorp has left the earth behind him, Holland, like a bereaved mother, weeps for her child; the theological faculty mourns because its glory has been snuffed out; the sad Muses, together with the shining Graces, bewail with their tears the loss of such a great patron; the whole University of Louvain cries out in grief at the loss of its star and begs to have him back, saying: 'O Death, cruel, fierce, savage, wicked, and envious Death, do you thus cut down the flourishing tree before its time, leaving everyone bereft of so many gifts, so many hopes, cutting off the wishes of everyone?'

Suppress such impious words. He has not perished. He lives, and, carried away from this wicked age, he now has safe possession of his gifts. Our own fate is what we should weep for; we should congratulate Dorp. This plot of earth keeps what little is left of his body, which was an inn for his pious mind, and can be completely trusted to keep faith at the sound of the sonorous trumpet by rendering it up and giving it back.

72 Erasmi Rot. in Iacobum, paulo post defunctum

[autumn 1526? / March 1528]

Dum Dorpium assidere mensis coelitum,
Iacobe, gaudes, ille eodem te vocat.
Ita nos vicissim gratulamur et tibi
Datum esse mensis assidere coelitum.

73 Epitaphium Ioannis Frobenii per Erasmum Roterod.

[c November 1527 / March 1528]

Arida Ioannis tegit hic lapis ossa Frobeni,
  Orbe viret toto nescia fama mori.
Moribus hanc niveis meruit studiisque iuvandis,
  Quae nunc moesta iacent orba parente suo.
Rettulit, ornavit veterum monumenta sophorum
  Arte, manu, curis, aere, favore, fide.
Huic vitam in coelis date, numina iusta, perhennem;
  Per nos in terris fama perhennis erit.

74 Eiusdem in eundem Graece

[c November 1527 / March 1528]

Ὧδ' Ἰωάννης καθεύδει τυπογράφος Φροβέννιος.
Οὐδέν' ἄλλῳ πλέον ὀφείλει τῶν λόγων σπουδάσματα.
Μὴ νεκρὸν θρηνεῖτε, ζῇ γὰρ καὶ πνέει, πνεύσων ἀεί,
Τῇ τε ψυχῇ τῇ τε φήμῃ τοῖς τε βίβλων λειψάνοις.

72 On Jacob [Volkaerd], who died shortly afterwards, by Erasmus of Rotterdam

While you are rejoicing, Jacob, that Dorp is seated at the table of the saints in heaven, he calls you to come to the same place. Just so, we in turn are now joyful because it has been granted also to you to be seated at the table of the saints in heaven.

73 An epitaph for Johann Froben by Erasmus of Rotterdam

This stone covers the dry bones of Johann Froben, whose fame flourishes throughout the whole world and can never die. He earned it by his spotless morals and his contributions to scholarship, which now lies prostrate with grief, bereft of its father. He restored and adorned the monuments of the wise men of ancient times by means of his skill, manual dexterity, care, money, patronage, and faithfulness. Give to him, O just gods, an endless life in heaven. We will see to it that his fame on earth will be endless.

74 A Greek epitaph for the same man by the same poet

Here the printer Johann Froben is laid to rest. To no other man do literary studies owe more. Do not mourn him as dead. For he lives and breathes, and will do so forever, in his soul, his fame, and the books he left behind him.

75

[c May 1528? / 1529]

Philippus Haneton, clarus auro hic est eques.
Regi Philippo Caesarique Carolo
Cum laude gessit audientiarium.
Sacer ordo, quem vellus decorat aureum,
Voluit eundem praeesse thesauris suis.
Virtus in uno hoc vicit invidiam viro,
Tanta erat in omnes et fides et comitas
Animique candor. Maximis et infimis
Desideratus unice, coelum tenet.

76 Des. Erasmus Roterodamus

[31 October 1528]

Si cupis astrigeri primordia discere mundi,
Ac mox aethereos implexos orbibus orbes,
Denique quam vario cinctu quae ducitur arte
Linea convexi spatium secet: haec, age, pubes,
Perlege, quae triplici Ioachimi cura libello
Tradidit, ac facilem patefecit ad ardua callem.
Surrige te, qui repis humi, patriamque revise,
Astra: levis repete astra, genus qui ducis ab astris.

77 Des. Erasmus Roterodamus

[October 1528? / 1530]

Quae vix loquaci disceres volumine,
Brevis en tabella ponit ob oculos tibi.
Labor unius laborem ademit omnibus.

75 [An epitaph for Philippe Haneton]

Here lies Philippe Haneton, renowned as a knight of the Golden Fleece. He did laudable service as audiencer to King Philip and the emperor Charles. The holy order distinguished by the golden fleece chose him to preside over its treasury. In this man alone virtue conquered envy, so great was his trustworthiness and courtesy toward everyone, and the kindness of his heart. A unique loss to great men and lowly, he has his place in heaven.

76 Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam [on *Basic Principles of Astronomy* by Joachim Sterck van Ringelberg]

If you want to learn the rudiments of the universe and its stars, and then about their orbits in the heavens, woven one within another, and finally about the varying circumferences cut out by lines artfully constructed in the hollow dome of the heavens, come, young people, read through the three books of this careful work put out by Joachim, who has opened up an easy path for the steep ascent. All you who creep on the ground, rise up and revisit your homeland, the stars: float up lightly to seek once more the stars, since your race has its origins in the stars.

77 Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam [on a table in Joachim Sterck's book on astronomy]

What you might find hard to learn from a whole volume of discourse, look, this little diagram places it all right before your eyes. One man's work has made it unnecessary for

Ioachimus haec dat; fruere, lector, ac vale.

78

[1 February 1529 / 1529]

Hoc saxo tegitur celebris heros
Utenhovius ille Nicolaus,
Quo sub praeside Flandriae senatus
Multos floruit unice per annos.
Hoc patri orphana turba liberorum
Μνημεῖον posuit, pio quidem illa
Sed casso officio. Quid attinebat
Haec illi monumenta comparare,
Cuius scilicet approbata virtus
Haeret mentibus omnium, nec ulla
Illam vis abolebit aut vetustas?

79

[1 February 1529 / 1529]

Τίς εἶ θεάων; Οὔνομ᾽ ἐστί μοι Δίκη.
Τί δακρύεις οὖν; Τὸν δικαίαρχον καλὸν
Τὸν Νικόλαον Οὐθενώβιον ποθῶ,
Ὅς ἦν ἁπάσης Φλανδρίας κλέος μέγα.
Τούτου γὰρ οὐδεὶς βελτίων πέφυκ᾽ ἀνήρ.
Φιλῷ θανόντι συναπέθανον, ὡς μοι δοκῶ.
Οὐκ ἦν δίκαιος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ δίκη.

80

[early April 1529 / 1529]

Gallus es, et gallina tibi est; fausto omine dono
Gallum, cui coniunx teneros fovet anxia foetus.

all others to work. Joachim gives you this gift. Enjoy it, reader, and farewell.

78 [An epitaph for Nicolaas Uutenhove]

This stone covers that illustrious hero Nicolaas Uutenhove, under whose presidency the Council of Flanders flourished for many years in an unprecedented way. The orphaned flock of his children set up this *monimentum* to their father – truly a pious and dutiful undertaking but an empty gesture. What good did it do to set up this monument to him? After all, it is to a man whose established virtue sticks fast in everyone's mind and can never be destroyed by any violence or any passage of the years.

79 [Another epitaph for Nicolaas Uutenhove]

'Which of the goddesses are you?'

'My name is Justice.'

'Why, then, are you weeping?'

'I mourn the loss of that good and just magistrate Nicolaas Uutenhove, who was the crowning glory of all Flanders. Never was born a better man than he. With the death of my dear friend, I too have died, as it seems to me: he was not a just man but rather Justice herself.'

80 [A gift of a rooster, a hen, and their chicks to a newly wed couple]

You are a Frenchman [*Gallus*] and you have a sweetheart [*gallina*]. My gift is a good omen: a rooster [*gallus*] whose consort anxiously cares for their tender offspring.

81 [13 April 1529 / 1529]

Iam, Basilea, vale, qua non urbs altera multis
Annis exhibuit gratius hospitium.
Hinc precor omnia laeta tibi, simul illud, Erasmo
Hospes uti ne unquam tristior adveniat.

82 [July 1529 / 1529]

Obsecro, quid sibi vult, ingens quod ab aethere nymbus
Noctes atque dies sic sine fine ruit?
Terrigenae quoniam nolunt sua crimina flere,
Coelum pro nobis solvitur in lacrymas.

83 Epitaphium Corneliae Sandriae, quondam Petri Aegidii coniugis [January 1530 / 1530]

Cornelia hoc sub lapide dormio Sandria,
Olim Petro Gillo beata coniuge,
Cui parentis dulce nomen octies
Mater dedi. Domum atque dulces liberos
Fovere et uni casto amore et integra
Fide marito complacere in omnibus
Unica voluptas, cura mi fuit unica,
Solatium hoc, haec summa votorum fuit.
Praepropera mors, quam arctos amores, quam bene
Conglutinata distrahis tu pectora!
Per te mihi sextum negatum est, invida,
Peragere lustrum. Quisquis haec, hospes, legis,
I nunc et umbris fidito fugacibus.
Manet una pietas, reliqua fumus avolant.

81 [On his departure from Basel]

Now farewell, Basel. I never found more pleasant hospitality in any other city than I did for many years in you. Hence I pray that all may go well for you and I add this prayer: may no guest ever be sadder at his arrival than Erasmus was at his departure.

82 [On the rainstorms at Freiburg im Breisgau]

I ask you now, what can it mean that such a torrential downpour of rain falls from the sky night and day, with no end in sight? Since earthborn men refuse to weep for their sins, heaven is dissolved in tears on our behalf.

83 An epitaph for Cornelia Sandrien, the former wife of Pieter Gillis

I, Cornelia Sandrien, sleep under this stone. Once I had the blessing to be the wife of Pieter Gillis, on whom, as the mother of his children, I eight times bestowed the sweet name of father. To take care of our home and our sweet children, to please my husband alone in all things with chaste love and unswerving faithfulness, that was my only pleasure, my only concern, that was my consolation, that was the height of my desires. Over-hasty Death, no matter how tightly one love is bound to another, one heart fused with another, how you pull them apart! Malicious Death, you refused to let me live through my third decade. And you, stranger, who are reading this, whoever you may be, go now and place your trust in fleeting shadows. Only piety remains; the rest flies away like smoke.

84 Aliud in eandem [January 1530 / 1530]

Hac sita quae iaceo Cornelia condita petra,
  Petro olim Aegidio coniuge clara fui.
Bis quater huic enixa parentis amabile nomen
  Donavi toties, non fruitura diu.
Nam prius ac sextum licuisset claudere lustrum,
  Filum aevi secuit Parca maligna mei.
Cura fuit domus et charissima pignora, fama
  Integra et obsequiis demeruisse virum.
Hoc studium fuit, haec votorum summa meorum,
  Extra haec in vita nil mihi dulce fuit.

85 Epitaphium secundae coniugis [January 1530 / 1530]

Hic ossa Mariae lapis habet Dionysiae.
Digamam digamus hanc Petrus Aegidius sibi
Ascivit, ex qua est filia auctus unica.
Interiit a partu diebus pauculis,
Aevo virens, nec est datum diu frui
Charo marito dulcibusque liberis.
Aeterna quaere, tenuis est vita haec vapor.

86 Epitaphium Antonii Clavae senatoris Gandavensis [January 1530 / 1530]

Quis hic quiescis? 'Clava cognomen mihi est,
Antonius nomen.' Quid audio miser?
Itane occidisti, lux senatus Gandici
Et literarum dulce praesidium ac decus?
'Vixi satis, nam lustra quatuordecim

84 Another epitaph for the same lady

I, Cornelia, who lie buried beneath this stone, was once renowned as the wife of Pieter Gillis. Eight times I bestowed on him the lovely name of father by bearing him children, but I was not destined to enjoy them long. For, before I was permitted to conclude my third decade, the malign Fate cut the thread of my life. My concern was our home and our dearest children and to earn the love of my husband by keeping my reputation spotless and serving him well. This was my goal, this was the height of my desires; apart from this nothing in life was sweet to me.

85 An epitaph for his second wife

This stone holds the bones of Maria Denys. Pieter Gillis, her second husband, took her as his second wife, who blessed him with a single daughter. She died a few days after giving birth, still in the prime of life, and she had no chance to enjoy her beloved husband and sweet children very long. Seek things eternal; this life is a thin mist.

86 An epitaph for Antonius Clava, city councillor of Ghent

'Who are you who are resting here?'

'My family name is Clava. My first name is Antonius.'

'It makes me miserable to hear it. Have you set, then, O light of the city council of Ghent, the sweet patron and the glory of learning?'

'I lived long enough, for I had finished my seventh decade.'

Peregeram.' Tibi quidem satis diu,
Sed literis et patriae parum diu.
O coelites, quur talibus saltem viris
Non est perhennis addita immortalitas?
Quod restat unum, Clava, tristi carmine
Et lachrymis moesti parentamus tibi.

87 Per Des. Eras. Roterodamum

φιλολόγου καὶ βιβλιοπώλου διάλογος [winter 1530–1 / 1531]

Φιλ. Τί νέον κομίζεις; βίβλον;
Βιβ. Οὐδαμῶς.
Φιλ. Τί δή;
Βιβ. Χρυσοῦ ῥέεθρα.
Φιλ. Ναὶ σὺ πλουσίως λέγεις,
Ταχύτερον εἰπέ.
Βιβ. Τὸν Σταγειρίτην λέγω,
Ὃν ἔλαθεν οὐδὲν τῶν μαθημάτων μέρος.
Οὗτός γ᾽ ἀνέζησ᾽ ὡς πρὸ τοῦ πολὺ καλλίων.
Φιλ. Λέγεις ἀληθέως τ᾽ Ἀμαλθείας κέρας.
Βιβ. Οὐ μέν γ᾽ ὀπώρας μεστόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀμεινόνων.
Φιλ. Καὶ τίς τοσοῦτον πλοῦτον ἡμῖν ἐμφέρει;
Βιβ. Τοῦτόν γε παρέχει φιλόπονος Βεβέλλιος.
Φιλ. Χρυσέμπορος γοῦν ἐστιν, οὐ λογέμπορος.
Βιβ. Ναί, κεἴ τι χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων προφερέστερον,
Θείας δὲ σοφίας οὐδέν ἐστ᾽ ἀντάξιον.

'For you that is long enough indeed, but it is too short for learning and for your country. O inhabitants of heaven, to such men at least why have you not given endless immortality? All that is left for us to do, Clava, is to perform sorrowful rites in your honour with tears and a poem of mourning.'

87

A dialogue between a scholar and a bookseller, by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam

Scholar What's the new thing you are carrying? A book?
Bookseller By no means.
Scholar What is it then?
Bookseller Streams of gold.
Scholar You certainly are using rich language. Do get to the point.
Bookseller I am talking about the Stagirite, who let no branch of learning elude him. He has come to life again much more attractive than before.
Scholar You are right; he is a horn of plenty.
Bookseller Not, however, filled with fruit, but with something better.
Scholar And who is gathering in all these riches for us?
Bookseller They are provided by the industrious Bebel.
Scholar A dealer in gold he is, not a dealer in words.
Bookseller Yes, and in fact, it is something far better than gold or precious stones. For nothing can match godlike wisdom.

88

Des. Erasmi Roterodami divae Genovefae praesidio a quartana febre liberati carmen votivum

[late spring 1531? / 1532]

Diva, pii vatis votivum solvere carmen
Qui cupit aspirans votis sterilem imbue venam
Mentis, et ut te digna canat, tu suggere vires,
Protectrix Genovefa tuae fidissima gentis,
Gallia quam late triplici discrimine secta
Porrigitur; sed praecipue tibi pars ea cordi est,
Sequana qua hospitibus factus iam animosior undis,
Matrona quas defert fluvioque admiscet amico,
Pomiferos per agros, per prata virentia perque
Vitiferos colles adopertaque frugibus arva
Vitreus incedit et ad amplam Parisiorum
Metropolim properans ad levam pronus adorat
Arcem, virgo, tuam, mox brachia dividit atque
Virgineae matris spatiosam amplectitur aedem,
Ac flexu augustam veneratus supplice divam,
In sese redit adque tui cunabula partus
Ac praedulce solum, quo sacra infantula primos
Vagitus dederas, festinat alacrior amnis.
Viculus est humilis, sed tali prole beatus.
Huc igitur properans, obiter vicina salutat
Phana dicata tibi, Celtarum lux Dionysi.
Hac regione diu sinuosis flexibus errans,
In se volvitur atque revolvitur, ora subinde
Ad cunas, Genovefa, tuas urbemque relictam
Reflectens, dicas invitum abscedere flumen.

88 A poem by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam in fulfilment of a vow made to Ste Geneviève, whose protection freed him from a quartan fever

Look with favour, holy lady, on the desires of a dutiful poet who wishes to fulfil his vow by writing the promised poem; enrich his depleted poetic vein and lend him the power to praise you in a suitable poem, O Geneviève, most faithful protectress of your people, as far as France, divided into three sections, extends, but you are most concerned about that part where the Seine, growing more vigorous as he plays host to the waters which the Marne yields and mingles with his river friend, proceeds glassy-smooth through orchards, through flourishing meadows, through the vineyards on the hillsides and the fields covered with crops, and, as he hurries on to the large metropolis of Paris, he bends down in reverence to your citadel on the left hand, O virgin; then he spreads his arms and embraces the grand sanctuary of the Virgin Mother; and, bending humbly in veneration of that holy and majestic lady, the river gathers himself together again and eagerly hastens on to the cradle of your birth and the most sweet soil where you as a holy little babe gave forth your first cries. The village is a humble one, but it is blessed in having such offspring. And so, hurrying along toward that village, he salutes in passing the nearby church dedicated to you, Denis, light of the Celts. As he pursues for a long time his wandering, winding way in this region, he bends back on himself time and again, turning his head repeatedly toward your cradle, Geneviève, and the city he has left behind; you would say that the river was unwilling to depart.

Est merito cunctis venerabile Namethodorum,
Cui licet hospitibus monumenta ostendere prisca
Ortus, diva, tui fontemque liquore salubri
Undantem. At potius bis terque quaterque videtur
Praeside te felix populosa Lutetia, virgo,
Cuius tutelam pariter cum virgine matre
Iugibus excubiis peragis, nec enim illa gravatur
Muneris eiusdem collegam. Tu quidem in alta
Sublimis specula late circumspicis agros
Ac mala propulsas charis minitantia Gallis.
Illa fovet gremio miseros mediamque per urbem
Audit egenorum ploratus, hic quoque natum
Clementem mater referens, nihilo secus ac tu
Sponsa tuum, Genovefa, refers mitissima sponsum.
Interea paribus studiis defenditis ambae
Germanos Druidas ac maiestate senatum
Regali, sed Christophilum super omnia regem,
Illos qui populo reserent oracula mentis
Divinae, hos variis ut mixtam gentibus urbem
Aequo iure regant. Est vestri muneris ergo
Nulla quod hoc aevo respublica floreat usquam
Prosperius.
Sed tempus adest, ut carmine grates
Persolvam, Genovefa, tibi pro munere vitae
Ac paeana canam, multis e millibus unus
Quos ope praesenti servasti. Languida febris,
Triste tenaxque malum, quod quarto quoque recurrit
Usque die, miseros penitus pervaserat artus.
Consultus medicus sic consolatur, abesse
Diceret ut vitae discrimen, sed fore morbum
Lentum. Mox haec vox me non secus enecat ac si

Nanterre is deservedly venerated by everyone, since it can display to its visitors the ancient monuments of your birth, holy lady, and your spring, flowing with healing waters. But happy indeed, thrice happy and more, O virgin, is populous Paris, which you continuously protect and guard, together with the Virgin Mother. For she takes no umbrage at sharing her office with a colleague. You, to be sure, high in your lofty watch-tower, look around far and wide over the fields and repel any evils that threaten your dear Frenchmen; she fondles the wretched in her bosom and hears the woeful cries of the poor in the midst of the city, a mother who represents here also her merciful son, just as you, Geneviève, espoused to Christ, represent your spouse by your great kindness. At the same time you are both equally diligent in protecting the true teachers of religion and the parliament with its regal majesty, but above all the Christ-loving king: the teachers, so that they can reveal to the people the mysteries of the divine mind; the secular rulers, so that they may rule over the city with equal justice for all its mixed and diverse inhabitants. And so it is a gift from both of you that in this age there is nowhere a more prosperous and flourishing commonwealth.

But now it is time, Geneviève, that I give you thanks in poetry for the gift of my life, time that I sing a paean to celebrate your making me one of the many thousands you have saved by being at hand with your help. An enervating fever, a grievous and persistent affliction, which returned every third day, completely pervaded the limbs of my suffering body. The physician I consulted consoled me by saying that my life was not in danger but added that this was a lingering disease. Thereupon I found those words of his as

Dixisset: 'prius atque quater sol occidat, alta
In cruce pendebis.' Siquidem est renovata cicatrix,
Dum mihi post multos animus reminiscitur annos
Quod puerum toto febris me haec torserat anno.
Proin erat in votis mihi mors, quia tristius omni
Morte malum medicus denunciat. Hic mihi numen,
Diva, tuum venit in mentem, simul optima quaedam
Spes animum reficit, tacitoque haec pectore volvo:
'Virgo, sponsa deo gratissima, corpore terram
Quum premeres, semper miseris succurrere sueta,
Et nunc plura potes, postquam te regia coeli
Coepit et es Christo sponso vicinior, huc huc
Flecte oculos, Genovefa, tuos et corpore febrim
Pellito. Me studiis, sine queis nec vivere dulce est,
Obsecro, restituas, etenim levius puto vitam
Exhalare semel quam lento arescere morbo.
Quod tibi pollicear, nihil est, nec tu indiga nostri es.
Quod superest, grato recinam tibi carmine laudes.'
Vix ea fatus eram nullo cum murmure linguae,
Verum intra arcanae mecum penetralia mentis
(Prodigiosa loquar, sed compertissima), stratis
Exilio, reddor studiis, vestigia nulla
Sentio languoris nec inertis taedia febris.
Septima lux aderat, qua se quartana recurrens
Prodere debuerat, sed corpus alacrius omne
Quam fuit ante viget. Medicus redit atque quid actum
Miratur, vultum speculatur et ore latentem
Explorat linguam, tum quem vesica liquorem

devastating as if he had said 'before the fourth sun sets you will be hanging high on the cross.' For his words opened up an old wound, as my mind went back to what had happened many years ago when as a lad such a fever as this had tortured me for a whole year. Therefore I desired to die because the physician had pronounced for me a fate worse than any death. At that point, holy lady, your heavenly power came into my mind, which was refreshed by a vague but powerful hope, and I silently turned over in my heart such thoughts as these: 'O virgin, spouse most pleasing to God, when in your body you walked on this earth, you were always helping miserable people, and now you can do even more, now that the royal court of heaven has received you and you are closer to your spouse Christ – hither, turn your eyes hither, O Geneviève, and drive this fever out of my body. Restore me, I beg you, to my studies, without which life itself has no sweetness, for I think it would be easier to breathe out my life all at once than to shrivel away with this slow disease. What I can promise you is nothing, nor do you have need of anything from us. As for the rest, I will compose a poem of gratitude in praise of you.' I had hardly said this – with no murmuring of the tongue, but deep within the secret recesses of my mind – when (what I am going to say is miraculous but quite well established), when, I say, I sprang up from my bed, went back to my studies, felt no trace of exhaustion nor any of the deadening weariness of the fever. The seventh day dawned, when the quartan fever was supposed to return, but my body felt more active and vigorous than it had before. The physician came back and was amazed at what had happened. He looked over my face and examined my tongue in the recesses of my mouth, and then he asked for

Reddiderat poscit, quin brachia denique summis
Pertentat digitis. Ubi nullas comperit usquam
Morbi relliquias, 'et quis deus,' inquit, 'Erasme,
Te subito fecit alium? Quis corpore febrim
Depulit ac vatem me, quo de gaudeo, vanum
Reddidit? Is, quisquis divum fuit, arte medendi
Plus nostra, fateor, multo valet: haud ope post hac
Nostra opus est.' Nomen medici vis nosse? Guihelmus
Copus erat, iam tum florens iuvenilibus annis
Me quamvis aetate prior, perfectus ad unguem
Dotibus ingenii, sophiaeque mathemata callens
Ut si quisquam alius. Senio nunc fessus in aula
Francisci regis, procerum inter lumina, cunctis
Charus adoratur fruiturque laboribus actis.
Hic igitur mihi testis erit gravis atque locuples
Munere, diva, tuo revocatae, virgo, salutis.
Quanquam quicquid id est, autori gloria Christo
In solidum debetur honosque perhennis in aevum.
Muneris huius erat, quod viva deo placuisti;
Muneris eiusdem est, quod mortua pluribus aegris
Praesidio es. Sponso sic visum est omnipotenti.
Per te largiri gaudet sua munera, per te
Gaudet honorari, veluti lux ignea Phoebi
Per vitrum splendet iucundius, ac veluti fons
Per puras transfusus amat manare canales.
Hoc unum superest, ut te precer, optima virgo,
Ne mihi sit fraudi, quod tanto tempore votum
Solvere distulerim. Patere hanc accedere laudem
Tot titulis, Genovefa, tuis: ut castior usquam
Nulla fuit, toto non ulla modestior orbe,

some of the fluid produced by my bladder. Finally he even tested my arms with his fingertips. When he found no remaining traces of the disease, 'Erasmus,' he said, 'what god has so suddenly made you into another person? Who drove the fever out of your body and made me – much to my delight – a false prophet? Whichever god it was, he can do far more, I confess, than my skill in healing. After this there will be no need for my help.' Do you want to know the name of the physician? It was Guillaume Cop, at that time still young and vigorous, though somewhat older than I was, his intellectual endowments honed razor-sharp and conversant with learning and wisdom on a par with anyone. He is now old and weary, at the court of King Francis, among the luminaries of the nobility; beloved and venerated by all, he enjoys the fruits of his past labours. This man, therefore, will be my weighty and substantial witness of how you, O holy virgin, gave me the gift of recovered health.

But whatever it is, the glory of it belongs entirely to its source, Christ; to him be the honour for ever and ever. It was his gift that while you were alive you were pleasing to God. It is his gift that after your death you are the refuge of more sick people. Such was the pleasure of your almighty spouse. He rejoices in dispensing his gifts through you. He rejoices in being honoured through you, just as the burning light of Phoebus shines through glass more pleasantly, and just as a spring delights in pouring itself out through clean conduits.

All that remains, O best of virgins, is for me to beg that I suffer no harm because I put off fulfilling this vow for so long. To your many titles of praise, Geneviève, allow this one to be added: as no one in the whole world was more chaste, no one more modest than you were, so

Sic nec in aethereis clementior ulla feratur.

89 [24 September 1532 / c January 1534]

Lauta mihi, Petre, mittis edulia, sed stomachus deest.
Vis mage quod placeat mittere, mitte famem.

90 [24 September 1532 / c January 1534]

Perfacile est, fateor, proverbia scribere cuivis,
At perdifficile est scribere chiliadas.

91 [March 1533]

Perfacile est, aiunt, proverbia scribere cuivis.
Haud nego, sed durum est scribere chiliadas.
Qui mihi non credit, faciat licet ipse periclum.
Mox fuerit studiis aequior ille meis.

92 Epitaphium D. Udalrici Zasii. Per Erasmum Rot.

[early April 1536 / 1536]

Siccine, mors crudelis et invida, praeripis orbi
Ulrichum Zasium, decus admirabile iuris
Caesarei simul et sacri? Paucissima dixi:
Imo doctrinae totius et artis honestae
Thesaurum ac mundum locupletem, cuius ab ore
Manabat sermo vel melle suavior omni.
Quid nunc collaudem summum pietatis amorem

let no one among the saints in heaven be considered more merciful than you.

89 [Lines to Pierre Du Chastel, who sent him some partridges]

Pierre, you send me elegant edibles, but I have no stomach for them. If you want to send something that would please me more, send me an appetite.

90 [On collecting proverbs]

It is quite easy, I admit, for anyone to write down proverbs, but it is quite difficult to write down thousands of them.

91 [On collecting proverbs]

It is quite easy, they say, for anyone to write down proverbs. I don't deny it, but it is hard to write down thousands of them. If anyone doesn't believe me, he can make the experiment for himself. He will soon have a fairer appreciation of my efforts.

92 An epitaph for Master Ulrich Zasius by Erasmus of Rotterdam

Cruel and envious Death, are you thus prematurely snatching away from the world Ulrich Zasius, the marvellous ornament of both imperial and canon law? But this says very little. Indeed he was a treasury and a well-stocked world of all learning and upright skill; from his mouth flowed speech sweeter than any honey. Why should I add to his praises his

Et mentem coelo dignam, quo iam illa soluta
Corporis involucris fruitur sine fine beata?
Quod superest: te compello, studiosa iuventus,
Tandem pone modum lachrymis iustoque dolori.
Vocis adempta tibi est Zasianae copia, verum
Extant ingenii monumenta perennia. Quae si
Assidue manibusque teras oculisque frequentes,
Spirat in his loquiturque viri pars optima semper.

unmatched love of piety and a mind worthy of heaven, which it now enjoys, freed from the trammels of the body, in unending beatitude? As for the rest, I adjure you, young students, put an end at last to your tears and your justifiable lamentation. The full-throated voice of Zasius has been taken from you, but the perennial monuments of his intellectual genius still stand. If you constantly turn their pages with your hands and read them often with your eyes, in them the best part of the man will always breathe and speak.

POEMS PUBLISHED DURING ERASMUS' LIFETIME WITHOUT HIS CONSENT

From *Silva carminum* ed Reyner Snoy
(Gouda: Aellaerdus Gauter, 17 May 1513)

M. REYNERIUS SNOY LECTORI SALUTEM

Habes, candide lector, primam feturam Herasmi Roterodami, viri undecunque doctissimi. Quum Steynico rure canonicum regularem ageret, has ingenii sui primitias admodum adolescens (nondum annum agebat vigesimum) felicissimo auspicatu delibavit atque prelusit, eximiam animi indolem, precoci suffragante ingenio, palestrae poetices desudatione et instruens et exprimens. Indidem Guielmus noster Goudanus ut alter Theseus cum Herasmo suo in Steynico rure (ubi professione canonici erant regulares) annis ferme decem convixit haud minore animorum observantia atque studiorum similitudine. Profecto felix Steynicum illud rus religione et doctrina conspicuum, quod hos educavit alumnos de litteraria republica optime meritos quosque omnis est admiratura posteritas. Utroque dicendi genere (quod inventu rarum) adeo absoluta itemque elaborata suorum ingeniorum monumenta reliquerunt, ut suffragium Minervae emeritos omnibus in confesso sit. Uter palmariam operam navaverit hisce pauculis poematum eorum lucubratiunculis, candide lector, (ut voles) pro arbitratu percense, nam tibi suffragium supposcens pallium trahit nemo. Sedulo si perlegeris, haud facile diiudicatu estimabis. Hoc carthaceo munere te donamus; propediem plura accepturus si hec aequi bonique consulueris. Sin minus susque deque habendo in spongiam (ut aiunt) incumbent. Vale.

POEMS PUBLISHED DURING ERASMUS' LIFETIME WITHOUT HIS CONSENT

From *A Collection of Poems* ed. Reyner Snoy
(Gouda: Aellaerdus Gauter, 17 May 1513)

MASTER REYNER SNOY TO THE READER, GREETINGS

You have here, kind reader, the earliest offspring of Erasmus of Rotterdam, a man richly endowed with all kinds of learning. When he was a canon regular resident at Steyn in the countryside and while he was still a young man (for he was not yet twenty), he gathered these first-fruits of his talent and set forth this prelude, a most happy omen of things to come. Favoured by his precocious talent, he worked up a sweat in the gymnasium of poetry, both training and expressing his outstanding mental gifts. In the same place our friend Willem of Gouda lived about ten years, like another Theseus, with Erasmus in the countryside at Steyn (where they were professed canons regular), joined no less by their regard for each other than by their similar goals. Happy indeed is that country monastery of Steyn, outstanding for religion and learning, since it nurtured these foster-sons, to whom the world of learning owes such a great debt and whom all posterity will admire. In both kinds of composition – and rarely do we find this – they have left us such perfect and carefully finished monuments of their genius that it is clear to everyone that they have earned the accolade of Minerva. Which of them has succeeded in winning the prize in these little poetic products of their midnight oil, judge for yourself, kind reader, just as you please, for no one secretly asks how you voted or uncloaks the choice you made. If you read carefully, you will not find it at all easy to render a decision. We present you with this paper gift; if you look on these with satisfaction and favour, you will soon get more. If not, being considered neither here nor there, they will (as the saying goes) fall on the sponge. Farewell.

93 Apologia Herasmi et Cornelii sub dyalogo lamentabili assumpta adversus barbaros qui veterum eloquentiam contemnunt et doctam poesim derident. Tres primi versus asclepiadei sunt. Quartus est gliconius.

[late winter – May 1489 / 1513]

Herasmus

Ad te, sola michi quem dedit agnitum
Nuper fama tui splendida nominis,
Scribo, docte. Tuas me sine paululum
    Aures questibus impleam.
Assuetos numeris, frater, ab ordine
Scribendis calamos cunctaque carmina
Cogit livor edax ponere. Proh dolor,
    Iam pridem posui quidem.
Ex hoc sacra Iovi non tero limina,
Non secreta diu visa michi domus,
Doctum qua viridis laurus amat caput.
    Reieci procul omnia.
Demum nulla michi Pieridum sacros
Collustrare choros, non bifidi iuga
Montis cura fuit visere, denique
    Non amnes Helyconios.
Dixi, Musa, vale, non sine lachrimis,
Et tu, Phebe pater, perpetuum vale.
Olim nostra quies, noster eras amor.
    Te nunc desero non volens.
Cogit livor edax, diva poemata
Quod norunt minime, collacerantium.
Cogit (sed pudor est) Archadiae cohors
    Iam stellis numerosior.
Hec, semper stimulis acta ferocibus,

93 A defence taken up by Erasmus and Cornelis in the form of a sorrowful dialogue, directed against the barbarous persons who scorn the eloquence of the ancients and deride learned poetry. The first three lines [of each strophe] are asclepiadean; the fourth is glyconic.

Erasmus

Learned sir, until recently I knew you only by the report of your illustrious reputation. I write to you now and beg your indulgence in lending your ear for a little while to my complaints.

It was once my regular practice, my brother, to exercise my pen in ordered metrical composition, but now, alas, consuming envy forces me to abandon poetry completely. Indeed, I abandoned it some time ago, alas and alack!

Since then I no longer step over the threshold sacred to Jove. For a long time I have not visited the secluded abode where the green laurel loves the learned brow. I have put all such things far behind me.

Then finally I lost all desire to observe the holy dance of the Muses, to visit the ridges of the double-peaked mountain or even the streams of Helicon.

I have bid you farewell, O Muse, not without tears. To you also, father Phoebus, farewell forever. Once you were my peace, you were my passion. I leave you now, however unwillingly.

I am forced by the consuming malice of those who in their ignorance tear divine poems to shreds. I am forced (but what a shame!) by a host of bumpkins more numerous even than the stars.

This arrogant herd, always goaded by their

Priscis chara (nephas) carmina seculis
Facundamque stilo Calliopen tumens
    Indignis pedibus terit.
Doctos illa viros invidiae nigris
Incandens facibus dente venefico
Nunquam (crede michi) rodere desinit,
    Nunquam carpere desinit.

Cornelius

Hec mecum tacitus sepe revolveram,
Communi cupiens mesticia virum,
Divae qui cytharae carperet invidos.
    Te letor comitem michi.
Obstringit (fateor) me vehemens dolor.
Plenos barbariae et pectinis emulos
Mecum, queso, Iovis plangite filiae,
    Nam fletum locus exigit.
Sacris turba modis inscia detrahit,
Contemnens placidos Castalidum sonos.
O sensu vacuum vel cerebro caput,
    Musa, dum reprobas, eges.
En confert furiis, mitigat asperam
Cordis seviciam, demona comprimit.
Tu qum sis similis carmina dilige,
    Placantem repetens lyram.
Sed iam tanta tui pectoris abdita
Invasit rabies omne premens iecur,
Ut nec Peonia disperiat manu,
    Nec speranda tibi salus.
Eheu quam miser es! Qui tibi congrua
Contemnens reducis dona malagmatis
Corrodis medicum, num medicabere?
    Non vivus capies necem.
Cur torquere (cedo) dum canimus, miser?

fierce passions, tramples under their worthless feet (Oh what a crime!) poems dear to bygone ages; they spurn Calliope, the mistress of eloquent speech.

Burning with the dusky torches of envy, never (believe me) do they cease to bite learned men with their poisonous fangs, never do they cease to snap.

Cornelis

I had often silently reflected on these things, longing for a man to share my grief, someone who would snap back at those who vent their spite at the divine lyre. I rejoice that I have found in you a fellow spirit.

I am afflicted, I confess, by intense grief. O daughters of Jove, join me, I beg you, in bewailing those who are brimming with barbarism and spiteful envy of the poetic plectrum. For the topic is one that calls for tears.

The ignorant mob disparages the holy measures of poetry, scorning the peaceful notes of the Castalian sisters. O brainless blockhead, you have need of the very Muse you reject.

See how she confronts madness, soothes cruel-hearted savagery, subdues the demon. Since all these apply to you, hold poetry dear; take up once more the soothing lyre.

But rage has already pierced so deep into your heart and so totally suppressed your understanding that the malady will not yield to the healing Paeonian hand, nor can you hope for health.

Alas, how miserable you are! You scorn the appropriate gift of a restorative plaster, you find fault with the physician – are you likely to be cured? Lifeless even now, you will utterly destroy yourself.

Come now, why are you in such miserable

En scribens Galatis Paulus apostolus
Infert Meonii diva poemata,
Fedantem reprobans gulam.
Quin et moricanis sepius in libris
Aptant laurigeros ecclesiae modos
Doctores nitidi scematibus stili
Lucas, Iheronimus, Leo.

Herasmus

Et quid? nonne tibi iusta videbitur
Urgens causa stilum? Nonne per omnia
Dixi vera, comes? Vera per omnia
Dixi, te quoque iudice.
Nusquam grandisonam Virgilii tubam,
Nusquam blandisonam Meonii lyram,
Nusquam (crede michi) compta Papinii
Audis carmina concini.
Docto Flaccus ubi, queso, poemate?
Seu Lucanus ubi qui generi necem
Scribens Pindarico concrepat organo?
Sordent heu sine nomine.
Phebeae regio lucis in ambitu
Olim non viguit, nec fuit insula
Per quas non ierat conscia carminum
Pulchro Calliope pede.
Indus labra tumens et cute decolor,
Qui Phebum liquidis aurea fluctibus
Primus progreditur cornua cernere
Tollentem, coluit modos.
Novit Thespiadum carmina Gadium
Tellus, occiduis proxima solibus
Et postrema suos tergere pulveres
Spectans oceano diem.

torment while we are singing? See how the apostle Paul, writing to the Galatians, introduces the divine poems of Homer when he castigates the filthy vice of gluttony.

Indeed, the teachers of the church, such as Luke, Jerome, and Leo, in books that descant on moral matters, very often fit poetic rhythms into the rhetorical patterns of their elegant styles.

Erasmus

What then? Don't you think that the case which impels me to take up my pen is sound? Don't you think, partner of mine, that I have spoken the truth in all respects? I have spoken the truth in all respects, as even you yourself admit.

Nowhere do you hear the lofty sound of Virgil's trumpet, nowhere do you hear the charming tones of Homer's lyre, nowhere (believe me) do your hear anyone chant the elegant verses of Statius.

Where, I ask you, is Horace with his learned poetry? Or where is Lucan, whose verse takes on Pindaric majesty when he writes of the death of the son-in-law? Alas, they are forgotten and despised.

Once there was no flourishing realm under the shining round of Phoebus' course, there was no island, through which Calliope, her mind full of poetry, did not make her way on her lovely feet.

The fat-lipped, dark-skinned Indian, who is the first to go out and see Phoebus lift his golden horns from the flowing waves, cultivated poetry.

The songs of the Muses were known in the land of Gades, nearest to the setting sun, the last place to see the day-star washing off his dust in the ocean.

Et quid plura feram? Novit et ultima
Thyle, nec vacua sub Styge pallidi
Manes despiciunt carmina; testis est
En vates Rhodopeius.
Is raptam numeris Euridicen querens
Mulcebat placidis infera cantibus.
Commovisse ferunt Tartareum caput
Plutonem cytharae modis.

Cornelius

Plus dicam. Rapidis Strymona fluctibus
Spumantem numeris flexit Eagrides.
Auditus superis, manibus insuper,
Sedem commeruit poli.
Vates Bistonius nuper Apolline
Compertam genito dante sibi lyram
Traxit percutiens pectine barbiton
Silvas et nemorum deas.
Advenere ferae cantibus excitae
Contractisque iubis colla ferocia
Summittunt manibus dum canit Orpheus
Mansuescuntque viri iugo.
Pastus immemorem tardat et alitem,
Escas dum soboli querit amabili
Suspensisque volis captat in ethere
Argutos cytharae modos.
Auget dicta stupor: velivolam ratem
Immotam validis tractibus omnium
Plectris elicitum solvit a littore
Ad puppim veniens mare.
Plus dicam: superos regnaque pallida
Idem blandisono gutture carmina
Placavit recinens et Sisiphi grave
Fixit concrepitans onus.

Why should I add any more? Their songs are known to outermost Thule, nor are they despised by the pale shades beyond the insubstantial Styx; to that, lo, the Rhodopeian poet can testify.

Lamenting in song for the kidnapped Eurydice, he softened the underworld with his soothing songs. They say that by the music of his lyre he shook the heart of Pluto, lord of Tartarus.

Cornelis

I will add to that: with his verses the son of Oeagrus turned back the foaming rapids of the river Strymon. Heard by the gods on high as well as by the deities of the underworld, he earned a place in the firmament.

The Thracian bard, when Apollo gave the recently discovered lyre to his son, drew to himself the trees and the goddesses of the groves by plucking the lyre with his plectrum.

Stirred by his singing, the beasts came to him. While Orpheus sings, they smooth down their manes, subject their wild necks to his hands, and grow tame to the yoke of the man.

He slows down the bird and makes it forget its feeding, even while it is seeking food for its beloved offspring. Stopping its wings, it catches in the air the melodious music of the lyre.

Amazement leads me to say more: when everyone was strongly tugging to launch an unmoving sail-winged ship, the sea, drawn by the plectrum, came up to the ship and floated it away from the shore.

I will add to that: the same bard, re-echoing his sweet-throated songs, won over the gods above and the kingdom of the pale shades; with his loud music he stopped in its place the heavy burden of Sisyphus.

Ad sacros venio commemorans libros.
Victor fit Gedeon dum resonat tuba,
Et David Saulem carmine mitigat
    Et flammas posuit rogus.
Hec, ut rite probem cantibus omnia
Placari, recito. Proh genio fruens
Tantum desipuit, pergat ut inclita
    Demens spernere carmina.

Herasmus

Quid ni? Vera refers, proh dolor et pudor!
Ipsis constat homo crudior inferis;
Flecti dulcisono carmine non valet,
    Sed dulces refugit modos.
Nunquam quinetiam desinit insequi
Torva bile, lupis peior edacibus
Et quae plumifera pascitur undique
    Preda sevior alite.
Conculcata iacent docta poemata.
Lumen Pegasei Calliope chori
Iam neglecta locis exulat omnibus,
    Rupes incolit invias.
Regnat barbaries horrida, regio
Sublimis solio ridet Apollinis
Artem laurigeram. Carmina rusticus
    Docto barbarus imperat.
Et quid cuncta meis crimina persequar
Stultorum numeris? Ante diem, puto,
Ornans syderium luminibus polum
    Vesper subripiet michi.
Nec si quot placidis ignea noctibus
Scintillant tacito sydera culmine,
Nec si quot tepidum flante Favonio
    Ver suffundit humo rosas,
Tot sint ora michi, tot moveam sonos,

To come now to events recalled from the Holy Bible: Gideon was victorious when the trumpet blew; through song David soothed Saul and the funeral pyre put down its flames.

These things I recount to demonstrate fitly that all things are appeased by songs. Alas that a man of talent should be so insane as to go on spurning the glories of poetry!

Erasmus

Why not? You are telling the truth, alas, to our shame and grief! Mankind persists in having less feeling even than the inhabitants of the underworld. Men are incapable of being moved by the sweet sounds of poetry. Instead they flee from such sweet music.

Even more, they never cease to attack with bitter anger. They are worse than voracious wolves, more savage than a bird of prey that feeds indiscriminately on its feathered victims.

Learned poems lie trampled underfoot. Calliope, the shining light of the Pegasean choir, is everywhere scorned and banished. She lives among inaccessible crags.

Bristling barbarism holds sway, mocking from its lofty regal throne the skill of Apollo's laurel. The ignorant barbarian orders poems from the learned bard.

And why should I list in my verses all the offences of fools? Before I could do so, I think that the evening, adorning the heavens with the light of the stars, would deprive me of daylight.

Now even if I had as many mouths or could speak with as many voices as there are burning stars sparkling in the silent firmament on calm nights, or as many as there are roses overspreading the ground when the west wind blows in the warm springtime,

Nunquam (crede) tamen sufficiam queri,
Quantis pressa diu sacra poemata
    Hoc seclo iaceant malis.
Hinc venere michi tedia carminum,
Vates, pars animae non tenuis meae,
Hinc, inquam, studium destitui meum,
    Musarum tepuit calor.

Cornelius

Quod nunc Aonidum negligitur chorus,
Hoc vesana facit mens sine litteris.
Insanire putat, carmina qui canunt,
    Ridens ac digito notans.
En rara invidiam provocat ars sibi,
Sed vincet superans. Cedite, pallida
Confecti macie, ponito turgidum
    Fastu, livor edax, caput.
Dic quaecunque voles: dummodo carmina
Oblectare suo nos properent sono,
Tu ride, nichil est; pluris habebimur,
    Et frons excipiet decus.
Buccis parce tuis! Hactenus, invide,
Nil sacris dedimus carminis edibus,
Sed iam sceptra michi Davidis in vicem
    Melchom de spoliis feram.
Gomer Debelaym coniugio fruar,
De scorto generans Israhel inclitum,
Quo semen domini pulchrius emicet
    Dulci Lybetridum sinu.
In nos ore fero, livide, garrias,
Consumens proprios invidia sinus.
En summos sequimur per studium viros,

still I would not measure up (believe me) to the task of lamenting the indignities that have long been heaped on venerable poems in this age of ours.

This is the reason I have grown weary of writing poems, O my poetic friend, you who are no small part of my soul; this is the reason, I say, that I have given up my poetic pursuits, that the fire of the Muses has died down.

Cornelis

The neglect of the Aonian choir springs from an insane and illiterate mentality. Such a person thinks anyone who writes poetry is mad; he points his finger at him and laughs him to scorn.

Know that a skill which is rare draws malice upon itself, but it will overcome and conquer. Depart, you wretches, pale and emaciated. O consuming Envy, hang down your head, swollen with pride.

Say whatever you like. As long as poetry is ready to delight us with its sounds, go ahead and laugh. It makes no difference to us. We will gain more recognition and our brows will be crowned with honour.

Stop your angry sputterings. Up to this point, you malicious wretch, we have offered no song to the sacred temple. But now, like David, I will bear a sceptre taken from the spoils of Melchom.

I will enjoy in marriage Gomer, the daughter of Debelaim. On a whore I will beget a glorious Israel, so that the seed of the Lord may shine forth more beautifully from the sweet bosom of the Muses.

With your beastly mouth, you spiteful wretch, you may babble away against us, eating your own heart out with envy. But see how we, through our pursuits, are following in

Nec sentit pulices equus.
Nostro sub studio plus cruciabere,
Vel nunc destituas carmina persequi,
Ne cantatus eas carmine pessimo,
Confusas referens genas.
Quod si perstiteris nostra ciconia,
Tantum feda potes rostra reducere.
Serpentes comedas per nemus aspidum,
Nec sacras aquilas vora.

Herasmus

Nunc olim calamos ut Rhodopeios
Musam non aliter (crede michi) meam,
Tu Tyrinthius hic alter in omine
Torpentes animos moves.
Sacrarum rediit Meonidum calor,
Et quam sepe dolens mestaque reppulit,
Nunc (quamquam tenuis) Musa tamen mea
Exultans repetit lyram.
Et quis, rere, fuit leticiae modus,
Qum post dicta deae grandia denique
Versus dulcisonos lumine candido,
Vates, aspicerem tuos?
Ingens fama quidem, sed meritis minor,
Ingens fama quidem, iudice me tamen
Vincunt et, fateor, carmina gloriam
Et docti numeri tuam.
Reddis Virgilium versibus alterum,
Seu prosam libuit texere liberam,
Iam prosa (fateor) Tullius alter es:
Tantum scripta placent tua.
Ceptos ergo, precor, pergito tramites,
Nostri non tenuis gloria seculi
Et spes una mei flammaque pectoris,
Vatum reliquiae prium.

the footsteps of the greatest men. A horse pays no attention to fleas.

By our endeavours you will feel even more tormented. Stop attacking poetry immediately lest you have lampoons sung about you and go away covered with blushes of shame.

But if you persist in stabbing away at us like a stork, you will only succeed in drawing back a battered beak. Go eat snakes in the wild woods. Do not feed on sacred eagles.

Erasmus

Now, as Hercules once enlivened the Rhodopeian pipes, just so here, like a second Hercules of good omen, you arouse my muse, believe me, you arouse my sluggish spirits.

The heat of the sacred Muses returns, and now my muse, however slight, joyfully takes up again the lyre that she often rejected in her sorrow and grief.

And what bounds do you think there were to my joy when finally, after the lofty pronouncements of the goddess, I could clearly see with my own eyes, O poet, those sweet-sounding verses of yours?

Indeed your fame is immense, but it is less than you deserve. Indeed your fame is immense, but if I am any judge, even your glory is surpassed, I confess, by the learned verse of your poems.

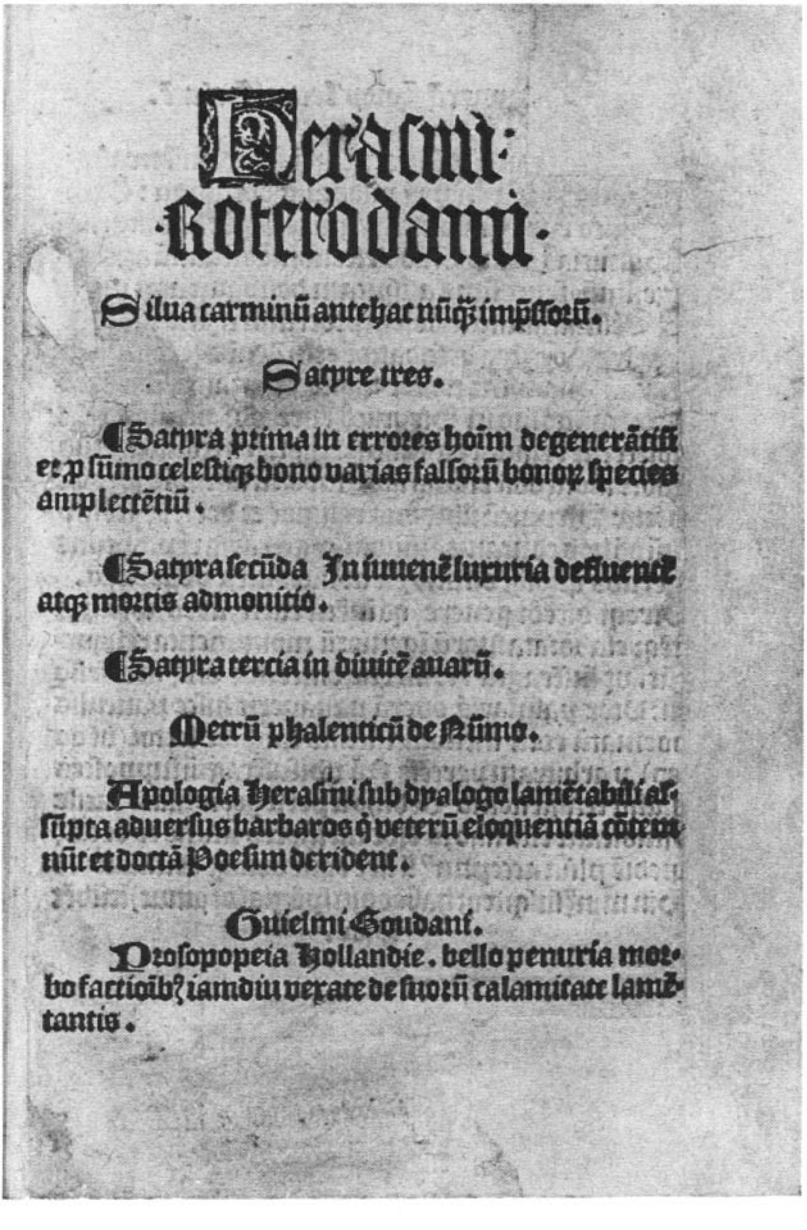
In poetry you are a second Virgil, or if you choose the unfettered language of prose, you are in prose (I acknowledge it) a second Cicero – so great is the pleasure given by your writings.

Therefore I implore you, the glory – and no minor one – of our age, the only hope and shining light of my heart, the remaining heir of the ancient poets, go forward on the course you have begun.

Aspirent studiis Pierides tuis,
Te nobisque diu fata superstitem
Servent, et spacii stamina plurimi
    Producat Lachesis tibi.
Et cum lethificus te tulerit dies,
Nobis perpetuum tu nichilominus
Preclari titulis ora per omnium
    Vives ingenii. Vale.

May the Muses inspire your endeavors, and may the Fates long keep you alive for us, and may Lachesis draw out a long thread for you.

And when the fatal day takes you from us, you will still be forever alive for us, you will live on the tongues of all men by virtue of your illustrious genius. Farewell.



Heraſmi·
·Roterodami·

Silua carminū antehac nūq̄ impſſorū.

Satyre tres.

¶Satyra prima in errores hoīm degenerātiū et ꝑ ſūmo celeſtiq̄ bono varias falſorū bonoꝝ ſpecies amplectētiū.

¶Satyra ſecūda In iuuenē luxuria defluentē atq̄ mortis admonitio.

¶Satyra tercia in diuitē auarū.

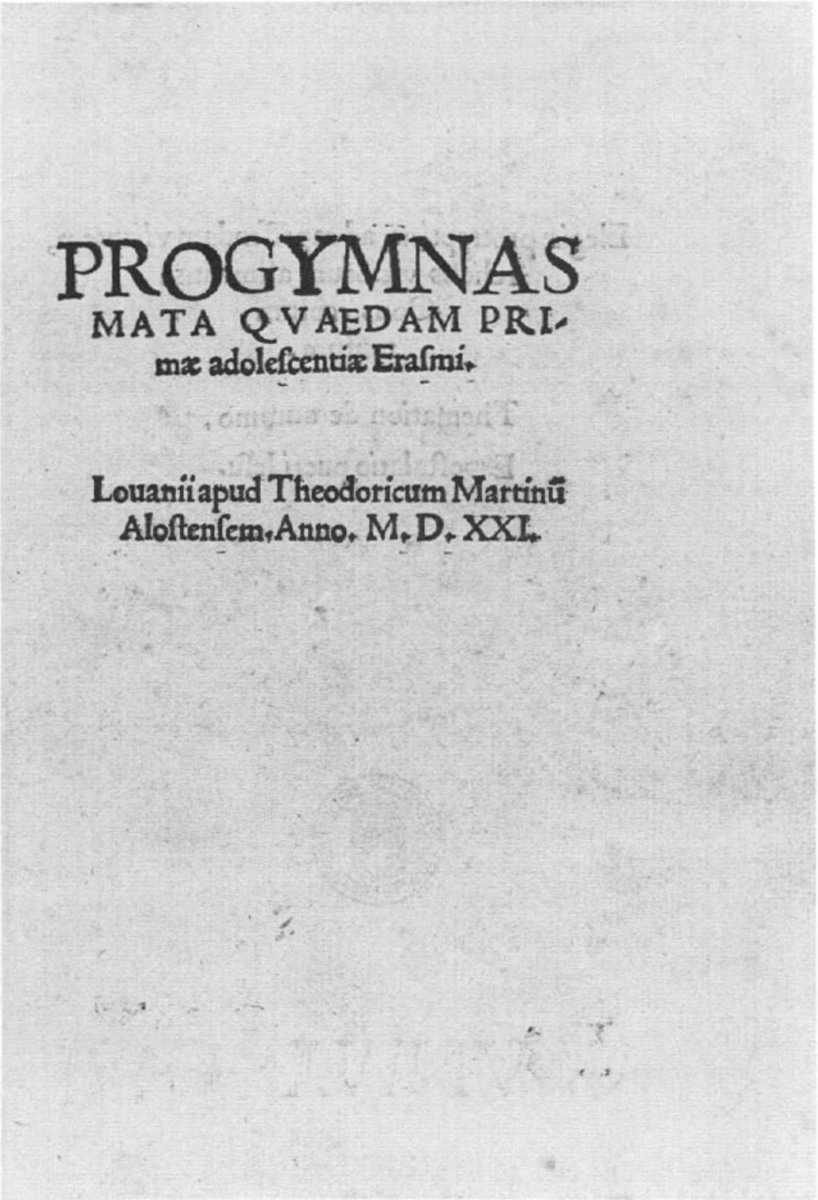
Metrū phalenticū de Nūmo.

Apologia heraſmi ſub dyalogo lamētabili aſſūpta aduerſus barbaros q̄ veterū eloquentiā cōtemnūt et doctā Poeſim derident.

Guielmi Goudani.

Proſopopeia hollandie. bello penuria morbo factioib⁹ iamdiu vexate de ſuorū calamitate lamētantis.

Erasmus *Silva carminum* ed R. Snoy, title-page
Gouda: A. Gauter 1513
Gemeentebibliotheek, Rotterdam



PROGYMNAS
MATA QVAEDAM PRI-
mæ adoleſcentiæ Eraſmi.

Louanii apud Theodoricum Martinũ
Aloſtenſem, Anno. M. D. XXI.

Erasmus *Progymnasmata quaedam primae adolescentiae*, title-page
Louvain: Dirk Martens 1521
Gemeentebibliotheek, Rotterdam

From *Progymnasmata quaedam*
primae adolescentiae Erasmi
(Louvain: Dirk Martens 1521)

ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS STUDIOSAE IUVENTUTI S.D.

Impudenter faciunt, qui mea me vivo publicant formulis typographorum, sed multo impudentius, qui pueriles etiam naenias meas evulgant. Omnium autem impudentissime, qui nugis alienis meum praefigunt nomen, id quod nuper fecit nescio quis, qui libellum emisit de ratione conscribendi epistolas, in quo praeter pauculas voces furtivas nihil est meum. Nec unquam mihi quisquam notus fuit, cui nomen esset Petro Paludano. Olim puer quia minus valebam carmine elegiaco, caeperam excercere me ceu declamatiunculis aliquot in eo genere, et has semel atque iterum evulgatas video. In quibus non intelligo quid sit quod mereatur publicum, nisi forte ut exemplo pueri puerorum ingenia provocentur, ut malint excercere stilum in argumentis huiusmodi quam, quod quidam eruditi pulchrum ducunt, in decantandis amoribus suis. Sed tamen hoc, quicquid est nugamenti, recognovimus ac rursus excudi sumus passi. Quid enim aliud possum? Bene vale, lector, et si quid me audis, melioribus incumbe.

Elegiae protrepticae, detestantes errores mortalium, et adhortantes ad veram pietatem,
Erasmi Roterodami

94 Elegia prima, in errores hominum degenerantium et pro summo caelestique bono varias falsorum bonorum species amplectentium, incipit.

[winter 1490–1 / 1513]

Heu quantum caecae mortalia pectora noctis,
  Heu quam terrigenas noxius error habet!
Vera quibus cum sint et coelica danda, perhenni
  Invigilant vacuis anxietate bonis,
Nec summum novere bonum quo fluxit ab uno

From *Some Poetic Exercises Written by Erasmus in His Early Youth*
(Louvain: Dirk Martens 1521)

ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM TO YOUNG STUDENTS, GREETINGS

It is shameful for anyone to issue my writings in print while I am still alive, but it is much more shameful to publish my youthful ditties. It is most shameful of all, however, to put out someone else's trifles under my name, as somebody or other recently did when he issued a little book on the method of writing letters, in which nothing was by me except a few plagiarized words. Nor have I ever known anyone by the name of Petrus Paludanus. Long ago, when I was a youth, I was not very good at writing elegiac distichs, and so I began to practise that verse form in some little declamations (as it were), and these, I see, have been published once or twice. I do not understand what merit they can have in the eyes of the public, except that perhaps as a youthful precedent they might stimulate talented youths to employ their pens on subjects of this sort instead of composing sing-song love poems (which some learned men think to be such a fine thing to do). But I have revised this material, however trifling, and have permitted it to be republished. For what else could I do? Farewell, reader, and if you value my opinion at all, devote your energies to something more worthwhile.

Hortatory elegies, denouncing the delusion of mortals and urging them to pursue true piety,
by Erasmus of Rotterdam

94 The first elegy, against the delusions of degenerate men, who embrace various appearances of false goods instead of the highest good in heaven, begins as follows.

Alas, what a blinding darkness possesses the
hearts of mortals! Alas, what a destructive
delusion holds earthborn men in thrall! Though
true and heavenly goods are there to be given
to them, they are constantly and anxiously on
the lookout for empty goods, and they know
nothing of the highest good from which alone

Quicquid inest pulchri, quicquid in orbe boni.
Ecce sed hic Stygiis admotas effodit umbris
Condit et effossas insatiatus opes.
Mollibus hic studet illecebris, indulget amori
Blandaque mortiferae gaudia carnis amat.
Ambitione tumens fasces petit ille superbos
Et quaerit summum summus habere gradum.
Est quem sydereos iuvet apprendisse meatus
Et rerum causas edidicisse novas.
Hic petit hoc, ille illud; agit sua quenque libido,
Navigat et ventis in freta quisque suis.
Quo raperis, mortale genus, vacuoque labore
Dona quibus pereas quid peritura legis?
Quae (cedo) cum stolidis tibi sunt commercia terris,
Cui coelum patria est, cui pater ipse deus?
Quaeris in exilio patrio tibi condita coelo:
Non hic quas sequeris inveniuntur opes.
Quid per squamigeros saxosa cacumina pisces
Sectare et leporem per freta vasta vagum,
Quaeris et in sterili flaventia mala salicto,
Quaeritur incultis fertilis uva rubis?
Gaudia nequicquam reperire quid angeris illic,
Nil nisi moeror ubi est, nil nisi planctus ubi est?
Et quid amas molles luctus in carcere luxus?
Nil nisi (crede mihi) flebile mundus habet.
Ast bona, te quorum vexat male sana cupido,
Ah tibi (si credes) nil bonitatis habent.
Sed quae te totum tegit ignorantia veri,
Haec bona cum non sint, ut videantur agit.

sprung all that is beautiful, all that is good in the universe. But look, one man digs up riches buried in Stygian darkness and once they are dug up he hides them away, never satisfied. Another man pursues voluptuous pleasures, gives himself up to love, and loves the alluring joys of the death-dealing flesh. Another man, swelling with ambition, seeks the proud appurtenances of high office, and even at the top he still seeks the top level. Some find pleasure in comprehending the courses of the stars and learning new causes for natural phenomena. One man seeks this, another that; each is driven by his own passion, each steers toward the straits, driven by his own winds.

O mortal mankind, where are you rushing to? And why do you lose all your labours by choosing gifts that will perish, in the pursuit of which you yourselves perish? Tell me now, what business do you have with the stolid earth, since heaven is your fatherland and God himself your father? In exile you seek what is stored up for you in your native country, heaven. The wealth you pursue is not to be found here. Why do you chase scale-coated fish on the rocky peaks or the backtracking hare on the vast seas, and why do you seek the yellowing fruit on sterile thickets of willow, why look for fruitful grapevines among wild brambles? Why do you vainly torment yourself to find joys in a place where there is nothing but grief, nothing but lamentation? Why do you love soft luxury in a prison full of sorrow? The world, believe me, has nothing that does not deserve our tears. But those goods about which you plague yourself because of your unwholesome craving, ah, they bring you (if you will take my word for it) no good at all. But you are so totally enveloped in ignorance of the truth that these things, which are not good, seem so to you. Far from it, indeed; they

Quin mage verorum sunt haec simulachra bonorum,
Et fallax oculos fascinat umbra tuos.
Gaudia (nonne vides?) stimulis viciantur amaris,
Vertitur in lachrymas risus et iste graves.
Mixta labore quies, nulla est syncera voluptas
Nec diuturna nihilve anxietatis habens.
Et quid opes, quid honor, quid purpura, quid diadema?
Quid nisi sunt animi pondera pulchra tui?
Adde quod ista levi fortunae agitata tumultu
Fallant et dominis sint male fida suis.
Haec bona carpis, homo, multo nocitura periclo,
Nulla sed est summi sollicitudo boni,
Nulla dei, sed cuique deus sua dira cupido,
In mala quisque, suus quo trahit error, abit.
Iam tandem resipisce, precor, radiisque receptis
Hanc noctem ex oculis discute, quaeso, tuis.
Sursum duc oculos: illic patriamque patremque
Suspice quo mentem, quo tua vota feras.
Illic cerne tui generosos sanguinis ortus,
Illic cerne animi semina prima tui.
Non es enim indigena stolidae licet incola terrae,
Coelica progenies aethereumque genus.
Conditor, ignifluo cuius procedis ab ore,
(Quid maius?) statuam te vocat ipse suam.
Ergo, homo, terrenis quid inhaeres degener istis
Oblitusque dei nec memor ipse tui?
Terrea terrigenis age linque caduca caducis,
Tu pete perpetuas non moriturus opes.
Sydera scande levis et inertes despice sedes,
Iam pudeat collo sustinuisse iugum.
Est illic quod ames, est illic rite quod optes,

are false images of what is truly good and they bewitch your vision with their deceptive appearances. Joys – don't you see it? – are spoiled by bitter goadings, and this laughter of yours turns to tears of sorrow. Repose is mingled with labour; no pleasure is unalloyed, or lasting, or unmixed with anxiety. And what is wealth, what is honour, or royal purple, or a crown? What are they but beautiful clogs weighing down your mind? Moreover, these things, stirred up by the unstable agitation of Fortune, are deceptive and prove treacherous to their masters. These goods that you grasp for, O man, are very dangerous and harmful, but you have no concern for the highest good, none for God. Rather, everyone makes a god of his own fierce desire; everyone ends in the disaster to which his own delusion carries him.

Now at last come to your senses, I beg you, dispel this darkness from your eyes, I pray you, and take in the rays of light. Cast your eyes upward; look up there to your fatherland and your Father, where you should focus your attention and your desires. See there the noble source of your lineage. See there the first seeds of your mind. For you are not a native, though you are an inhabitant, of the stolid earth; your race springs from the skies, your ancestry is from heaven. Your creator himself, from whose fiery breath you proceed, calls you – what could be greater? – an image of himself. Therefore, O man, why have you degenerated from your origin, bogged down in earthly matters, not mindful of God and forgetting even yourself? Come, leave the fleeting things of earth to the fleeting creatures of earth. You who will never die, seek lasting treasure. Climb up unburdened to the stars and look down on the inert regions below; now be ashamed that you bore the yoke on your neck. What you love is there. What you rightly hope for is

Illic sunt votis omnia plena tuis.
Gaudia vera illic et amari nescia luctus,
Et placida est nullo mixta labore quies,
Pax secura, procul strepitus bellique tumultus.
Exundant quae non attenuentur opes,
Invidiae securus honor, diademata, sceptra
Ignibus astrigeri splendidiora poli.
Denique cunctorum finisque et origo bonorum,
Ut videas, aderit, ut potiare, deus.
Quod si nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
Nec capiunt animum praemia tanta tuum,
Vindicis extimulent saltem tormenta gehennae:
Quem non ducit amor vel trahat ipse timor.
Suspicere aethereum si mole vetaris Olympum,
Saltem Tartareae despice regna Stygis.
Aspice quam maneant sceleratos horrida manes
Supplicia, aeternus quos Herebi ignis edit.
Quos pendant brevibus pro luxibus aspice luctus,
Quorum hic in vitiis mortua vita fuit.
Vita manet, fugiat ne sensus et ipse malorum,
Sed mors morte carens tempus in omne premat.
Aspice quam rapido volvantur tempora lapsu,
Quam veniat celeri mors inopina pede.
Dura heus conditio nimium miserandaque, pandat
Altera ut alterius mors tibi mortis iter.
Nostra sed, ut video, surdis canit auribus ista
Musa, levis monitus dissipat aura meos.
Quid causae stolidis mortalibus obstruit aures?
Colligo, luminibus iam liquet illa meis.
Quippe sibi duram promittunt fallere mortem,

there. There all your desires will be fulfilled. True joys are there, with no trace of bitter grief; calm repose is there, with no admixture of hardship. Secure peace is there, far from the noise and the uproar of war. Inexhaustible wealth abounds there, honour safe from envy, crowns, sceptres brighter than the stars emblazoned on the firmament. And finally God, the goal and the source of all good things, will be there for you to see and to possess.

But if you are unmoved by such great glories, if your mind is not taken with such great rewards, at least be goaded by the avenging torments of hell: whoever is not led on by love, let him be drawn on by fear itself. If you are hindered by your heavy grossness from looking up to the high reaches of heaven, at least look down at the Stygian realms of the underworld. Look at the horrible punishments that are in store for the wicked souls who are eaten up by the everlasting fire of hell. Look at the grief for their brief pleasures, to be suffered by those whose lives here were dead because of their vices. Life remains, so that the very awareness of their afflictions should not disappear but rather that the death which never dies should weigh upon their minds for all time. See how quickly time rolls on and slips away from us, how swiftly and unexpectedly death creeps up on us. Mark this: it is a cruel and all too miserable state of affairs, that one death should open up for you the road to another death.

But I see that my muse is preaching these things to deaf ears; the lightest breeze disperses my warnings. What is the reason that the ears of stupid mortals are blocked? I have puzzled it out; now my eyes see it clearly. It is this: they hold out for themselves the idea that they can deceive cruel death; they hope that

Sperant perpetuos vivere posse dies.
Hic iuvenis valido fidit temerarius aevo,
Divitiis locuples nititur ille suis,
Fallit purpureos invicta potentia reges.
Acrius ergo mihi quisque monendus erit.

95 Elegia secunda, in iuvenem luxuria defluentem atque mortis admonitio

[winter 1490–1 / 1513]

Stulte, quid imberbi spem tu tibi fingis ab aevo
Et gaudes tremulos iam procul esse dies,
Longevae numerans restantia tempora vitae,
Et spondes capiti tempora cana tuo,
Luxibus interea iuvat indulgere cupitis,
Gaudia lascivae carnis amica sequi?
'Dextra,' inquis, 'dum fata sinant, dum floreat aetas,
Pascamus placidis mollia vota modis.
Adsint laetitiae, choreae, convivia, lusus,
Plausus, complexus, basia grata, Venus
Gaudiaque et Veneris tenerique Cupidinis ignes,
Adsint innumeris ludicra mixta iocis.
Tibia nec desit, adsint citharaeque lyraeque;
Cura dolorque procul, tristia cuncta procul.
Ut curent superis permittite caetera divis,
Et stimulet vacuos sollicitudo deos.
Ocia nos tenerae peragamus blanda iuventae,
Tradatur tumidis noxia cura fretis.
Utamur, ne frustra abeat torpentibus, aevo,
Dum vernat teneris laeta iuventa genis.'

the days of their lives can go on forever. This rash young man has confidence in the strength of his youth; that rich man relies on his own wealth. Invincible power deceives kings in their royal purple. Therefore, I must admonish each of them all the more sharply.

95 The second elegy, against a young man dissipating himself in lust, and a warning about death

Fool, why do you imagine you can base your hope on your beardless youth, and why do you rejoice in the notion that the days of trembling old age are far away, counting up the remaining years of a long lifetime, and why do you assure yourself that the hair of your temples will grow white, pleasing yourself in the meantime by indulging in the sensual excesses your heart desires and pursuing the pleasing joys of the wanton flesh?

'While the propitious fates allow it,' you say, 'while we are in the bloom of youth, let us gratify our voluptuous desires in agreeable ways. Let there be delights, dances, banquets, games, applause, embraces, charming kisses, lovemaking, both the joys of Venus and the fires of young Cupid, let there be dalliance intermingled with countless jests. Let flutes not be lacking. Let there be guitars and harps. Away with care and sorrow, away with everything gloomy! Let the gods above take care of everything else and let the gods, who have time for it, be driven by responsibility. Let us get on with the blandishing leisure of tender youth. Let destructive cares be consigned to the swelling seas. Let us make use of this time in our lives, while joyful youth still blooms on our tender cheeks, lest we lose it in vain through our own lethargy.'

Dic quid arundineae, infelix, innitere cannae,
Qua scissa pereas, qua recidente cadas?
Tune iuventuti fidis, male sane, fugaci,
Qua nil mobilius maximus orbis habet?
Illa Noto levior celerique volucrior Euro,
Labilior liquidis quas habet Hebrus aquis,
Ocyor emissa nervo crepitante sagitta,
Illa magis veris flore caduca novi,
Vanior et nebula et tenui fallacior umbra
Et nive quae in liquidas sole tepescit aquas
Quaeque secat medium pernicior alite coelum.
Flos velut illa viret, ut levis aura perit.
Illa perit, tenueis rapitur ceu fumus in auras
Et standi nullam servat amata fidem.
Si levis autor ego, natura disce magistra.
En docet illa breves temporis esse vices.
Aspice purpureis ut humus lasciviat omnis
Floribus, in campos ver ubi molle venit.
Luxuriat vestita suis tum frondibus arbor,
Et rediviva novis cingitur herba comis,
Mollia sanguinei pingunt violaria partus,
Induitur placidis aspera spina rosis,
Multicolore nitent densissima gramina flore,
Denique resplendent cuncta decore novo.
At mora parva, cadunt redolentia tempora veris,
Et properat nymbis horrida bruma suis.
Iam neque prata virent, moeret sine frondibus arbos,
Et ponit virides languida sylva comas.
Iam non purpurei pingunt violaria flores,
Iam riget elapsis aspera spina rosis.

Tell me, unhappy fellow, why do you lean on a reed cane, which, when it breaks, will destroy you – when it falls, will let you fall? Madman, do you rely on fleeting youth, than which nothing in the whole wide world is more volatile? It is more light-footed than the south wind, more fleet-winged than the swift east wind, more rapid than the flowing waters of the Hebrus, faster than an arrow shot from a twanging bowstring. It is more perishable than the flowers of early spring, more insubstantial than mist, more illusory than an empty shadow or the snow that melts into flowing water in the warmth of the sun, more quick than a bird cutting through the air up in the sky. Youth flourishes like a flower, perishes like a mere breath of air. It perishes like smoke, vanishing into thin air, and however much it is loved, it never keeps its promise to stay.

If you think I am a lightweight authority, let Nature be your teacher and learn from her. Lo, she teaches that the vicissitudes of time are rapid. See how the ground wantons everywhere with its crimson flowers when the gentle spring comes to the fields. Then the luxuriant trees are clad in their own foliage, and the reviving vegetation is wreathed in fresh tresses. The soft violet-beds are coloured with blood-red offspring. The harsh thorns are clothed with gentle roses. The grass at its full thickness is bright with many-colored flowers. In short, everything is resplendent with new beauty. But after only a short pause, the fragrant season of spring falls away, and winter, bristling with his rainstorms, hastens onward. Now the meadows are no longer green. The trees, bereft of their foliage, are in mourning, and the languishing forest puts off its green tresses. Now the crimson flowers do not colour the violet-beds, and the harsh thorn stands stiff, now that the roses have fallen

Turpes dissimilesque sui sine gramine campi,
Atque omnis subito flosque venusque cadit.
Sic sic flos aevi, sic sic male blanda iuventa
Labitur, heu celeri non reditura pede.
Tristior inde ruit ac plena doloribus aetas,
Inde subit tremulo curva senecta gradu,
Et gravibus curis et tristibus aspera morbis,
Luctibus et centum conglomerata malis.
Haec tibi temporibus canos sparsura capillos,
Haec tibi pendentem contrahet hirta cutem.
Corpora tum subito linquit moribunda voluptas,
Omnis et ingenii visque calorque cadit.
Forma perit, pereunt agiles in corpore vires,
Et rosa purpureis excidit ista genis.
Finditur annosis subito frons aspera rugis,
Decrescunt oculis lumina fusca cavis.
Pro mento fit leve caput, fis simia tandem,
Ignotusque tibi dissimilisque tui.
I modo, confide, infelix, iuvenilibus annis
Et sponde votis gaudia longa tuis,
Si tamen et salvam tribuent egisse iuventam
Maturosque sinent fata videre dies.
Sed gaudet tenerae fera mors primordia vitae
Saepius atque ortus praesecuisse rudes.
Lurida Tartareis circumvolat omnia pennis,
Quam circum tenebris nox spatiosa cavis,
Mille neces circum et morbi genus omne tremendi,
Mille humeris succo spicula tincta nigro.
Dentibus infrendet horrendum semper ahenis,
Insanam cupiens exaturare famem.
Haec te loetiferis sequitur metuenda sagittis,
Haec sequitur laqueis insidiosa suis.

away. The fields without their grass are ugly and unlike their former selves, and suddenly all bloom and beauty perish. Just so, just so the flower of our lifetime, just so the false blandishments of youth slip away, alas, at a rapid pace, never to return. Then age, sad and full of griefs, rushes upon us. Then crookbacked old age, tottering along, creeps up on us, calamitous with both heavy cares and miserable diseases, encompassed by griefs and hundreds of afflictions. She will sprinkle your temples with grey hair; she will make your hairy skin hang down in folds. Then pleasure suddenly abandons your dying body and all the force and vitality of your mind fail. Beauty dies, the nimble strength of the body dies, and those roses fade from your ruddy cheeks. Suddenly your forehead is rough and furrowed with the wrinkles of old age. The light in your sunken eyes grows dim. Your head, instead of your chin, grows smooth. Finally you become a monkey, quite unlike what you were and unrecognizable even to yourself.

Go on now, unhappy fellow, rely on the years of your youth and assure yourself that you will long enjoy the fulfilment of your desires – if, that is, the fates permit you to get safely through youth and allow you to see the days of your maturity. But fierce Death often delights in nipping tender life in the bud and cutting off the fruit unripe. Ghastly, she flits around all things on her infernal pinions, surrounded by a vast darkness of enveloping shadows; a thousand deaths surround her, and every kind of terrible disease, and a thousand arrows dipped in a black potion are on her shoulders. She always grinds her bronze teeth horribly, longing to satiate her raging hunger. Fearsomely she pursues you with her death-dealing arrows. Insidiously she pursues you with her snares. She knows nothing of sparing

Parcere nec formae nec parcere gnara iuventae,
Sed vorat imberbes insatiata genas.
Quid dubitas, male sane, meis confidere verbis?
Sis vel luminibus credulus ipse tuis.
Nonne vides passim ut pereant iuvenesque senesque,
Fervidus effoeto cum genitore puer?
Hic perit ante diem clauso praegnantis in alvo,
Sarcophagum miserae viscera matris habens.
Ille cadit dulci genetricis ab ubere raptus,
Hic infans moritur, tollitur ille puer.
Multos iam calidos mediis a luxibus ecce
Abrumpit iaculis mors truculenta suis.
Tum dic, vane iocis adolescens dedite vanis,
Gaudia carnis ubi pristina, luxus ubi?
Spes ubi, quaeso, modo longaevae prisca senectae
Temporaque in seros iam numerata dies?
Omnia nonne brevis subito necis abstulit hora?
Non sequitur dominum gloria vana suum.
Cuncta levis nebulae vanique simillima somni
Effugiunt, ut iam nulla fuisse putes,
Et tu, perpetuis luiturus crimina flammis,
Mitteris in Stygios flebilis umbra lacus.
Clauditur hoc mundi levis oblectatio fine,
Et sequitur risum aeterna querela brevem.
Ergo age, dum liceat, tibi consule: nautica sera est
Fluctibus elisa sollicitudo rate.
Sed prius ac veniat venturam prospice mortem.
Sic facis ut veniat non metuenda tibi.

beauty or sparing youth, but insatiably devours beardless cheeks.

Madman, why do you hesitate to place your trust in my words? At least believe your own eyes. Don't you see how both young and old are dying everywhere, the hot-blooded boy together with his debilitated father? One person perishes before his time, shut up in his pregnant mother's womb, having for his tomb the womb of his miserable mother. Another is snatched by death from the sweet breast of his mother. One dies in infancy, another in boyhood. In the heat of youth, lo, many are torn away in the very midst of their debauchery by the shafts of grim death. Tell me then, O vain youth, devoted to vain jesting, where are the previous joys of the flesh? Where is the lust? Where now, I ask you, is your former hope of an advanced old age and of seasons reckoned upon seasons down to the latest days? Has not the brief hour of death taken all this away at one stroke? Empty glory does not follow its master. Exactly like a light mist or an empty dream, everything flees away, so that you would think it had never existed. And as for you, you are sent as a lamentable shade to the Stygian lake, where you will pay for your sins in unending flames. To such an end comes the petty pleasure of the world, and brief laughter is followed by eternal lamentation.

Come then, look out for yourself while you still can. Too late is the sailors' concern when the vessel has been broken up by the waves. Look ahead to your coming death before it comes. Thus you will make it come with no fear for yourself.

96 Elegia tercia, in divitem avarum [winter 1490–1 / 1513]

Tu quoque, nescio qua rerum spe lusus inani,
Cogis, avare, tuas insatiatus opes,
Ausus et ipse tibi vitam spondere beatam,
Tantum si votis arca sit aequa tuis.
Hinc domus, hinc teneri chara cum coniuge nati
Linquuntur, patrium linquitur ergo solum.
Quaeritur Aeoo quaecunque est proxima soli,
Quaecunque occiduo terra sub axe latet.
Temnuntur scopuli et ratibus metuenda Charybdis,
Temnitur hymbriferis acta procella Notis.
Mille per undarum, per mille pericula terrae,
Per phas perque nephas, per necis omne genus,
Quaeritur innumeris nocitura pecunia curis,
Quaeque queat dominum perdere parta suum.
Stulte, quid attonita refugis nova nomina fronte?
Lumina cur tollis cum 'nocitura' legis?
Hac nihil est (neque enim mirere) nocentius, inquam,
Saevius haud ullum Styx dedit atra malum.
Ipsa est cunctorum genitrix et alumna malorum,
Fomentum vitii, saeva noverca boni.
Illa peregrinos prima intulit horrida mores
Primaque vipereum sparsit in orbe malum.
Haec docuit tacitis aliena capessere furtis
Cognataque feras tingere caede manus.
Suasit adulterium, periuria, bella, rapinas;
Lenonem illa facit, prostibulum illa facit.
Sit facit illa suo malefidus amicus amico,
Rectaque ne iudex censeat illa facit.

96 The third elegy, against a greedy rich man

You also, O man of greed, deluded by some empty hope you place in possessions, you gather in your riches insatiably, and you even dare to promise yourself a happy life if only you can fill your money-chest up to the level of your desires. For this you leave your home, your dear wife and young children; for this you leave the soil of your native land. You seek out whatever lands lie close to the rising sun, whatever countries lie hidden under the setting sun. You scorn reefs and Charybdis, a fearful danger to ships; you scorn storms driven by the rain-laden winds of the south. Through countless dangers at sea, through countless perils on land, through fair means or foul, through all sorts of slaughter, you take infinite pains to seek out money, which will harm you and which, once it is gotten, can destroy its master. Fool, why do you wrinkle your brow in amazement and rejection when you hear this new way of putting it? Why do you roll your eyes upward when you read 'which will harm you'? Nothing, I say, is more harmful than money – no need to wonder at it – no crueler affliction has been sent forth by the darkness of hell. She is the very mother and nourisher of evils, the fomentor of vice, the cruel stepmother of virtue. She was the horrible creature who first introduced exotic ways of life, she was the first to bespatter the world with the snake venom of wickedness. She taught how to purloin what belongs to others and how to dye savage hands with the blood of kinsmen. She persuaded people to commit adultery and perjury, to make war and to pillage. She makes pimps, she makes prostitutes. She makes friend betray friend, and she keeps judges from making rightful decisions. She teaches cruel stepmothers how

Illa docet saevas miscere aconita novercas,
Illa beat reprobos, deprimit illa pios.
Schisma aurum parit, ambitio quoque nascitur auro,
Iurgia, proditio, livor et ira nocens.
Illius humanos caecat caligine sensus,
Fascinat atque oculos insatiata fames.
Hac Achar populo dominum succendit Hebraeo,
Hac Giesi lepra ceu nive tectus abit.
Ipsa Philisteo Sampsonem prodidit hosti,
Coniuge delusos ingeminante dolos.
Hac quoque tu, innocui saevissime venditor agni,
Complexo medius guttura fune crepas.
Et quid cuncta feram? Haec est totius una vorago
Criminis, inferni ianua, mortis iter.
Id quoque natura didicisse docente licebit,
Quae tanto nocuas obice clausit opes.
Surgere flava Ceres praecepta patentibus arvis,
Laetaque pampineo palmite vina fluunt,
Et mala in patulis flavescunt mollia ramis,
Dives mille palam munera fundit humus.
At natura, olim cunctarum praescia rerum,
Noxia terrigenis dona latere iubet.
Terrae visceribus nocitura recondidit auri
Pondera, et obscoenas in Styga mersit opes.
Gemmea marmoreo latitare sub equore saxa
Iussit et obscurum gurgite clausit iter.
Nec latuisse licet quantumlibet abdita: avari
Effodit e latebris improba cura suis.
Quo non dira fames? Stygias penetratur ad umbras

to brew poisons, she blesses the wicked, she oppresses the pious. Gold causes factions. Ambition is also born of gold, and so are quarrels, treachery, envy, and destructive anger. Insatiable greed for gold blinds human perceptions with its dark fumes and bewitches the eyes. Greed was the reason that Achar inflamed the Lord against the Jewish people; it was the reason that Gehazi went away covered with leprosy white as snow. It betrayed Samson to his Philistine enemies, as his wife redoubled her wiles, which had been mocked by Samson's guile. It also caused you, most cruel seller of the innocent lamb, to tie the rope around your neck and burst asunder. But why should I bring up every instance? Greed alone is the abyss of all crime, the gateway to hell, the road to death.

We can also learn this lesson from Nature, who shut up harmful riches behind such formidable barriers. The yellow grain has been taught to spring up in the open fields; so too the happy grapes on the tendrilled vine-stalks are flowing with wine, and the soft, yellowing fruit ripens on the spreading branches. The rich ground openly pours forth thousands of gifts. But Nature, who long ago knew all things in advance, commanded that her harmful gifts be hidden from the children of earth. She hid the heavy mass of gold, which would do harm, in the bowels of the earth, and she sunk ill-omened riches down into the lower world. She directed that precious stones should be hidden under the marmoreal surface of the sea, and she closed off the way to them in the murky depths of the sea. But however well concealed, they are not allowed to remain hidden: the wicked solicitude of the greedy man digs them up out of their hiding places. To what lengths will dreadful greed not go? It penetrates to the shades of the underworld and it reaches down

Inque procellosi tenditur ima freti.
Promuntur tecti preciosa pericula census,
Pernicies hominum materiesque mali.
Mentior at forsan. Sed tu quae commoda lucris
Experiare, miser, profer (amabo) tuis.
Nulla, reor, nisi forte tuas tu commoda curas
Dixeris. Et quid enim, quid nisi cura tuum est?
Arca beata quidem; miserum te copia rerum
Strangulat, innumeris accumulata malis.
Sollicito quaesita metu, querenda fatigat
Curis, te miserum spesque metusque premunt.
Lux est, assiduo mens anxia fluctuat estu.
Nox venit, ipsa quoque est irrequieta quies.
Nec tam crediderim Titii derodere fibras
Vultura, quam pectus improba vota tuum,
Ut iam haud immerito divesque vocere miserque,
Ille velut quondam perditus aere Midas.
Omnia cui quamvis fulvum vertantur in aurum,
Vota tamen votis damnat avara novis
Moxque perosus opes sylvas et rura colebat,
Grande docens opibus grandibus esse malum.
Adde quod ingenti congesta pecunia cura
Nec sopire famem nec relevare potest.
Auri dira sitis crescit crescentibus arcis,
Et cum iam tulerit plurima, plura cupit.
Utque solum omne salum in sinuosam congerit alvum,
Undique collectis nec satiatur aquis,
Nutrit et ut pinguis rapidas alimonia flammas,
Noxia sic avido crescit edendo fames.
Quid iuvat immenso disrumpere scrinia censu,

to the depths of the stormy sea. The precious perils of covered riches are brought forth to destroy mankind and to provide the stuff of wickedness.

Still, perhaps I am mistaken. But reveal, you wretch, the advantages you experience from your riches – I will be obliged to you if you do. None, I think, unless perhaps you say that your anxieties are advantages. For what belongs to you, what besides the anxiety? Your money-chest is rich indeed, but you are miserably suffocated by an abundance of possessions, accumulated with countless afflictions. You seek it with anxiety and fear; since it must be sought with sorrow, it wears you out. You are miserably squeezed by hope and fear. It is daylight: your mind is in a continuous turmoil of anxiety. Night comes: even your rest is also restless. I would not imagine that the vulture gnaws away the entrails of Tityus any more painfully than your wicked desires eat away at your heart, so that it is quite fitting to call you rich and wretched in the same breath, as Midas once was destroyed by money. Though everything turned into yellow gold for him, still his new wish condemned his former greedy wish and he soon enough came to hate riches, living among the forests and fields, teaching that great wealth is a great affliction.

Add the fact that money gathered up with enormous pains cannot alleviate greed or put it to rest. The dreadful thirst for gold grows as the money-chests grow, and when it has already got much it wants more. And as the earth gathers together all the water of the sea into its winding gulfs and is not satiated by the waters it collects from all directions, and as oily fuel feeds a raging fire, so the noxious hunger of a greedy man grows by feeding. What good does it do him to have chests bursting with

Cum satis esse animus nesciat ipse sibi?
Omnis eget cupidus nec habet quod habet, sed et ipsas
Inter opes medias degit avarus inops.
Esurit et plenis patitur ieiunia mensis,
Irritant rabidam fercula visa famem,
Non secus ac refugis cruciatur Tantalus undis
Et sitit in mediis guttura siccus aquis,
Illeve ieiuno qui devorat omnia ventre
Et proprios artus insatiatus edit.
Ergo quid argentum, quid inutile congeris aurum,
Perdite, quod dominum non beat, immo gravat,
Loraque quod captis innectens vincula collis
Te servum statuat, qui modo liber eras?
Servus enim, servus rerum est, mihi crede, suarum,
Obsceno quisquis victus amore iacet.
Custos, non dominus, nec habet, sed habetur ab illis,
Nilque in eas dives iuris avarus habet.
Mox etenim ut volucrem fortuna revolverit orbem,
Quae tua sunt hodie, cras subito huius erunt,
Teque Irum ex ipso faciet lux unica Craeso.
Plenus eras opibus, iam moriere fame.
Finge sed immensas votisque capacibus aequas
Et semper stabili finge manere gradu.
Quid tum, cum veniet mors, meta novissima rerum?
Defunctum faciles iamne sequentur opes?
Quid tum contulerit largarum copia rerum?
Tartara tu nudus nec rediturus adis,
Sudoresque tuos peregrinus devorat haeres,
Te velo in tumulum vix comitante brevi.
An te forte putas non exorabile fatum

untold wealth if his own mind never knows how to be sufficient unto itself? Everyone who desires something is needy and does not have what he has, but even in the very midst of his riches the greedy man lives in want. He starves and suffers hunger when the table is loaded with food. The very sight of the dishes drives him mad with hunger. He is not unlike Tantalus tortured by the retreating water, and with water all around him his throat is dry and thirsty; or he is like the one who devours everything into his lean belly and insatiably eats his own limbs. Why then, O ruined man, do you heap up silver, why gather useless gold, which does not make its master happy but rather weighs you down and, by fastening reins like bonds on your captive neck, decrees that you, who were once free, are a slave? For a man who is abjectly subject to his own filthy desire is a slave, believe me, a slave of his own possessions. He is their guardian, not their master; he does not possess them but is possessed by them, and a greedy rich man has no power over them. For as soon as Fortune turns her whirling wheel, what is yours today will be someone else's tomorrow, and a single day will change you from a Croesus to an Irus. You abounded in riches; now you will die of hunger.

But imagine enormous wealth, enough to match your capacious desires, and imagine that it will always stay fixed and never go away. What will happen when death comes, the final goal of all things? Will riches be so agreeable as to follow the dead man then? What good will a lavish abundance of wealth do then? You go naked down to the underworld, never to return, and a stranger inherits and devours all that you sweat for, while you have barely a little rag to go with you into the tomb. Or do you think, perhaps, that you can evade

Mortis et extremum fallere posse diem?
Posse puta, sperare licet, si tempora quenquam
Invenias opibus perpetuasse suis,
Et si quid Crasso, si quid sua copia Craeso
Profuit et cineres ille vel ille fugit,
Si mors felici Solomoni saeva pepercit,
Si non et Phrygium Laomedonta tulit.

Finiunt elegiae tres.

97 Ad Lesbium metrum phaloecium hendecasyllabum, de nummo themation

[1490–1? / 1513]

Ut quicquid cupis assequare, Lesbi,
Non magnos opus est pares patronos,
Si rubris tumeat crumena nummis.
Nummo non melior patronus ullus.
Sin vero tibi desit ille tutor,
Nequicquam (mihi crede), amice Lesbi,
Facundus Cicero patrocinetur.
Persuadet citius nihil beata,
Impetrat citius nihil crumena.
Hac quodcunque voles eris repente:
Facundus, generosus atque bellus,
Invictus, sapiens amabilisque.
Hac et consul eris et imperator,
Haec te si cupies deum creabit
Aequabitque Iovi. Sed ut tumentes
Cessabit loculos gravare nummus,
Fies rursus, eras quod ante, Lesbi.
Tam gratus venies tuis amicis
Quam primum puto parsimoniarum
Adventare diem his, madens lagena
Quos et semper olens iuvat culina.
Sic sic dum loculos habere, Lesbi,
Cessas, desinis esse charus. Aera
Desisti dare? Desiisti amari.

inexorable fate and put off the final day when you must die? Think that you can, hope for it if you like, if you can find anyone who has achieved perpetual life through his wealth, or if Crassus or Croesus got any good from their riches, or if the one or the other could escape from turning to ashes, or if cruel death spared Solomon in all his good fortune and did not carry away even Laomedon of Troy.

The end of the three elegies

97 A little set piece addressed to Lesbius, in phalaecian hendecasyllabics. On money

Whenever you want to get something, Lesbius, there is no need to get powerful backers, if your purse is bulging with ruddy gold coins. There is no better backer than money. But if you lack that protector, the eloquent backing of Cicero himself, believe me, my friend Lesbius, would do you no good at all. Nothing persuades more quickly, nothing wins over more quickly, than a well-filled purse. With it you will suddenly be whatever you want: eloquent, noble, and handsome; invincible, wise, and lovable. With it, you will be both consul and emperor. If you want, it will make you a god, the equal of Jove.

But, when your bulging pockets stop being heavy with coins, Lesbius, you will become once more what you were before. When you come you will be as welcome to your friends, I imagine, as the first day of short rations when it comes to those who have always enjoyed a brimming wine jar and a kitchen full of good smells. Just so, Lesbius, just so, when your pockets are empty, you will cease to be beloved. Have you stopped giving money? You have stopped being loved.

POEMS PUBLISHED AFTER ERASMUS' DEATH

Poems from Gouda MS 1323

98 Erasmus magistro Enghelberto Leydensi

[summer 1489? / 1930]

Ethere quot placidis rutilant sub noctibus ignes
  Siderei, guttas quot capit unda freti,
Quot flavae segetes Cereris, quot pocula Bacchi
  Et quot verna virens gramina campus habet,
Tantas et plures, vates divine, salutes
  Exoptat vitae nostra Camena tuae.
Fama loquax, populos late diffusa per omnes,
  Ignarum quemquam non sinit esse tui.
Qui licet usque loco maneas immotus eodem,
  Hac tamen immenso notus in orbe volas.
Hec facit ut nil te dubitem me noscere, quamquam
  Non unquam facies sit tua visa mihi.
Illa meas quoniam delapsa est nuper ad aures
  Laudis et ingenii nuncia multa tui,
Insigni virtute virum Musis et amicum
  Praedicat ac superi tollit ad astra poli.
Ingens fama quidem atque viro bene digna perito,
  Sed longe meritis est minor ipsa tuis.
Nam (nunc suspectae dubitem ne credere linguae)

POEMS PUBLISHED AFTER ERASMUS' DEATH

Poems from Gouda MS 1323

98 Erasmus to Engelbert of Leiden, Master of Arts

As numerous as the fiery stars shining in the sky on calm nights, or the drops contained in the waters of the sea, or the rows of grain belonging to yellow Ceres, or the cups of Bacchus, or the blades of grass in a green field at springtime, so many blessings and more, divine poet, my muse wishes for you in your lifetime. Loquacious Fame, spreading her news far and wide among all nations, does not allow anyone not to know of you; even if you should always remain immobile in the same place, nevertheless your fame makes the knowledge of you fly forth throughout the whole wide world. This Fame makes me have no doubt whatever that I know you, even though I have never set eyes on your face. Recently, after she dropped down to my ear to bring me many tidings of your merits and your genius, she proclaimed you to be a remarkably virtuous man and a friend of the Muses and she praised you up to the stars in the heavens above. Indeed, vast is your fame and well worthy of a learned man, but it is far less than you deserve. For lest I should hesitate to believe

Hauserunt versus lumina nostra tuos.
In quibus oppressae lucet spes multa Camenae,
Quae misere toto, proh pudor, orbe iacet.
Ergo, precor, ceptos fac perge, vir optime, calles,
Inque dies crescat haec tua cura tibi.
Barbaries indocta cadat, facunda poesis
Te duce sublime tollat in astra caput.
Iamque vale, eternos dent numina vivere in annos,
Atque immortales det tibi Parca dies.

99 Elegia Erasmi de collatione doloris et leticiae [1487? / 1930]

Nimbus et obscurae pellantur ab aethere nubes:
Pectoribus nostris cura dolorque cadat.
Affricus aequoreos cesset sustollere fluctus:
Pectoribus nostris cura dolorque cadat.
Frondiferae Boreas agitare cacumina sylvae:
Pectoribus nostris cura dolorque cadat.
Cura dolorque cadat, surgant nova gaudĭa, cedant
Luctus et Eumenides, cura dolorque procul.
Cura dolorque procul: viridem solet ille iuventam
Ante diem rugis commaculare suis.
Ante diem solet ille gravem celerare senectam,
Ille solet dulces abbreviare dies.
Ille rapit vires, vorat ossibus ille medullas,
Fronte perempta perit forma dolore suo.
Pectoribus sensum furor aufert pessimus ille,
Eripit ingenium pessimus ille furor.
Ergo procul Stigias, procul hinc demigret in undas

spoken reports, which are suspect nowadays, my eyes drank in your verses. In them shines great hope for the oppressed Muse, who lies miserably downtrodden (Oh the shame of it!) all over the world. Therefore, I beg you, best of men, go forward on the path you have begun to follow, and may this devotion of yours to poetry grow day by day. Let ignorant barbarism fall; let eloquent poetry under your leadership lift its head high up to the stars. And now farewell. May the gods make you live endless years and may the goddess of fate give you immortal days.

99 An elegiac poem by Erasmus comparing sorrow and joy

Let the rainstorms and dark clouds be driven from the sky: let care and sorrow fade away from our hearts. Let the south-west wind stop raising up waves on the surface of the sea: let care and sorrow fade away from our hearts. Let the north wind stop shaking the leafy treetops of the woods; let care and sorrow fade away from our hearts. Let care and sorrow fade away; let joys arise renewed; let grief inspired by the Furies depart. Away with care and sorrow! Away with care and sorrow; before their time they always mar the bloom of youth with their wrinkles. Before their time they always speed up burdensome old age; they always cut short the sweet days of youth. They snatch away our strength; they eat away the marrow of our bones; our good looks diminish and disappear because of sorrow. That ruinous turmoil of passion robs our hearts of understanding; that passionate and ruinous turmoil takes away the talents of our minds. Therefore, away with it! Let it depart far hence to the waves of Styx and the vast darkness of

Tartareumque cahos, cura dolorque cadat.
Adsit leticia: pulchram decet illa iuventam,
Qua sine nil pulchrum, nil queat esse bonum.
Corporis illa iuvat vires seniumque moratur
Tristius, et letos protrahit illa dies.
Leticia maior est forma, serenior est frons,
Leticia ingenium clarius esse solet.

100 Elegia Erasmi de praepotenti virtute Cupidinis pharetrati.

[1487? / 1930]

Nunc scio quid sit amor: amor est insania mentis,
Ethna fervidior pectoris ignis amor.
Nutibus et signis teneri pascuntur amores,
Inter blanda oritur suavia stultus amor.
Lumina mollis amor primum subit, inde medullis
Figitur atque potens ossa penetrat amor.
Ossa penetrat amor tacitisque edit intima flammis,
Ima suis facibus viscera torret amor.
Viscera torret amor, mentem vetat esse quietam
Atque adimit somnos irrequietus amor.
Non requiescit amor, sed mutua victor amantum
Corpora si nequeat, pectora iungit amor.
Sit licet unus amor, nectit duo corda duorum;
Ut duo iam non sint efficit unus amor.
Quem ferus urit amor, in amati pectore totus;
Absens ipse sibi est, quem ferus urit amor.
Quem ferus urit amor, nil dulce ubi desit amatum,
At qum rursus adest, nil grave sentit amor.
Omnia vincit amor: adamantea claustra relaxat,

Tartarus; let care and sorrow fade away. Come hither joy, which befits the beauty of youth, joy without which nothing can be beautiful, nothing can be good. It makes our bodies strong and fends off gloomy old age, and it prolongs our days of joy. Joy increases our beauty and makes our faces more cheerful; joy tends to make our mental endowments more brilliant.

100 An elegiac poem by Erasmus on the overmastering power of Cupid with his quiver

Now I know what love is: love is a madness in the mind; love is a fire in the heart hotter than Aetna. Young love affairs are nourished by nods and signals; from sweet kisses foolish Love takes his origin. Tender Love first enters the eyes; then with full force Love sticks in the marrow and pierces the bones. Love pierces the bones and eats away the innards with silent flames; with his torch Love inflames the very depths of the entrails. Love inflames the entrails, he forbids the mind to be at rest, and Love in his restlessness takes away sleep. Love does not rest, but rather, if he cannot join together the bodies of lovers after his victory, Love joins their hearts. Although Love himself is single, he fastens together the two hearts of two lovers; this single Love causes them to be no longer two. Whoever is inflamed by fierce Love lives entirely in the heart of the beloved; absent from himself is the man who is inflamed by fierce Love. Whoever is inflamed by fierce Love finds nothing sweet when the object of his love is away; but when the beloved is present once more, nothing seems burdensome to Love.

Love conquers all: he unbars adamantine

Ferrea ceu stipulam vincula rumpit amor.
Omnia vincit amor sine cede et sanguine certans,
Et domat indomitos non domitandus amor.
Mollia nodosae valido pro robore clavae
Alciden trahere pensa coegit amor.
Praelia Mavortis quem non potuere cruenti
Magnanimum Eaciden vincere, vicit amor.
Denique quid vastus Sampsone valentius orbis
Edidit? Hunc potuit sternere solus amor.
Quidve tulit totus Salomone peritius orbis?
Hunc quoque quo lubuit victor abegit amor.
Doctus amor vigiles custodum fallere curas,
Noctis et excubias ludere doctus amor.
Cardine doctus amor nullum faciente tumultum
Scit reserare fores, claudere novit amor.
Omnia vertit amor: facit insipidos sapientes,
Atque Argi cecus lumina cecat amor.
Omnia vertit amor: mutum facit esse disertum,
In puerosque senes vertit amarus amor.
Fortia frangit amor, fragiles docet esse potentes,
Audaces timidos reddere novit amor.
Vulnera dirus amor temnit crudelia, ventis
Turbida nymbriferis aequora temnit amor.
Quid non fortis amor? Et morte valentior ipsa est:
Mortem quam trepidant omnia vincit amor.
Didonis egit amor miserae per viscera ferrum,
Insanus laqueo Phillida strinxit amor.
Per te, fortis amor, moritur Babilonia Tysbe,
Pyramus et per te sub Styga pergit, amor.
Singula quid memorem? Vincit puer improbus ille
Omnia, tu pueri tu quoque seva parens.

doors, and iron chains are broken like straw by Love. Love conquers all in a battle without slaughter or bloodshed, and the unconquerable are conquered by never-to-be-conquered Love. Instead of wielding the tough oak of his knotty club, Hercules was forced by Love to spin out the soft thread. The great-hearted Achilles, who could not be conquered in the battles of bloody Mars, was conquered by Love. And then, what has the whole wide world ever produced that was stronger than Samson? Single-handed, Love was able to lay him low. Has anyone in the whole world ever been wiser than Solomon? He, too, was driven to do whatever victorious Love wanted. Love is skilled in circumventing vigilant and careful guardians; and Love is skilled in outwitting watchmen posted by night. Love is skilled in opening doors without any creaking of the hinges; Love knows how to close them too.

Love transforms everything: he makes the wise stupid, and the eyes of Argus are blinded by Love, who is blind. Love transforms everything: he makes the eloquent dumb, and old men are changed to striplings by bitter Love. Love shatters what is strong and teaches the frail to be mighty; Love knows how to make the timid bold. Fell Love scorns cruel wounds; Love scorns the sea churned up by windswept rainstorms. Is there anything Love is not powerful enough to do? He is even stronger than death itself: death, which is feared by everything, is conquered by Love. Love drove the sword into the entrails of wretched Dido; mad Love tightened the noose around Phyllis' neck. Because of you, mighty Love, Babylonian Thisbe died, and Pyramus went down to the Styx because of you, O Love. Why should I recount single examples? That wicked boy conquers all, and you, O mother of the boy, you are also cruel. Which is

Seva parens pueri magis an puer improbus ille?
 Improbus ille puer, tu quoque seva parens.

101 Elegia Erasmi querula doloris [1487? / 1930]

Qum nondum albenti surgant mihi vertice cani,
 Candeat aut pilis frons viduata suis,
Luminibusve hebetet aciem numerosior aetas,
 Aut dens squalenti decidat ore niger,
Atque acuant rigidae nondum mihi brachia setae, aut
 Pendeat arenti corpore laxa cutis,
Denique nulla meae videam argumenta senectae,
 Nescio quid misero sorsque deusque parent.
Me mala ferre senum teneris voluere sub annis
 Iamque senem esse volunt nec senuisse sinunt.
Iam quae canicie spergant mea tempora tristi
 Praevenere diem cura dolorque suum.

102 Carmen buccolicum 'Εράσμι [1487? / 1538]

Rosphamus insano Gunifoldae captus amore
Stridenti tacita solus sub nocte cicuta
Rumpebat longo lucubrantia sidera questu.
Quem circum simeae, quondam unica cura, capellae
Errant et gelidis neglecti in vallibus agni.
Nec stabulis egisse pecus nec culmina tecti
Vel sera meminit deserta revisere nocte.
Rore procul tantum madida proiectus in herba

greater, the cruelty of the boy's mother or the wickedness of the boy? That boy is wicked, and you, his mother, are also cruel.

101 An elegiac poem by Erasmus complaining about grief

Although gray hair has not yet begun to whiten the top of my head and fallen hair has not left me with a shining forehead, although advanced age has not dimmed my eyesight and no blackened tooth has fallen from a rotten mouth and stiff bristles have not yet made my arms prickly and my skin does not hang loose on a withered body – in short, although I see in myself none of the signs of old age, the lot assigned me by God is contrived to make me miserable, I know not how. He has decided to make me bear the afflictions of old age during my tender years, and he wants me to be already old, and yet he does not allow me to grow old. Care and sorrow, which would sprinkle my temples with sad gray hair, have come before their time.

102 A pastoral poem by Erasmus

Rosphamus, seized by a mad passion for Gunifolda, was playing his shrill pipes alone in the silence of the night, piercing with a long lament the stars, which shone like lamps in the dark. Wandering around him were his snub-nosed goats, once his only concern, and his lambs, neglected in the cold valleys. He forgets to drive his flock to their stables and, late as it is at night, he neglects to see once more the roof of his deserted hut. Far from home, stretched out on the grass wet with dew, he

Crudeles querula meditatur arundine flammas:
'Huc ades, o Gunifolda, mei medicina furoris,
Huc ades extremum vel visere funus amantis.
Rosphamus ecce vocat tuus, o Gunifolda, peritque,
Et tu flammivomae duris in collibus Ethnae
Mollibus indignum refoves Poliphemon in ulnis.
Ah tibi setosi ne candida colla lacerti,
Barba ah ne tenerum tibi conterat hispida mentum.
Huc ades, o Gunifolda, hic vitrea flumina iuxta
Gramine florigero viridi recubabimus umbra.
'Rosphame, quid sterili iuvat indulgere labori?
Desine: non tanto certasse licebit amanti.
Et certasse tamen (quid tum si vertice Ciclops
Sidera sublimi feriat?) licet; audiat ipse
Quantuscumque, nec illi cessero carmine, sola
Voce velit, velit arguta cecinisse cicuta.
Molle pecus, nivei sunt et mihi vallibus agni.
Corpore Dametas, voltu mihi cedit Amyntas.
Non mihi taurinis cervix riget horrida pilis,
Pectora sunt nobis candentia, levia nobis
Ora: quid amplexus, quid amas, insana, caninos?
'Rosphame, litus aras, aversis aspera (cerne)
Auribus effusas refugit Gunifolda querelas.
Quid speras? Sed et esto velit, vetat ille volentem.
Quin morere et longos componito morte dolores.
Extremum hoc, Gunifolda, tui cape munus amantis.
Eternum, Gunifolda, vale, dirae necis auctrix.'
Sic ait, et pulsae referebant carmina rupes.

thinks only of the cruel flames of his passion, lamenting the while on his pipes:

'Come hither, O Gunifolda, healer of my madness, come hither at least to see the end of your lover in death. Lo, your Rosphamus is calling you, O Gunifolda, and he pines away, while on the hard ridges of flame-spewing Aetna you are fondling the unworthy Polyphemus in your soft embraces. Ah, do not let his hairy arms chafe your white neck or his bristling beard, ah, brush your tender chin! Come hither, O Gunifolda, and here next to the glassy river we will lie back on the flowery grass in the green shade.

'Rosphamus, what good can it do to indulge in this futile task? Cease, you cannot compete with such a huge lover. But yes, you can compete – what does it matter if the head of the Cyclops strikes the stars on high? Let him hear me – however big he is – I will not yield to him in song, whether he chooses to sing with unaccompanied voice or to play on the pure-toned pipes. I have soft sheep and snow-white lambs in the valleys. In bodily build I surpass Dametas; my face is handsomer than Amyntas'. My neck is not bristling with hair standing up like that of a bull. My chest is white, my face is smooth. Why, oh why, are you madly enamoured of doggish embraces?

'Rosphamus, you are ploughing the seashore. See how the cruel Gunifolda closes her ears and flees from the plaintive pleas you pour out to her! What do you hope for? Even granted that she wished to comply, he frustrates her wishes. No, die instead and by death put an end to this long-drawn-out pain. Take this ultimate gift, Gunifolda, from your lover. Farewell forever, Gunifolda, the cause of my cruel death.' This is what he said and the rocks, struck by the sound, re-echoed his song.

Omne nemus 'Gunifolda' sonat, sonat arduus aether.
Thetidos interea Titonis ab aequore coniunx
Paulatim croceis subvecta iugalibus alto
Iam rarescentem pellebat ab aethere noctem.
Et iam Phebeae ferientia sidera rupis
Culmina vix dubio cepere rubescere sole,
Cinctus et ecce senex viridanti tempora mirto
Letus agit teneras ad pascua nota capellas
Drales, pastorum quo non annosior alter,
Cui iam depositis niteat frons nuda capillis,
Qui iam tergeminos cum Nestore computet annos.
Una viro serae requies et cura senectae,
Tortilis hirsuto pendebat fistula collo.
Hic ubi roranti resupinum Rosphamon herba
Conspicit, his miserum dictis compellat amantem:
'Quaenam sub gelido tenuit Iove, Rosphame, causa
Teque pecusque tuum? fluitas quia totus, et ecce
Nocturno madet omne pecus sua vellera rore.'
'Si vacat, o Siculum pastorum gloria Drales
Una, tibi nostros referam moriturus amores.
Qum sol hesternus medium transmensus Olympum
Ureret ignivomis arentes aestibus herbas,
Atque ego, ne noceat quicquam calor ille capellis,
Condensi nemoris capto sicientibus umbram,
Illic forte sacrae video sub tegmine lauri
Naiades Aonidesque simul Driadesque puellas
Ducere solemnes cantu modulante choreas.
Pan calamo, pulcher cythara ludebat Apollo,
Omnis et in numeros agitabat brachia cetus
Pulsabatque humiles pedibus salientibus herbas.
'Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammae.

The whole grove resounds with 'Gunifolda'; 'Gunifolda' resounds high in the air.

Meanwhile the spouse of Tithonus, rising from the level surface of the sea, slowly conveyed by her saffron team, was already driving the thinning darkness from the upper air, and now the sky-grazing peaks of the crag sacred to Apollo were hardly beginning to grow red in the faint sunlight, when, lo, an old man, his temples wreathed with green myrtle, joyfully drives his young goats to their familiar pasture. It is Drales, the oldest of the shepherds; the hair has already fallen from his bare, shining brow. He has lived like Nestor through three generations. From his hairy neck hung a flute with a twisting design, the man's only solace and concern in his declining years. This man, when he saw Rosphamus lying on his back on the dewy grass, addressed the miserable lover in these words: 'What keeps you out in the cold air, Rosphamus, you and your flock? You are dripping wet and, look, the fleece of your whole flock is drenched with the dew of the night.'

'If you have time, Drales, O sole glory of Sicilian shepherds, I will tell you of my love as my death draws near. Yesterday, when the sun had traversed half its course through the sky and was scorching the parched grass with its beams of raging fire, after I sought out the shade of a thick grove for my thirsty goats to keep the heat from harming them, there by chance, under the canopy of the sacred laurel, I saw naiads and the Aonian Muses together with dryad maidens, dancing in their customary circle to the tune of their song. Pan played on his pipes, the beautiful Apollo played on his lyre, and the whole band swayed their arms in time with the music, leaping and beating on the short grass with their feet.

'My eyes saw it, my heart burst into flame.

'Ibat formosis formosior addita nymphis
Et gracilis toti extabat Gunifolda coronae,
Digna dea facies, ipso dignus Iove voltus.
Non illi igniferi Citherea parens pueri (me
Iudice), non illi certarit pulchra Dyana.
'Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammae.
'Germanam quantum Phebi lux aurea Pheben,
Luciferum roseo quantum Phebe aurea voltu,
Caetera quam radians praecellit Lucifer astra,
Tam forma socias vincit Gunifolda puellas.
'Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammae.
'Caesaries capitis fulvo crispantior auro
Undique cervicem circumvolitabat eburnam,
Ardentes oculi, liquido caro levior amne
Candidiorque nive, superis rutilantior astris.
'Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammae.
'Adfuit et mediis puer improbus ille choreis,
Nudus membra, genas levisque et captus ocellis,
Armatus facibus levibusque volatilis alis.
Adfuit et medius medio stetit improbus orbe.
'Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammae.
'Is mihi fulgenti promens sua tela pharetra
Flammifera stupidum traiecit arundine pectus.
Pectora traiecit, calidumque per ossa cucurrit
Virus, et in medias serpsit furor ille medullas.
Serpsit, et insuetis caluerunt intima flammis.
Hinc perii, atque gravis cepit mihi vita videri.
Et iam virgineas me conspectante choreas
Ibat supremi spacia ultima Phebus Olympi.
Quid facerem? Iam tempus erat quo septa capellae,

'Among the beautiful nymphs, herself more beautiful, went Gunifolda, and in her slender elegance she stood out from the whole ring of dancers, with a figure worthy of a goddess, a face worthy of Jupiter himself. If I am any judge, not Venus, the mother of the torch-bearing boy, not the beautiful Diana could vie with her.

'My eyes saw it, my heart burst into flame.

'Just as the golden light of Phoebus outshines his sister Phoebe, just as golden Phoebe with her rosy face conquers the morning star, just as the radiant morning star excels the other stars, so Gunifolda in her beauty surpassed her maiden companions.

'My eyes saw it, my heart burst into flame.

'The locks of her head, her curls, more sparkling than yellow gold, flew all around her ivory neck; her eyes were shining, her flesh smoother than a limpid stream and whiter than snow, more radiant than the stars above.

'My eyes saw it, my heart burst into flame.

'That wicked boy was also in the midst of the dancers, his limbs naked, his cheeks smooth, his eyes blind, armed with his firebrands, hovering on his rapid wings. He was there, that wicked boy, standing in the very middle of the circle.

'My eyes saw it, my heart burst into flame.

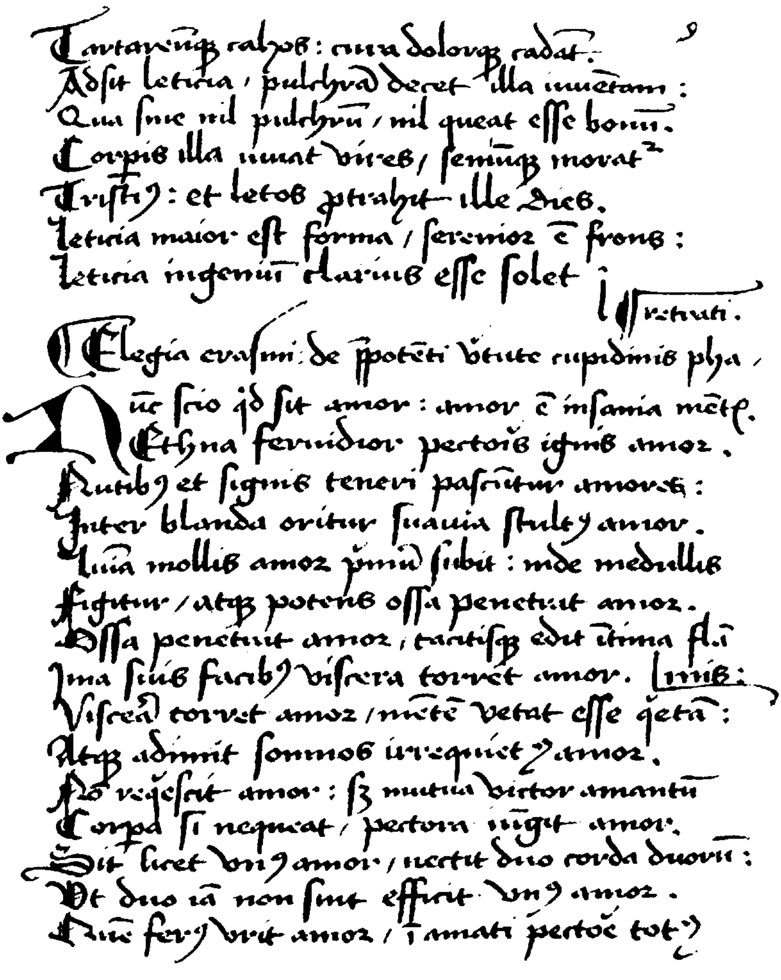
'Taking out his weapons from his flashing quiver, he pierced my stunned heart with a fiery arrow. He pierced my heart and the hot poison ran through my bones and the madness crept into their very marrow. It crept and burned deep within me with unfamiliar flames. From that time on I was lost and my life came to seem a burden to me. And then, while I was gazing at the dancing circle of maidens, Phoebus was travelling the last stretch of the western sky. What was I to do? It was now time for the goats to return to their pens, for

Quo repetant pasti praesepia nota iuvenci.
Me dirus retinebat amor, sequor invia saltus
Perditus et questu Gunifoldam sector inani
Et vano clamore voco: fugit illa vocantem.
Nil lacrimas miserata meas, nil flexa querelis,
Cautibus Hismariis immotior, aspide seva
Surdior, aereae summis in rupibus Ethnae
Immani sese Polyphemi condidit antro.
Hinc perii, atque gravis cepit mihi vita videri.
Tum redeo tandem, sequitur grex tristis euntem,
Atque hic, qum iam spes misero mihi nulla supersit,
Mortem oro superos, certe aut (quod gratius esset)
Improba permutent Gunifoldae pectora nostrae.'

Finis eglogae buccolicae

the full-fed bullocks to return to their familiar stalls. Cruel love held me fast. Devastated, I follow through the trackless glades, I pursue Gunifolda with futile lamentation, I call her with vain cries; she flees from me as I call. Taking no pity on my tears, unmoved by my plaints, more unyielding than the crags of Ismarus, more deaf than the fierce viper, she hides in the vast cave of Polyphemus high in the cliffs of lofty Aetna. From that time on I was lost and my life came to seem a burden to me. Then at last I returned, my sad flock followed me as I went, and here, since there is no hope left for wretched me, I beg the gods for death or at least – what would be more pleasant – a change in the cruel heart of my Gunifolda.'

The end of the pastoral eclogue



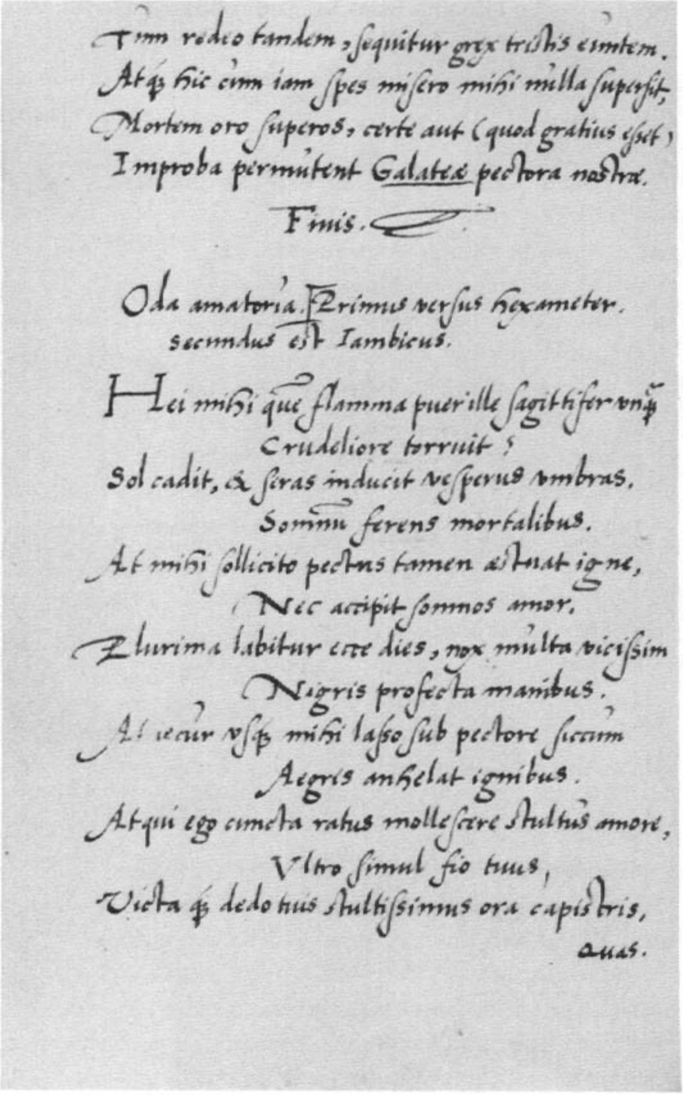
9

Tartareumque chaos: cura dolorque cadat.
Adsit leticia, pulchram decet illa iuventam:
Qua sine nil pulchrum, nil queat esse bonum.
Corporis illa iuvat vires, seniumque moratur
Tristibus: et letos protrahit illa dies.
Leticia maior est forma, serenior est frons:
Leticia ingenium clarius esse solet.

Elegia erasmi: de praepotenti virtute cupidinis pharetrati.

Nunc scio quid sit amor: amor est insania mentis.
Ethna ferventior pectoris ignis amor.
Nutibus et signis teneri pascuntur amores:
Inter blanda oritur suavia stultus amor.
Lumina mollis amor primum subit: inde medullis
Figitur, atque potens ossa penetrat amor.
Ossa penetrat amor, tantisque edit intima flammis:
Ima sinus facibus viscera torret amor.
Viscera torret amor, mentem vetat esse quietam:
Atque adimit somnos irrequietus amor.
Non requiescit amor: sed mutua victor amantum
Corpora si nequeat, pectora iungit amor.
Sit licet unus amor, nectit duo corda duorum:
Ut duo iam non sint efficit unus amor.
Nunc ferus urit amor, in amati pectore totus

Gouda MS 1323, f 9r, showing
Elegia Erasmi de praepotenti virtute Cupidinis pharetrati
Streekarchiefdienst Hollands Midden



Tum redeo tandem, ſequitur grex triſtis euntem.
Atq; hic cum iam ſpes miſero mihi nulla ſuperſit,
Mortem oro ſuperos, certe aut (quod gratius eſſet)
Improba permutent Galateæ pectora noſtræ.

Finis.

Oda amatoria. Primus verſus hexameter.
ſecundus eſt Iambicus.

Hei mihi quæ flamma puer ille ſagittifer vnq;
Crudeliore torruit?
Sol cadit, & ſeras inducit veſperus vmbras.
Somnū ferens mortalibus.
At mihi ſollicito pectus tamen æſtuat igne,
Nec accipit ſomnos amor.
Plurima labitur ecce dies, nox multa viciſſim
Nigris profecta manibus.
At iecur vſq; mihi laſſo ſub pectore ſiccum
Aegris anhelat ignibus.
Atqui ego cuncta ratus molleſcere ſtultus amore,
Vltro ſimul fio tuus,
Victaq; dedo tuis ſtultiſſimus ora capiſtris,
auas.

MS Scriverius, f 4^v, with the end of
Carmen buccolicum and the start of *Oda amatoria*
Katholieke Universiteit Brabant, Tilburg

Poems from MS Scriverius

103 Oda amatoria. Primus versus hexameter, secundus est iambicus.

[1487? / 1706]

Hei mihi, quem flamma puer ille sagittifer unquam
Crudeliore torruit?
Sol cadit, et seras inducit vesperus umbras,
Somnum ferens mortalibus.
At mihi sollicito pectus tamen aestuat igne,
Nec accipit somnos amor.
Plurima labitur ecce dies, nox multa vicissim
Nigris profecta manibus.
At iecur usque mihi lasso sub pectore siccum
Aegris anhelat ignibus.
Atqui ego cuncta ratus mollescere stultus amore
Ultro simul fio tuus
Victaque dedo tuis stultissimus ora capistris.
Quas non dedi supplex preces!
Testis luna meis aderat taciturna querelis
Totusque syderum chorus.
Conscius ipse quibus, quibus heu nostrosque tuosque
Sinus rigarim lachrimis –
Frustra, nam scopulis tu surdior usque marinis,
Tu rupe quavis durior,
Nec prece nec lachrimis miseri mollescis amantis,
Tormenta te iuvant mea.
O doliture mea multum virtute Menalca,
Nam virium si quid mihi est,
Sis licet et Venere et Ganymede nitentior ipso
Totusque spires balsama
Isque color tibi sit, tenero quo vere videmus
Flores rubere punicos,
Quem vel Apelleas memorant habuisse tabellas
Viva exprimentem corpora:
Ut tamen haecce tuis subduxero colla cathenis
Spem praeter omnem strennuus,

Poems from MS Scriverius

103 An amatory ode. The first verse is a hexameter; the second is iambic.

Woe is me! Who has ever been burned by that bow-boy with a crueler flame? The sun is setting, and the evening star, leading on the shadows of twilight, is bringing sleep to mortals. But for all that, my heart still rages with the flames of anxiety, and love receives no sleep. Many a day has slipped by and many nights in their turn have taken up their journey from the dark underworld. But always my withered heart within my weary breast pants with fevered fire. And yet I, who foolishly thought that all things could be softened by love, have not only willingly become yours; overcome, I have also most foolishly taken your bit in my mouth. How have I humbly pleaded with you! The silent moon and the whole choir of the stars were present as witnesses to my laments. You yourself are aware of the tears, alas such tears, that moistened my breast and yours – in vain, for you are always deafer than any sea cliff, harder than any crag; no prayers or tears of a wretched lover can soften you; you enjoy my torments. O Menalcas, you will one day be greatly grieved by my power, for if there is any strength in me, even though you are more radiantly beautiful than Venus or Ganymede himself, though your whole person breathes forth balm, even though your complexion has the deep red colour that we see on the flowers in the tender springtime, the very colour that they say could be seen in the paintings of Apelles, a colour that made the bodies seem alive, nevertheless, once I have found strength beyond what could ever be hoped for and have withdrawn this neck of mine from your chains,

Heu heu, te nimium domiti tedebit amoris
Nimisque sani pectoris,
Mutatumque tuum subito maerebis Amyntam,
Egoque flocci pendero.

104 Elegia de mutabilitate temporum ad amicum

[late autumn 1489? / 1706]

Aspicis ut densas ponant arbusta coronas
Et linquant virides vitis et herba comas,
Arida purpurei fugiant violaria flores,
Horreat elapsis aspera spina rosis,
Cernis et ut nudi iaceant sine gramine campi,
Quos florum quondam pinxerat ampla Venus.
Pro placidis Zephiris audis Aquilona frementem,
Audis nymbriferi flamina saeva Nothi.
Nec solitum placidus blanditur in aethere Phaebus,
Pendet in oceanas quin mage pronus aquas,
Succedentis ubi brumae vice labitur aestas
Tristeque sorte venit vere cadente gelu.
Sic sic flos aevi, sic, dulcis amice, iuventus
Heu properante cadit irreparata pede.
Forma perit, pereunt agiles in corpore vires,
Et subito ingenii visque calorque cadit.
Tristior inde ruit ac plena doloribus aetas,
Inde subit propero curva senecta pede.
Haec tibi canicie est flavos, formose, capillos
Sparsura et frontem findet amara tuam.
Candida deformi pallore tibi induet ora,
Et rosa purpureis excidet ista genis.
Iamque abient nunquam redeuntia gaudia vitae,

then, alas, alas, you will be sorry that you tamed your love too well and kept your heart too sound, and you will grieve that your Amyntas has suddenly changed – and I will not care a whit.

104 An elegiac poem on the mutability of time, to a friend

You see how the trees have put off their thick-leafed crowns and the vines and the meadows have lost their green tresses, how the crimson flowers have fled from the arid violet beds and the harsh thorns bristle now that the roses have fallen away. And you perceive how the fields lie bare of grass, where once Venus had bountifully bedecked them with flowers. Instead of gentle western winds, you hear the raging wind from the north, you hear the savage blasts of the rain-laden wind from the south. Nor does mild Phoebus smile as usual in the sky, but rather he leans down low toward the waters of the ocean, now that summer slips away and winter follows in turn and melancholy frosts, after the end of spring, have taken their allotted place.

Just so, my sweet friend, just so the flower of our lifetime, youth, hastens away, alas, and fails, never to be recovered. Beauty dies, the nimble strength of the body dies, and suddenly the force and vitality of the mind fail. Then age, sad and full of griefs, rushes upon us; then crook-backed old age steals upon us all too swiftly. Beautiful lad, she will sprinkle your yellow locks with gray; she will bitterly plough furrows in your brow. She will cast an ugly pallor over the fair white of your face, and those roses will depart from your ruddy cheeks. The joys of life are already about to go

Succedent quorum morsque laborque locis.
Ergo ferox dum Parca sinet, patiantur et anni,
Dum vireat vicibus laeta iuventa suis,
Utamur, ne frustra abeat torpentibus, aevo,
Carpamus primos, dulcis amice, dies.

105 Elegia de patientia, qua sola vincuntur omnia, atque de dolore mortalium, quomodo non tam fugiendus, quam fortiter patientia vincendus sit

[1490? / 1706]

Quo fugis, o nimium tener impatiensque doloris?
Te quocunque fugis quem fugis insequitur.
Ne confide fugae, rapitur pernicibus ille
Alis, nec dubitat te fugiente sequi.
Otyor est iaculo Partho quod mittitur arcu
Et vincit volucres mobilitate Nothos.
Cum iam a calce omnem gaudes liquisse dolorem,
Ocyor ille Euro tum tua terga tenet,
Et male securi iam gaudia inania ridens,
Incumbit misero durior inde tibi.
Stulte, quid extremas iuvat evasisse per oras?
Omnibus in terris te prior ille videt.
Quid frustra varia rapit in diversa cupido
Sollicitatque animum perdita cura tuum?
Quid totiens mutare locum, mutare gradumque
Vitae et inexpertum te nova adire iuvat?

away, never to return, and their places will be taken by hardship and death.

Therefore, while the fierce goddess of fate still permits it, while the years still allow it, while youth rejoices and flourishes in its own season, let us make use of this time in our lives, lest we lose it in vain through our own lethargy. Let us seize, sweet friend, the days of our youth.

105 An elegiac poem on patience, which is the only way to conquer all things, and on the tribulation of mortals, which is not so much to be shunned as bravely conquered by patience

Whither are you fleeing, O you who are too sensitive and unwilling to be patient under tribulation? Wherever you flee, what you flee from follows you. Do not place your trust in flight, for your pursuer rushes on rapid wings, and when you flee from him he does not hesitate to follow. He is swifter than an arrow shot from a Parthian bow, and he moves faster than the rushing wind from the south. And when you rejoice that you have finally outrun tribulation and left him completely behind, then he comes swifter than the east wind and takes hold of you from behind and, from then on, laughing at the empty joy of your overconfidence, he oppresses you even more cruelly in your misery. Fool, what good is it to run away to the ends of the earth? Everywhere in the world he spies you first.

Why are you vainly distracted by manifold desires? And why is your mind so taken with a hopeless cause? Why do you so often delight in going from one place to another and in changing your state in life? And why in your ignorance are you so eager to seek out new

Curas ditari, cupis in sublime levari,
Tanquam te solvant ista dolore tuo.
Non, inquam, non etsi Craeso opulentior esses
Aut ditioni sint subdita cuncta tuae.
Anne putas regum vacua esse palacia curis?
Credo equidem excelsis has magis esse locis.
Tu quamvis summe in cunctis mirere beatos,
Tristes saepe animos ostra superba tegunt.
Eumenides circumvolitant laquearia tristes
Aurea, perlustrant tecta superba ducum.
Nil curant plenis spirent convivia mensis
Despumentque vetus pocula abunda merum
Milleque dulcisonum moduletur carmina plectrum
Spargat et innumeros tibia blanda modos,
Quin inter luxus sedet, illaetabile virus
Plausibus immiscens, anxia cura, suum.
Aequa lege dolor summos sortitur et imos,
Involvens misere regem humilemque simul.
Neve puta, cum iam te opibus fortuna bearit,
Nil fore quod cupidum temptet amare animum.
Tum primum curae, dolor et suspiria surgent,
Tum primum angores experiere graves.
Sic etenim fortuna suis sua munera miscet,
Ut fel non modicum paucula mella tegant.
Candida et impexi cingunt ut lilia vepres
Spinaque purpureum gignit acuta decus,
Tristia sic laetis, sic dulcia miscet amaris,
Et coeunt iuncto spesque metusque pede,
Gaudia cum maerore gravique tripudia luctu,
Libertas curis, mixta labore quies.
Hoc volvunt Parcae, hoc ineluctabile fatum

experiences? You take pains to get rich, you long to rise to the top, as if these things could free you from your tribulation. No, I say, not even if you were richer than Croesus or if all things were subject to your sway. Do you imagine that the palaces of kings are devoid of cares? Indeed, I think, cares are more likely to be found in high places. Though you may have unlimited admiration for those who have everything going for them, haughty robes of purple often cloak minds oppressed with sadness. The harsh Furies flit about under golden-coffered ceilings; they wander everywhere in the proud palaces of rulers. They do not care what aromas rise from the fully laden banquet tables or what vintage wines foam in full cups or what an abundance of song is plucked from melodious strings or what endless airs float about from lovely flutes. No, restless anxiety sits at the luxurious feast and mingles her joyless poison with the flattering applause. With an even hand tribulation assigns the lots of low and high alike, wrapping both king and clown in misery.

And do not imagine that, even when Fortune has blessed you with wealth, there will be no bitterness to try your greedy soul. That is the very time when cares, tribulations, and sighs will emerge; that is the very time when you will experience grievous anguish. For Fortune intermingles her gifts to her followers in such a way that a bit of honey masks a deal of wormwood. And just as the white lilies are surrounded by tangled briers and the sharp thorn brings forth the crimson glory, so Fortune mixes sorrow with joy, the sweet with the bitter, and hope marches linked in an even pace with fear, delight keeps step with grief, and dancing is mingled with heavy-hearted mourning, freedom with cares, repose with hardship. This is the will of the Fates; this is

Archanique animi sic voluere deum.
Certandum ergo tibi est contendendumque palaestra;
Hostis erit feritas hac superanda via,
Victoque ingentem referes ex hoste triumphum,
Nominis emittens seculum in omne decus.
Nonne vides toto Iob ut venerabilis heros
Cuncta per ora volans orbe celebris eat?
Funera post sua vivit adhuc super aethera notus,
Atque illi aeternum haec fama superstes erit.
Et dubitamus adhuc consistere cominus hosti?
Verte gradum et vires experiare tuas.
Ne dubita, in manibus pendet victoria nostris,
Tute modo advertas aurem animumque mihi.
Pandam ego queis telis, qua sit res arte gerenda,
Haec etenim ad palmam non mediocre ferent.
Est nova luctandi species, nova Martis imago,
In qua non frameis, non opus est iaculis.
Sta tantum intrepido et fidenti pectore firmus,
Nec moveant animum tela cruenta tuum.
Ille fremat sine more furens frustraque laboret,
Irritus in ventum et sudet inane diu.
Sive petat iaculo seu certet cominus ense,
Ne moveare cave; sta modo, tutus eris.
Temne simul iaculo, temne et simul ense petentem;
Hostem si poteris temnere, victor eris.
Ne tamen eliso vitalia pectore ferro
Sauciet et letum toxica spicla ferant,
Apta humeris thoraca prius atque omnia denso
Ordine squamarum ferrea texta tegant.
Ne rursum assiduo iacientis ab imbre fatiscant

ineluctable destiny; and it has been so willed by the unsearchable minds of the gods.

Therefore you must contend and struggle on the wrestling mat. This is the way to overcome the fierceness of the enemy, and once the enemy is defeated you will gain an enormous triumph, extending the glory of your name to all future ages. Do you not see how the name of the venerable hero Job flies about on the tongues of everyone, celebrated all over the earth? After his death he still lives, well known in the heavens above, and this fame of his will survive forever. And do we still hesitate to grapple with the enemy? Turn around and find out how strong you really are. Do not hesitate: the victory lies in our own hands, if you will only lend me your ears and give me your attention. I will reveal to you with what weapons, with what strategy, the battle is to be waged, for these things contribute not a little to the winning of the palm. This is a new sort of struggle, a new image of warfare, in which there is no need for javelins or spears. Simply stand firm with a fearless and confident heart, and do not let your mind be moved by bloody weapons. Let the madman rage beyond all reason, let him labour in vain, let him sweat at length but to no purpose, frustrated and fighting against the wind. Whether he attacks you with a spear or engages you at close quarters with his sword, take care not to be moved; just take your stand, you will be safe. Whether he attacks with his spear or with his sword, scorn him equally; if you can scorn the enemy, you will be the victor. But, lest his sword should pierce your heart with a fatal wound, lest the poisoned point of his spear should seal your fate, first fit a cuirass to your shoulders and let the thickly woven rows of iron platelets cover your whole body. Then too, lest the ceaseless hail of spears should

Aera, perita sibi dextera scutum habeat,
Scutum quo quicquid furiato emittitur hoste
Irritet et vigilem ludat inane manum.
Pectore letum abigat agili omnibus obvia motu,
Improbitate prior iam cadet ipse sua.
Sed quid te moror obscura sub imagine verbi?
Corporea neque enim haec res peragenda manu est.
Rem nude referam potius sine nubibus omnem;
Tu cape dicta memor, me duce victor eris.
Muniat intrepidam virtus patientia mentem
Contra fortunae tela sinistra deae,
Ipsaque ne crebro nimium duroque malorum
Concidat impulsu, quo tueare cape.
Inviolabile erit manui prudentia scutum,
Opportunius hac in patiente nihil.
Hanc capiat comitem fortis patientia fidam,
Non timeat casus hac comitata graves.
Languet enim et tenues nequicquam in grandia vires
Obiicit et facilis lucta oriente cadit.
Deficit ut tumidis sine clavo puppis in undis,
Et sine honore manet si incomitata manet.
Ipsa quidem virtutum acies firmatque tegitque
Fortis et in tota dux legione praeit.
Cedet prima tamen saeva turbante procella,
Hanc nisi sedula sit concomitata ducem.
Denique vis modico complectar ut omnia verbo?
Prudens disce pati cuncta: beatus eris.
Nullum prorsus enim quod non patientia fortis
Leniat et vincat in sapiente malum.

open up chinks in your armour, hold a shield in your skilful right hand, a shield with which your hand can render useless whatever is hurled by your outraged enemy and can mock his hand as it vainly looks for an opening. Let your hand stave off death by nimbly moving to check all his thrusts; he will fall all the sooner through his own audacity.

But why do I detain you with this shadowy metaphor? For this battle is not to be waged by a bodily hand. Rather I will set forth the whole matter bare and unclouded. And, as for you, grasp and remember what I say, and under my leadership you will be victorious. Let the virtue Patience arm your fearless mind against the sinister weapons of the goddess Fortune; and to keep Patience herself from falling under the relentless and all too fierce assault of afflictions, take it from me how you may protect her. Your hand shall hold the inviolable shield of Prudence; nothing can be more fit for the afflicted than this virtue. Let valiant Patience take her as a faithful companion; with this companion, she need have no fear of grave calamities. For Patience grows faint and her powers are too weak to ward off great assaults; and when the struggle begins she easily gives in and falls. She gives way like a ship without a rudder in swelling seas, and she remains without honour if she remains without this companion. Patience does indeed strengthen and protect the battleline of the virtues and advances before the whole legion as its brave commander. But she is the first to yield when the storm of battle rages unless zealous Prudence accompanies this commander. Finally do you want me to put the whole matter in a nutshell? Learn to bear all things with prudent patience; then you will be blessed.

For there is no affliction which valiant Patience in a wiseman cannot alleviate and

Mobilibus neque enim fortunae subiacet ille
Casibus aut patitur se ditione premi.
Navigat in tuto fortuna immotus utraque,
Nec ditante tumet nec retrahente dolet.
Numinis ardentes ridet securior iras
Nec metuit trepidus quid vaga fata parent.
Omnia perpetitur sapiens atque omnia vincit
Et fruitur mediis perpete pace fretis.
Non tam praevalidi temnunt vaga flamina montes
Aut rident nymbos aequora vasta leves,
Quam verus dominae sapiens tonitru omne sinistrae,
Saeviat in toto concita felle licet.
Dic age, dic toto quid eo faelicius orbe?
Laetior usque manet nec miser esse potest.
Nos fera fortunae saevis turbata procellis
Aequora et assidue concutit unda salis.
Assidue tumidis miseri iactamur in undis,
Nec sinimur placidi visere tuta soli.
Erramus pelago flatumque movemur ad omnem,
Nil haeret mediis anchora missa vadis.
Blanditur si quando serenum et lenior aura,
Fallimur, incautis turba inopina venit.
At ponti nihil esse minas, nil flamina ventum
Curat: adit salva littora amata rate.
Solus enim ille potest frendentibus undique fatis
In tranquilla aevum ducere pace suum.

conquer. For he is not subject to the chops and changes of Fortune, nor does he suffer himself to be oppressed by her dominion. He sails safely, undeflected by either extreme of Fortune, neither puffing himself up when she enriches him nor lamenting when she withdraws her favours. Self-confident he laughs at the burning wrath of the goddess, and undaunted he has no fear of what the wavering Fates have in store for him. The wiseman suffers all things steadfastly and conquers all things; and even in the midst of turbulent straits, he enjoys continual peace. The unconquerable mountains have no more contempt for the wandering blasts of wind, the vast oceans find no more to mock in light showers of rain, than the true wiseman does in all the thunderclaps of the sinister lady, even if she should rage to the full heights of her fury. Tell me, I pray, tell me who in the whole world is happier than he? He is constantly joyful and can never be miserable. As for us, we are continually buffeted by the wild oceans, stirred up by the fierce storms of fortune; we are continually struck by the waves of the salty sea. We wretches are continually tossed about on the swelling waves, and we are never allowed to visit the safety of the placid shore. We wander on the ocean main, driven about by every blast; the anchor we throw out in the midst of the sea does not catch hold. If a clear sky and a gentle breeze smiles on us, we are deceived; unprepared, we are overtaken by an unexpected storm. But the wiseman cares nothing for the threats of the sea, nothing for the gusts of the winds: his vessel safely approaches the beloved shore. For he alone is able to lead his life in peace and tranquillity, however the Fates gnash their teeth all around him.

Tu quoque, quicunque es cui pax et gaudia curae,
Discito quicquid erit temnere, disce pati.
Ferto aeque gelidam veri succedere brumam,
Inque vices redeant noxque diesque suas,
Donec supremam (subducens tristia) metam
Ponat et aethre deus te sine fine beet.

106 Certamen Erasmi atque Guielmi de tempore vernali, quod per viridantia prata alternis ex tempore luserunt anno eorum decimo nono. Nota, candide lector.

[spring 1488? / 1706]

Guielmus incipit.

Tristis hyems abiit quae flores abstulit, at nunc
Purpureo tellus vere decore nitet.
Eras. Ipsa suo cum bruma gelu cadit horrida tristi,
Iam properant vicibus tempora laeta suis.
Guiel. Iam violas, iam terra rosas suffundit, et omnis
Iam viret et flore stat redimitus ager.
Eras Iam per prata novo pinguntur gramina flore,
Arboribusque redit quam posuere comam.
Guiel. Vere nemus, volucres, campus, flores quoque cuncti,
Frondet, dulce canunt, ridet, olentque bene.
Eras. Frondes arboribus, ver reddit gramina campis

You also, whoever you are, who care for peace and joy, learn to scorn whatever happens, learn to suffer it patiently. Bear with equanimity the icy winter which succeeds the spring, and let the days and nights come and go in succession, until God brings the race to its close and, removing all sorrow, makes you happy forever in heaven.

106 A contest between Erasmus and Willem about springtime, which for fun they composed in alternating extemporaneous couplets out in the green meadows when they were eighteen years old. Note this point, fair-minded reader.

Willem begins.

Sad winter, which took away the flowers, departs, but now in springtime the ground is resplendent with crimson beauty.

Erasmus Now that winter fails, for all his bristling and gloomy ice, a time of joy hastens to take its turn.

Willem Now the earth strews violets, now she pours forth roses; and all the fields flourish with greenery and stand wreathed with flowers.

Erasmus Now the grass throughout the meadows is coloured with fresh flowers, and the trees regain the locks which they shed.

Willem In the springtime the groves, the birds, the fields, and also all the flowers, are putting forth leaves, singing sweetly, laughing, and smelling sweet.

Erasmus Spring brings leaves back to the trees, grass to the fields, and it

Et laetam multo flore venustat humum.
Guiel. Purpurea capite cinctum venit ecce corona
Ver, in quo gaudet terra decore novo.
Eras. Iam nova per vacuos consurgunt gramina campos,
Vestiturque modo terra decore novo.
Guiel. Omne suum per triste gelu posuit decus arbos,
Sed postquam rediit ver, rediere comae.
Eras. Dura quibus viduarat hyems, cum flore virentes
Arboribus redeunt vere tepente comae.
Guiel. Propter triste rubis frigus decor omnis abibat,
Ast ubi ver venit irrubuere rosis.
Eras. Arida quae longo latuit sub frigore tellus
Vere refert vultu florida quaeque novo.
Guiel. Arboribus fluxere comae prae frigore, sed ver
Flores atque comas reddidit arboribus.
Eras. Frondibus arentes renovantur in arbore rami,
Caepere ut vicibus verna nitere suis.
Guiel. Stabat operta nive, sed veris tempore laeto
Fronde stat et densis arbor amicta comis.
Eras. Triste abeunte gelu telluris amaena iuventus
Iam redit et flore fit rediviva novo.

adorns the happy soil with abundant flowers.

Willem Lo, spring comes, his head wreathed with a crimson crown; in springtime the earth rejoices in fresh beauty.

Erasmus Now the fresh grass springs up in the bare fields, and the earth is now clothed with fresh beauty.

Willem During the melancholy frosts the trees shed all their beauty, but now that spring has returned their locks have returned.

Erasmus The verdant locks and the blossoms of the trees, stripped away by harsh winter, return with the warmth of spring.

Willem Because of the gloomy cold all beauty departed from the blackberry bushes, but when spring came they flushed with rosy blossoms.

Erasmus The dry ground, which long lay hidden under the cold, looks renewed in the springtime and restores all kinds of flowers.

Willem Their locks drifted away from the trees because of the cold, but spring has brought back blossoms as well as locks to the trees.

Erasmus The dry branches of the trees are renewed with leaves as the springtime begins to take its turn to shine.

Willem The trees stood covered with snow, but now in the joyous spring season they stand covered with foliage and clad in their own thick locks.

Erasmus Now that the gloomy ice is disappearing, the ground is restored to its lovely youth and is again enlivened with fresh flowers.

Guiel. O quam dulcisono resonant iam murmure sylvae!
Quos posuit cantus vere resumit avis.
Eras. Per maestum taciturna gelu, iam tempore verno
Dulce resumit avis exhilarata melos.
Guiel. Caeruleis citius Phaebus consurgit ab undis
Atque mari lassos tardius abdit equos.
Eras. Iam dirae cessere hyemes, laetissima terris
Lux redit et vacuis gramina reddit agris.
Guiel. Iam nox caeruleis citius caelo avolat alis,
Et Phaebi citius promitur axis aquis.
Eras. Vere leves Zephiris spirant melioribus aurae,
Clarius et roseum lux agit alma diem.
Guiel. Quae nuper nive tecta fuit, iam vere tepenti
Solvitur et tellus stat redimita comis.
Eras. Rursum sylva comis vestitur, gramine tellus,
Invisit clausam vernus ubi imber humum.
Guiel. Qui concretus erat bruma amnis solvitur, at nunc
Vestitur nuda ripa decore novo.
Eras. Flumina iucundo currunt resoluta susurro,
Frigore quae quondam strinxerat acris hyems.
Guiel. Alma Venus, nunc gignit humus gratos tibi flores,

Willem Oh, how the woods are now resounding with sweet-sounding murmurs! The birds, which had ceased to sing, take up their song again in the springtime.

Erasmus The birds, which fell silent in the cheerless cold, now grow merry in the spring season and take up their sweet tunes once more.

Willem Phoebus rises earlier from the dark-blue waves and drives away his weary steeds later into the sea.

Erasmus Now cruel winter has gone away: most joyful light returns to the earth and restores the grass to the bare fields.

Willem Now night flies more swiftly from the sky on her dark-blue wings, and Phoebus' chariot arises sooner from the waters.

Erasmus In the springtime the mild west wind wafts his light breezes, and the cherishing light brings forth the rosy day more brightly.

Willem The earth, which was formerly covered with snow, now thaws in the warm springtime and stands wreathed in its tresses.

Erasmus Once more the woods are garbed with their tresses, as is the ground with grass, when the spring showers have visited the ice-bound soil.

Willem The stream that was frozen by winter has melted, and now the bare bank is clothed with fresh beauty.

Erasmus The rivers, which harsh winter had once bound with its cold, are loosened and flow with a pleasant whispering sound.

Willem Bountiful Venus, the soil now brings forth your favourite flowers, and the

Verque tuas roseo pingit honore genas.
Eras. Iamiam florigero redimitur gramine pratum,
Miratur frondes sylva decora novas.
Guiel. Ha, quam grata mihi sunt veris tempora, quae pro
Grandine dant imbrem, pro nive rosque cadit.
Eras. Cui non vere graves curae sit ponere curas?
Ecce decore nitent cuncta creata novo.
Guiel. Quas clausas servavit humus ver elicit herbas,
Et gaudet campus tectus honore novo.
Eras. Vere tepet tellus nivibus laetata solutis,
Quae latuit matris panditur herba sinu.
Guiel. In sylvis cantus ferit aethera, prata nemusque
Sparguntur flore, rore aperitur humus.
Eras. Vere novo terris sese exerit herba solutis,
Purpureum fundit aspera spina decus.
Guiel. Veris ubi tellus persensit nuda teporem,
Exiliunt terris gramina picta rosis.
Eras. Vere patescit humus partu faecunda virenti,
Summittit gremio florida pressa suo.
Guiel. Nondum solis equi consurgunt aequore vasto,

spring tints your cheeks with rosy beauty.

Erasmus Now the meadow is wreathed in grass and flowers; the beautiful woods are amazed at their fresh leaves.

Willem Ah, how charming I find the springtime, which gives us showers instead of hail, when dew falls instead of snow.

Erasmus Who does not take care to put aside heavy cares in the springtime? Behold, all creatures are resplendent with fresh beauty.

Willem The spring brings forth the green blades which had been shut up in the soil, and the fields rejoice, covered with fresh beauty.

Erasmus In the springtime the ground grows warm, rejoicing that the snow has melted; the green shoot which lay hidden in its mother's bosom springs forth.

Willem In the woods, song strikes the sky, the meadows and groves are sprinkled with flowers, the soil is loosened by the dew.

Erasmus In the fresh springtime the green shoots thrust up out of the loosened earth; the harsh thorn pours forth its crimson glory.

Willem When the bare ground feels the warmth of spring, the grass, coloured with roses, springs from the earth.

Erasmus In the springtime the fertile earth opens up in a birth of greenery, and she brings forth the flowers concealed in her own womb.

Willem The horses of the sun have not yet risen from the vast expanse of ocean,

Et iam sub summo culmine cantat avis.
Eras. Tempore veris humus blanditur olentibus herbis,
Et tegitur foliis arbor onusta suis.
Guiel. Flora tepore suo tam delectat roseum ver,
Tristis nos hyemis reddat ut immemores.
Eras. Mortua sese aperit redivivo germine tellus,
Cessit ubi pulsum vere tepente gelu.
Guiel. Arboribus coma, agris flores, avibus quoque cantus
Vere redit, tristis vere recedit hyems.
Eras. Pingit gramineum florum decus undique campum,
Candida purpureis lilia mixta rosis.
Guiel. Sylva comis et terra rosis redimitur, et amnis
Qui gessit currus en modo vela gerit.
Eras. Vere novo apricus vestitur gramine campus
Et florum venere multicolore nitet.
Guiel. Quae brumae sub luce solet vix linquere nidum,
Iam cantu volucris praevenit ecce diem.
Eras. Ver placidum cunctis sparsit sua munera terris;
Gramine prata virent, gramina flore nitent.
Guiel. Vere suum citius Phaebus caput exerit undis,
Gratior et laetum lux agit alma diem.

and already the birds are singing from the highest eaves.

Erasmus In the season of spring the soil allures us with fragrant herbs, and the trees are covered and burdened by their own leaves.

Willem Flora so delights the rosy spring with her warmth that she makes us forget the gloomy winter.

Erasmus The dead ground opens up as the sprouts come alive again, once the ice has been forced away by the warmth of spring.

Willem In the springtime, tresses return to the trees, flowers to the fields, and songs to the birds; in the springtime gloomy winter withdraws.

Erasmus The beautiful flowers colour the grassy fields on all sides; the white lilies are mingled with the crimson roses.

Willem The wood is wreathed with its tresses and the earth with roses; and the stream that bore wagons, lo, it now bears sailboats.

Erasmus In the fresh springtime the sunny fields are clothed with grass and are resplendent with the many-coloured beauty of the flowers.

Willem The bird that hardly left its nest in the winter light, lo, now it anticipates the daytime with its song.

Erasmus The mild spring scatters its gifts over the whole earth; the meadows are green with grass, the grass is resplendent with flowers.

Willem In the springtime Phoebus lifts his head sooner from the waves, and the cherishing light brings forth the joyful daytime more charmingly.

Eras. Gramine terra viret, leni ruit unda susurro,
  Ac apis in flore mella legendo strepit.
⟨*Guiel.*⟩ Flore nitet campus, ornatur frondea sylva,
  Ac volucrum cantu tecta nemusque sonant.
Eras. Frondet vere nemus, vestitur et herbida tellus,
  Picta canit volucris, florida lustrat apis,
Gratius et roseo sol inficit aethera curru,
  Blanditur liquida vitreus amnis aqua,
Mitior aura strepit. Cui florida ducitur aetas,
  Tu quoque pone animos vere monente graves.

107 Metrum asclepiadeicum coryambicum, constans quarto glyconico, in laudem beatissimi Gregorii papae

[early 1491? / 1706]

Nunc et terra simul caelicus et chorus
Gaudens hymnisonis concinat organis,
Cum lux grata refert festa Gregorii
    Mundo gaudia praesulis.
Et tu, summe, tuis, pastor, ab aethere
Adsis o placidus rite canentibus.
Laudes lingua foris nostra sonet tuas,
    Intus mens iubilet pia.
Tu primum ingenui sanguinis immemor,
Secli temptor, opum spretor inanium,
Abiectis croceis prodigus omnium
    Christo nudulus advolas.
Te quum Roma petit anxia praesulem,
Tu tantum fugiens culmen ad invia

Erasmus The earth is green with grass, the waters run with a gentle whisper, and the bee hums as it gathers honey among the flowers.

⟨*Willem*⟩ The fields are resplendent with flowers, the woods are adorned with leaves, and the rooftops and groves resound with the song of the birds.

Erasmus In the springtime the grove puts forth leaves, the ground is clothed with green shoots, the brightly coloured bird sings, and the bee roams among the flowers, and the sun in his rosy chariot charmingly tints the air, the glassy river allures us with its clear water, the breeze murmurs gently. You also who are in the flower of your lifetime, admonished by the spring, put away feelings of melancholy.

107 A poem in asclepiadean metre, with choriambs, every fourth line being glyconic, in praise of the most blessed Pope Gregory

Now let the earth and the heavenly choir together sing hymns with joyful tongues, now that the cheerful light brings to the world once more the happy feast of Pope Gregory.

And you, O exalted shepherd, look gently from heaven on your servants duly singing their hymns. May our tongues sound your praises outwardly; inwardly may our devout minds rejoice.

First of all, you ignored your aristocratic birth, scorned the world, spurned empty riches, and throwing off your saffron garments, giving up everything, you fled to Christ naked and simple.

When Rome in her distress sought you out to be her bishop, you shunned such a lofty

Saltus antra volas, sed minime lates,
Flamma proditus indice.
Ergo summa quidem scandis humillimus,
Non extollit honor, non diademata,
Sed te cura gregis sedula, maxime
Pastor, sollicitat tui.
Cui pratis fidei nulla salubria
Vitae deficiunt te duce pabula,
Dum quem voce doces mystica disserens
Et vita simul erudis.
Plebem, summe, tuam protege, praesulum,
Praedonemque cavis qui tua faucibus
Quaerens quem rapiat lustrat ovilia,
Ne cuiquam noceat, veta.
Sit laus digna patri patris et unico,
Almo sit parilis gloria pneumati,
Indivisa quibus numinis unitas
Est sub nomine triplici.

108 Epigramma de quatuor novissimis [early 1491? / 1706]

Mortis amara dies, metuendi iudicis ira
Et Phlegetontei stridula flamma lacus,
Denique Iherusalem luctus ignara supernae
Gaudia, non finem, non habitura modum:
Haec si sollicito semper sub pectore volvas,
Non capient animum turpia quaeque tuum.
Quicquid et ante tibi grave et intolerabile visum est,
Iam dices facile, iam tibi dulce putes.
Ipsa sed et nebula citius fugientia mundi
Gaudia tristitiam duxeris esse gravem.

pinnacle and fled to a cave in the pathless woods, but you did not succeed in hiding, for a flame betrayed you and pointed you out.

And so you climbed to the heights by being the most humble. What exalted you was not honour or crowns; but rather your concern, O greatest of shepherds, was the zealous care of your flock.

Under your leadership, in the meadows of the faith, they had no lack of the wholesome food of life, for you taught them with your voice, explaining the sacred mysteries, and at the same time you instructed them by your life.

O greatest of bishops, protect your people and prevent anyone from being harmed by the beast of prey that prowls among your sheepfolds with gaping jaws, seeking someone to seize.

Fitting praise be given to the Father, and to the only begotten of the Father, and equal glory be to the Spirit, the giver of life, who are united indivisibly in their divinity under the diversity of a triple name.

108 An epigram on the four last things

The bitter day of death, the anger of the dreadful judge, the hissing flames of the lake of Phlegethon, and finally the joys of the heavenly Jerusalem, joys beyond all sorrow, joys which have no end, no bounds: if you carefully and constantly turn these things over in your heart, your mind will not be invaded by shameful desires. And what before seemed to you burdensome and intolerable, you will then say it is easy, you will then find it sweet. But the joys of the world, which flee even more swiftly than mist, you will think to be sad and burdensome.

109 Carmen asclepiadeum coryambicum, quarto glyconico. Ad amicum suum

[early 1488? / 1706]

Non semper faciem nubila caelicam
Abscondunt madidis obvia molibus,
Non usque implacido defluus aethere
Imber vexat humum gravis.
Nec semper crepitans Africus excita
Attollit tumidis aequora fluctibus,
Sed nec continue mota procacibus
Stridet sylva Aquilonibus.
Nec semper steriles nix tegit alta agros,
Aut totis gelidae flumina mensibus
Constringunt glaties, aut viduum suis
Maeret triste nemus comis.
Dura abscedit hyems florigeri vice
Veris, prisca redit post Boream asperum
Arbustis species et solitus vagis
Cursus redditur amnibus.
Horrentem placidus lumen amabile
Post umbram revehit Phaebus, et aethera
Alternis vicibus nox habet et dies
Pacti faedere perpeti.
Aequis cuncta modis, astra, salum et solum,
Alterna ut maneat quod requies levat,
Natura atque deus provida temperat,
Mulcens quod gravat otio.
Me vero usque dolor, me furor et labor
Consumunt miserum, nec requiem meis
Nec, proh, saeva modum fata sinunt malis,
Addunt tristia tristibus.
Quo nam, quo superum nescio tam gravi
Olim magna deum numina crimine
Offendi, ut Stygium vel puerum improba
Cogant supplicium pati.

109 A poem in asclepiads, with choriambs, every fourth line being glyconic. To his friend

Clouds charged with masses of water do not always hide and block off the face of the heavens; heavy rain falling from the relentless sky does not constantly torment the ground.

The whistling south-west wind does not always disturb the surface of the sea and raise up swelling waves, nor do the woods continually shake and scream in the arrogant blasts of the north wind.

Deep snow does not always cover the barren fields, and the icy cold does not fetter the rivers for whole months on end, nor does the sad grove mourn endlessly for its lost tresses.

A hard winter departs with the return of spring and its flowers; after the harsh north winds the trees regain their former beauty, and the rivers wander once more in their accustomed courses.

After the frightful shades of night, mild Phoebus brings back the lovely light, and night and day claim the air by turns, holding to a perpetual convenant.

God and provident nature temper all things in equal measure – the stars, the sea, and the earth – relieving with rest what is burdensome, so that they may be permanently sustained by intervening periods of relief.

But as for me, I am continually consumed by grief; in my misery I am consumed by mad passion and hardship. The cruel Fates allow no relief and, alas, no end to my afflictions; they heap sorrow upon sorrow.

I know not by what crime, by what grievous crime in the past I have so offended the mighty powers of the gods above that they should unjustly impose the torments of hell on such a youth as I.

Post umbrosa dies reddita milies
Succeditque frequens bruma caloribus
Et campis gelidae saepe patentibus
Surgunt ac pereunt nives.
Nec fit nostra suo tempore mitior
Cura, aut mente cadunt sollicitudines
Maestae, aut luminibus tempore lachrymae
Discunt parcere turgidis.
Et iam deficerem ni, iuvenum optime,
O spes, o animae dimidium meae,
Lenimen miseris dulce doloribus,
Me praesens recrees. Vale.

110 Ode dicolos tetrastrophos hendecasyllaba sapphica. Paean divae Mariae, atque de incarnatione verbi

[April–May 1499 / 1706]

Huc ades pernici, age, Musa, gressu,
Callida aurato resonare plectro.
Mitte dilectas Heliconis oras
Castaliamque.
Pone serpentes hederas, odoram
Liliis nectens niveis coronam:
Quaeritat, frondes fugiens prophanas,
Lilia virgo.
Tu Sophoclaeo potius cothurno
Digna quae pleno recinaris ore,
Ne lyrae nostrae tenuem repelle,
Diva, Camenam.
Cuncta te celso residentem Olympho et
Prole divina decies beatam
Concio cantu celebrat canoro
Caelicolarum.
Te pii vates et apostolorum
Regius laudat dominam senatus,
Te sacerdotum chorus et phalanges
Sanguine clarae.
Candidae te unam, dea, virginum quae
Praevium semper comitantur agnum

Time after time, day returns after the dark, and winter repeatedly follows upon hot summer days, and icy snow often builds up in the open fields and then vanishes.

But my anxiety never has its time of relief, gloomy cares never leave my mind, no season teaches my swollen eyes to cease from weeping.

I would long since have wasted away, if you, best of youths, O my hope, O half of my soul, the sweet solace of my misery and grief, did not by your presence restore me. Farewell.

110 A sapphic, hendecasyllabic ode, containing two kinds of lines, in four-line strophes. A paean to St Mary and on the incarnation of the Word

Come hither, O Muse, come fleet-footed, O Muse skilled in making music with your plectrum of gold, leave behind the Castalian fountain and the beloved clime of Helicon.

Put aside the winding ivy and weave a fragrant crown of lilies white as snow. The Virgin shuns fronds that are profane and looks for lilies.

Though you are worthy of the buskin of Sophocles so that you might be celebrated in full and lofty song, do not, O holy lady, refuse the thin strain of my lyre.

In your dwelling-place in the heights of heaven, the whole host of heavenly inhabitants celebrates you in resounding song as the thrice-blessed mother of divine offspring.

The holy prophets and the royal senate of the apostles praise you as their lady – so too the chorus of priests and the ranks of those who are illustrious for shedding their blood.

The white chorus of the virgins, who always attend the lamb going before them, praises

Caeteris psalli vetito choreae
Carmine laudant.
Cuncta quid pergam memorare? Flexo
Poplite aeternis modulantur hymnis
Angeli te caelicolaeque cuncti
Caeligenaeque.
Quin et invisi nigra Styx Averni
Plebe cum tota Phlegetontis atri
Te tremit, per te populata mortis
Bellua pallet.
Laudat invito Rhadamantus ore
Gnosius, centum tumidae colubris
En tuum numen metuunt sorores,
Virgo Maria.
Flecte age huc, quaeso, faciles ocellos.
Non vel in toto (meritoque sane)
Mutus hymnorum superest tuorum
Angulus orbe.
Ustus Eoo Nabathaeus axe,
Qua recens ponto exerit ora Titan,
Dedicat supplex tibi grata fumis
Vota Sabaeis.
Luteae tellus propior quadrigae
Cerulum Phaebi subeuntis aequor
En suis blandas tibi promit odas,
Virgo, sacellis.
Arduus nec qua radiat borei
Syderis vertex, neque semper Austro
Permadens tellus tacita est modorum,
Diva, tuorum.
Quippe tu summi decus unum Olymphi,
Tu potens vindex necis atque ademptae
Seculo toti, dea, vendicatrix
Unica vitae.
Tuque nequicquam saniem trilingui,
Luridum virus, iacientis ore
Candidis calcas pedibus colubri
Sibila colla.
Aureum vincis speciosa solem,
Astra divino superas decore,

only you, O divine lady, in a song that others are forbidden to chant.

Why should I go on to include every group? On bended knee the angels and all the inhabitants and all the progeny of heaven sing eternal hymns to you.

Indeed, the black Styx down in hateful hell and all the masses in dark Phlegethon tremble before you. The monster of death whom you despoiled grows pale at the thought of you.

Rhadamanthus of Crete praises you with an unwilling voice; lo, the sisters swollen with numberless serpents fear your divine power, O Virgin Mary.

Come, turn your kind eyes hither, I beg you. Nowhere in the whole world – and rightly so – is there a nook or cranny that is silent, singing no hymn to you.

The Arab, burned dark by the oriental sun where Titan first lifts up his face from the sea, humbly offers you his prayers, sweetened with fumes of Sabaean incense.

The lands quite near to where the rose-streaked chariot of Phoebus goes down under the dark-blue ocean, lo, in their chapels they send forth sweet hymns to you, O Virgin.

And where the north star shines high in the heavens, and where the wet south wind keeps the ground forever moist, there is no lack of melodies sung, O holy lady, to you.

For you are the unique glory of the highest heavens; you alone, O divine lady, had the power to revenge our death and to claim redress for the life that was stolen from the whole world.

And you are the one who treads with white feet on the neck of the hissing serpent, vainly spitting gore and yellowish poison from his triple-tongued mouth.

In your beauty you surpass the golden sun; in your divine splendour you overcome the

Roscidae cedunt tibi luculenta
Cornua Phaebes
Ipsa, quam celsus speculator ille
Viderat lunam pedibus prementem,
Syderum ingenti rutilam corona
Soleque cinctam.
Providi quondam cecinere vates
Te novum casto genus edituram
Ventre, collapsis nova quo redirent
Secula terris.
Regis aeterni fore te parentem
Deliae cantant liquido Sybillae
Scripta, membranis temere caducis
Credita, virgo.
Legis obscuro veteris ab aevo
Praeviis iam tunc venientis umbris
Multa te patrum minimeque mendax
Lusit imago.
Sylva monstrabat humilis rubeti
Non adurenti glomerata flamma
Te dei salvo fieri parentem,
Virgo, pudore.
Caelicum quae clauserat arca manna
Te deum castae docuit sub alvi
Pabulum vitae fore condituram,
Diva, sacello.
Virga te partu nimis insolenti
Et ferax gratae nucis atque florum,
Rore te siccis madidum notabat
Vellus in arvis.
Et tui quondam tulit Hester umbram,
Mille Iudeis mala molientis
Splendide vindex, et in omne Iudith
Nobilis aevum.
Porta te vatis notat irreclusa,
Fronte quae terras renitens Eoas
Spectat adversa, minime nisi uni
Pervia regi.
Hisce te, virgo, voluit figuris
Praecini vasti fabricator orbis,

stars; even the bright horns of dewy Phoebe yield to you,

whom that lofty seer beheld pressing the moon beneath your feet, shining under a vast crown of stars, and robed with the sun.

Prophetic bards long ago sang of how you would bring forth a new manner of offspring from your chaste womb, one which would bring back a new age to a world in decay.

The writings of Apollo's Sibyl, which were rashly entrusted to fallen leaves, clearly chanted that you would be the mother of the eternal king.

In the dim era of the Old Law many altogether truthful images of the fathers alluded to you, foreshadowing your coming even then.

The thicket of the low bush, encompassed by a flame which did not burn it, showed that you would become the mother of God, O Virgin, while still keeping your chastity.

The ark which enclosed the manna from heaven taught that you, holy lady, would hide God, the food of life, in the chapel of your chaste womb.

The rod which, by an extraordinary birth, brought forth flowers and handsome nuts, the fleece soaked with dew though the ground around it was dry, these things were signs of you.

Both Esther, who took splendid vengeance on the man who was plotting to inflict numberless woes on the Jews, and Judith, famous throughout all ages, foreshadowed you long ago.

The prophet's unopened gate, which shone out over against the lands of the east and was to be entered only by the king, is a sign of you.

In these figures the maker of the whole wide world desired that you, O Virgin, should be

Non quidem vanis, comitante vero
Ocyus umbras.
Namque dum scisso periens Olympho
Lucifer praeceps grege cum tumenti
Fulminis ritu rueret sub atrae
Tartara noctis,
Aetheris tantae miserens ruinae
Conditor 'lapsum decet' inquit 'agmen
Suffici, prorsus reparanda secti
Portio caeli.'
Fingitur rubro rude plasma limo:
Viva divino bonus ille flatu
Indidit post haec opifex inerti
Semina massae.
Inde per sedes nemorum beatas
Iussit apricis habitare campis,
Dulcibus quae quadrifluus scatebris
Irrigat amnis.
Illic aeternum redolente vere
Dulcibus semper renitet rosetis,
Mollibus semper violis iniquae
Nescia brumae
Terra, nec gratis viduantur unquam
Frondibus sylvae nimium feraces,
Nec deest unquam viridis tumenti
Pampinus uvae.
Spiritum spargit folium suavem, et
Cinnamum et nardus patulis amica
Naribus; semper lachrymant virenti
Balsama surclo.
Hisce praefecit pater ille regnis
Quem modo fingens hominem crearat:
'Haec tuis, Adam, moderanda trado,'
Dixit, 'habenis.
Liber ad quidvis tulerit libido
Dexteram mittas dominam licebit,
His modo ramis fuge fac nocivos
Carpere faetus.
Haec tibi duram paritura mortem
Mala tu quaqua violaris hora,

foretold, and they are not empty shadows, since the foreshadowings were quickly linked with the reality.

For when Lucifer, who destroyed himself by splitting heaven into factions, had fallen with his proud flock like a lightning bolt down to the black night of Tartarus,

the creator, struck with pity at the loss caused by such a great downfall in heaven, said: 'The fallen ranks must be replenished; the part of heaven that was cut off must immediately be restored.'

He formed a rough shape out of red clay, and afterwards with his divine breath that good workmaster implanted the seeds of life in the inert mass.

Then he bade him live in his dwelling-place among happy groves and sunny fields, watered by the sweet freshets of a fourfold river.

Forever spring gives off fresh odours there. There the earth, always decked with bright beds of sweet roses, always adorned with tender violets, knows nothing of harsh winter;

the groves, hung with superabundant fruit, are never stripped of their handsome leaves; green tendrils never fail to support the swelling grapes.

The leaves dispense lovely fragrance, and also the cinnamon and the nard, which pleases the flaring nostril; the green boughs always weep their balm.

Over this realm the Father set the man he had just shaped and created, saying: 'These things I give to you, Adam, to curb and rule them under your sway.

'I permit you to extend your lordly right hand freely wherever your desires lead you. Only from these branches make sure that you do not pluck the harmful fruit.

'In whatever hour you break this command and eat these apples, they will bring forth cruel

Ah tegunt quantos tibi blandienti
Cortice luctus.'
Non tulit tantos stomachans honores
Viperae livor; vetuisse mira
Arte contendit male perdito suc-
cedere caelo.
'Usque quo,' dixit, 'miseri dolosis
Creduli iussis similem supremo
Numini vitam fugitis daturos
Carpere fructus?'
Subdolis, eheu, facilis colubri
Suasibus coniunx nimiumque mollis
Credidit, vidit, tenuit, momordit,
Occidit atque.
Falsa tum post haec socium fefellit
Coniugem coniunx; tenero ille amori
Cessit, accepit, tenuit, momordit,
Occidit atque.
O dies atro numeranda semper
Calculo, o semper lachrymanda, toti
Quae potes seclo, potes una tantos
Aedere luctus.
Nam dehinc totam vitiata radix
Serpit in prolem, male temperantum
Posteri iam morte luunt avorum
Facta nepotes.
Et quibus caelos opifex pararat,
Iam (dolor) saevis sua colla loris
Demonum nexi rapiuntur imas
Mortis ad umbras.
Quid pater tanto faceret tumultu?
Plasmatis certe proprii benignum
Paenitet plasten, hominis gementem
Flebile fatum.
'Ecce dum caelum reparare terra
Pergimus,' dixit, 'simul hanc et illud,

death. Ah, what grief lies concealed for you under the seductive rind!'

The envious serpent, angry and grudging the great honours bestowed on mankind, strove with marvellous skill to prevent them from succeeding to the place in heaven which he had wickedly lost.

'How long,' he said, 'will you continue to be miserably taken in by this deceitful command and to refrain from plucking fruit that will give you life like that of the highest Godhead?'

Easily persuaded, alas, by the cunning words of the serpent, Adam's wife was all too compliant; she believed, looked, held, bit, and fell.

After that, the spouse who had been deceived deceived the spouse who was her companion; out of tender love he yielded, accepted, held, bit, and fell.

O day always to be reckoned as black, always to be remembered with tears, you alone had the power, you alone were able to bring down on the whole world such a heap of misery!

For from then on, the vitiated root spread its infection through all its offspring: the descendants of these unrestrained parents now pay with their deaths for the deeds of their ancestors.

And those for whom the workmaster had prepared heaven, now (Oh the sorrow of it!) they have their necks bound with the cruel thongs of the devils and are dragged down to the deepest shadows of death.

What was the Father to do about this great rebellion? Certainly the kind maker was displeased with what he himself had made; he groaned at the lamentable fate of mankind.

'Behold, while I was proceeding to restore heaven by means of earth,' he said, 'sin, alas,

Veh, parens mortis, simili ruina
Noxa peremit,
Dispari longe tamen hic ministro
Hausit infandum colubro venenum,
Ambitus alter stimulante nullo
Auctor iniqui
Factus, aeternum meritas necesse est
Ut luat paenas: scatet e medullis
Abditum vulnus, fugit huius omnem
Plaga medelam.
Porro quem stravit peregrinus astus
Non sua iustum est ope surrigatur:
Arte pellectus redimendus arte
Aeque aliena.'
Summus hic summi genitus parentis,
Fons inexhaustus sophiae perhennis,
Prompsit arcanos patrio latentes
Pectore census.
'Arte subreptus revehendus,' inquit,
'Arte, non dextra dominante, mortis
Ortui respondeat ut salutis
Forma reductae.
Et caro sane redimenda carne.
Dira ligno pernicies profecta est:
Sanitas aeque reditura ligno ac
Stipite sacro.
Aedidit vero quia sibilante
Vipera lethum mulier, decenter
Faemina rursus revehenda flante
Numine vita.
Mors item adversa populanda morte est,
Atque curandus dolor est dolore,
Denique obiecto merito fugandum
Vulnere vulnus.
Sed quid? En omnis vitio laborat
Aemulans patrem soboles avito,

the progenitor of death, destroyed both one and the other by a similar downfall;

'but the downfall of man was far different, since he drank in the abominable poison through the ministry of the serpent; the other was not instigated by anyone else but became the source of his own wicked pride.

'Thus it is necessary that he should suffer his deserved punishment for all eternity: his hidden wound festers in the very marrow, his gash refuses all remedies.

'Moreover, it is not right that one who fell through the wiles of a stranger should be lifted up through his own resources; he who was entrapped by cunning should be redeemed by cunning likewise not his own.'

At this point the almighty Son of the almighty Father, the inexhaustible fountain of unending wisdom, brought forth the secret riches hidden in his Father's heart.

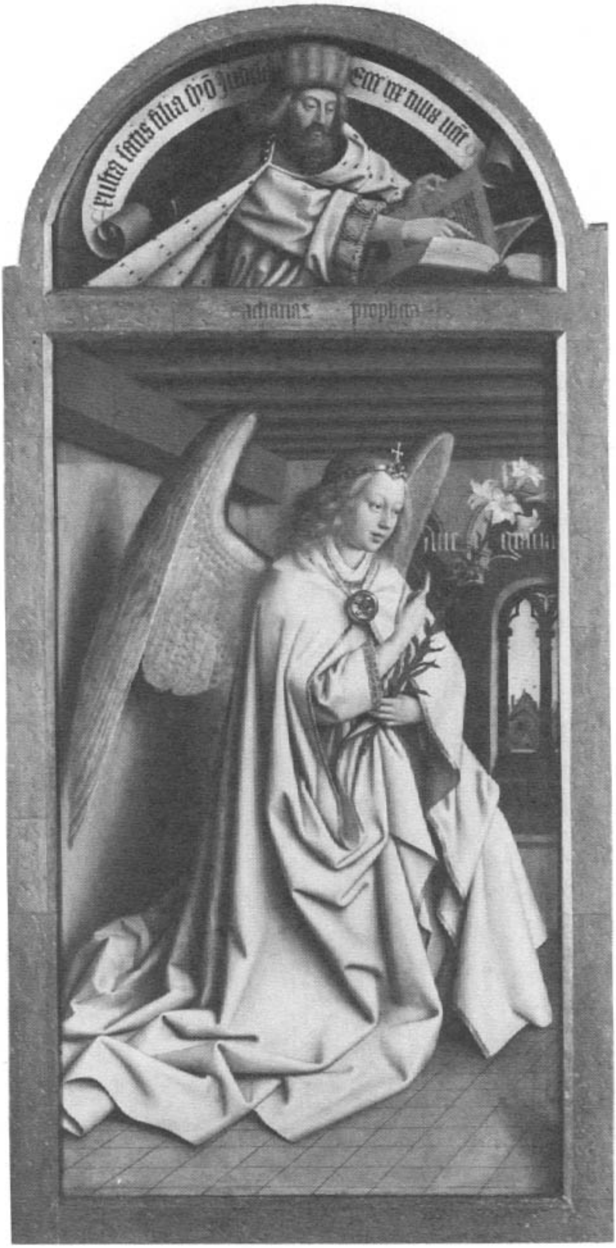
'He who was artfully snatched away must be brought back artfully, not by the power of a lordly right hand, so that the manner in which salvation is restored may correspond to the origin of death.

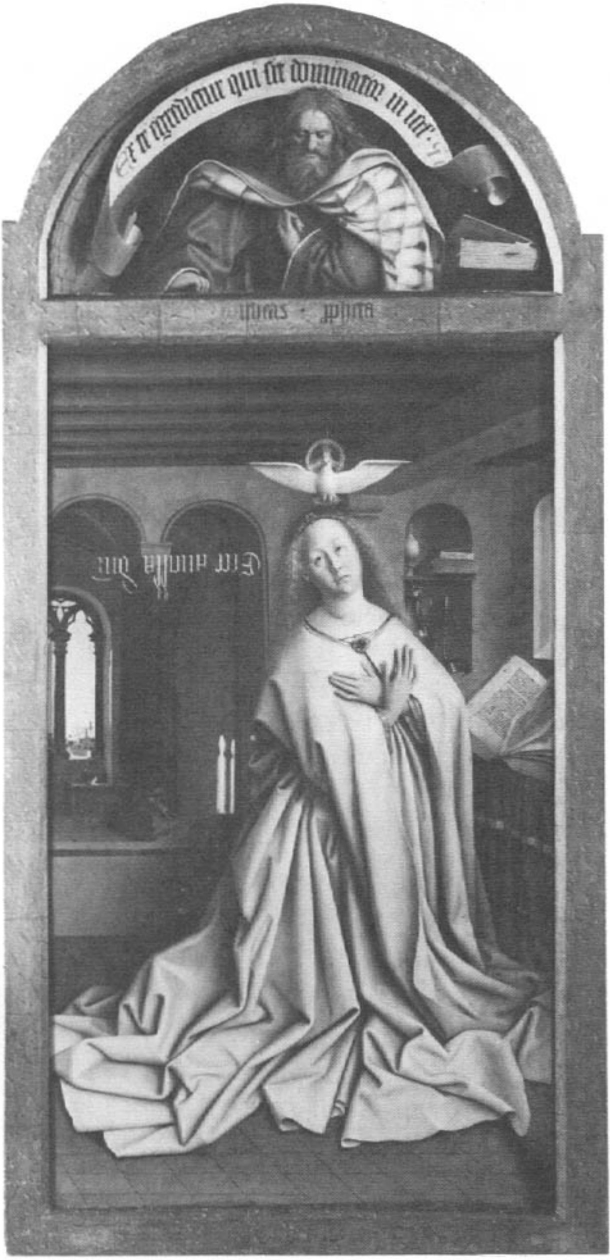
'And flesh should surely be redeemed by flesh. Cruel death came from a tree; health will rightly be restored by the wood of a sacred trunk.

'But because a woman, tempted by the hissing serpent, brought forth death, it is fitting that a woman, through the breath of the divine Spirit, should bring back life again.

'Likewise, death should be undone by having a death set against it, and pain should be cured by pain, and finally wounds should rightly be put to flight by confronting them with wounds.

'But what about this? See, the entire offspring, by imitating their father, labour under the ancestral vice. And God does not





The Annunciation
Painting by Jan van Eyck on the outer wings of the Ghent altarpiece
Photo ACL, by permission of Institut Royal du Patrimoine
Artistique, Brussels

Nec mori novit deitas, acerbi
Nescia fati.
Ergo cui partes scelus expiandi
Demus humanum? Pereat necesse est
Plasma, ni certe Deus ipse tollat
Vincula mortis.
Et quid? An nostri moriens imago
Noctis aeternas luitura paenas?
Quid Dei mentem fuit indidisse
Ore capacem?
Illa de multis via restat una:
Carne miscenda est deitas caduca.
Summus humani deus ambiendus
Corporis umbra.'
Filii blando pater ore dictis
Annuens, 'qui consilium,' inquit, 'aequum
Protulit, facti sit et author idem
Auxiliique.'
Hic tui, virgo, thalamum pudicum
Ventris aeterni sibi dedicavit
Numinis sermo, placido pudoris
Captus odore.
Ocior vento aut celeri sagitta
Labitur caelo paranymphus alto
Moxque secrete veneranda visit
Tecta puellae.
Hinc novas adfert Gabriel salutes.
Illa suspecto tremefacta vultu
Paululum insuetas tacito volutat
Pectore voces.
Ille sed vultu radians amico,
Proprio signans Mariae vocablo,
Lenibus dictis trepidos ademit
Virginis aestus.
'Cur,' ait, 'faelix, rapit ora, virgo,
Anxii pallor socius timoris?

know how to die, knows nothing of that bitter fate.

'Therefore, to whom can we assign the mission of expiating the sin of mankind? What God has shaped must certainly perish unless God himself takes away the bonds of death.

'What then? Shall our own image die and be punished by a never-ending night? What did it signify that the mouth of God breathed into him a mind capable of understanding?

'Of the many ways only this one remains: the Godhead must be mingled with fleeting flesh. Almighty God must be encompassed and shadowed by a human body.'

Agreeing with the words spoken so persuasively by his Son, the Father said: 'Let him who proposed the just plan likewise put it into action by giving the help needed.'

At this point, O Virgin, the Speech of the eternal Godhead, much taken by the gentle fragrance of your chastity, consecrated to himself the chaste bridal-chamber of your womb.

Faster than the wind, swifter than an arrow, the best man of the bridegroom swept down from the heights of heaven, and soon he secretly paid his visit to the venerable house of the girl.

Then Gabriel made his unparalleled salutation. The maiden, trembling as she looked up at his face, was silent for a little while, turning over in her heart the extraordinary words.

But he, his face shining with friendship, addressed her by her own name, Mary, and with mild words calmed the tumult in the virgin's breast.

'Why,' he said, 'is your face, blessed virgin, suddenly overspread by pallor, the companion of uneasy fear? Why, I beseech you, are your

Cur decens, oro, teneras reliquit
Purpura malas?
Ne time, iussus venio superni
Patris interpres. Capies in alvo
Perditi Iesum generis salutem
Tuque vicissim
Ipsius mundo paries parentem,
Regiae stirpis generosa proles,
Tu Nazareum paritura Iesse
Virgula florem.
Quo, rogas, pacto? Fuge suspicari
Carnis amplexus geniive nexus,
Illecebrosi fuge suspicari
Faedera lecti.
Finge ne taedas tibi nuptiales,
Casta sed verbum paritura verbo es.
Spiritus fies rutilante sancti
Numine faeta.
Virgo faecunda et genitrix pudica,
Nec tibi faetus rapiet pudorem,
Crede, nec salvus pudor abnegabit
Matris honorem.
Ut iubar solis liquidum penetrat
Nec secat vitrum, penetrabit alvum
Filius, sed non temerabit aucti
Claustra pudoris.
Fundit ut suaves redolens vapores
Lilium laeso minime nitore,
Haud secus divam paries, Maria,
Integra prolem.'
Credit oraclo facili superno
Aure. Natalem repetens Olymphum
Gabriel pictis liquidum secabat
Aethera pennis.
Nil morae, summis citus en ab astris
E sinu Christus rutilat superno,
Labitur sacram in tacitus fidelis
Virginis alvum.
O stupor mentis novitasque rerum!

tender cheeks bereft of the crimson colour which so becomes them?

'Do not be afraid. I come as a messenger at the command of the Father above. You will receive in your womb Jesus, the salvation of mankind that is lost, and then in turn

'you will bring into the world its very creator. Noble offspring of royal stock, rod of Jesse, you will put forth the flower of Nazareth.

'By what means? you ask. Have no fear of fleshly embraces or generative couplings. Have no fear of the contractual duties of the alluring bed.

'Do not imagine that there will be bridal torches for you. Still chaste, you are to bring forth the Word by a word. You will conceive by the divine light of the Holy Spirit.

'O fertile virgin and virgin mother, the fruit of your womb will not take away your chastity, believe me, nor will the preservation of your chastity deprive you of the honour of motherhood.

'As a sun-ray penetrates clear glass without breaking it, so the Son will penetrate your womb, but he will not violate the gates of your exalted chastity.

'As a fragrant lily pours forth sweet odours with no injury to its shining beauty, just so will you, Mary, remain inviolate when you bring forth your divine offspring.'

She readily believed the oracle she had heard from above. Gabriel, returning to his native home in heaven, clove the liquid air with his bright-coloured pinions.

Behold, with no delay, from the highest stars Christ flashes swiftly down from the bosom of his Father above and silently alights in the sacred womb of the faithful virgin.

How it boggles the mind! What an unprecedented state of affairs! Do you realize

Scisne quid clausa teneas in alvo?
Scisne, ter faelix, tua quid recondant
Viscera, virgo?
Ipse qui solo quatit astra nutu,
Qui fretum saevis tumidum procellis
Temperat, dextra prohibens inertem
Sidere terram,
Ipse qui quicquid viget orbe summo,
Manium quicquid gelido sub Orco est,
Quicquid in terris, moderatur aequis
Unus habenis,
En tui, mater, latitat sub antro
Pectoris rerum dominus sacello,
Ventre circundans gracili, rotundus
Cui minor orbis.
Nunc graves, Adae miseranda proles,
Pone singultus, populique duras
Barbaro passi duce sub cathenas,
Tollite vultus.
En adest nobis sator ille rerum,
Non quidem saevo minitans furore
Nec memor noxae aut inimica mittens
Fulmina dextra,
Sed puer lenis, puer a vetustis
Imminens seclis, face qui secunda
Secla iamdudum miseris daturus
Aurea terris.
Emica caecis uteri latebris,
Pusio dulcis, trepido tumultu
Cerne nutantem fabricam, sacratam
Exere frontem.
O dies omni venerandus aevo
Quo, patris Iesu soboles superni,
Carne vestitus lutea silenti
Proderis orbi.
O, tui quantum iubili tulere,
Nate, vagitus; redeuntis illi
Nuntii vitae, reducis fuere
Signa salutis.

what you hold shut up in your womb? Do you realize, O virgin thrice blessed, what your womb conceals?

The very one who shakes the stars with a mere nod, who calms the sea when it swells with raging storms, who with his right hand keeps the unmoving earth from subsiding,

the very one who alone rules with his level reins whatever flourishes in the world above, whatever shades there are down in the cold of hell, whatever there is on earth,

lo, the lord of all things lies hidden in the shrine beneath the hollow of your breast, O mother, enclosing within your slender womb one who is greater than the wide round of the world.

Now, O wretched offspring of Adam, put an end to your grievous sobs; and all you peoples who have suffered under the cruel chains of a barbarous victor, lift up your heads!

Behold, he who planted all things is present with us, not indeed threatening us with his fierce anger, not mindful of our sins, not throwing thunderbolts with hostile hand,

but as a gentle boy, a boy whose birth has been impending since ancient times, who with auspicious light will very soon bestow a golden age on the wretched world.

Shine forth from the dark recesses of the womb, sweet little boy! See how the frame of the world is tipping over, ready to fall in fearful ruin! Bring forth your holy forehead.

O day to be revered for all ages to come! O day on which you, O Jesus, the offspring of the Father on high, came forth, clothed in fleshly clay, to the silent world!

O newborn babe, what shouts of joy were aroused by your cries: they announced the return of life; they were the signs of salvation restored.

En tibi vultu iubilant sereno
Cuncta nascenti, prope iam recisam
Excitat lucem meliore currens
Tramite Phaebus.
Nubibus caeli chorus e supernis
En modos gaudens ciet insolentes,
Orbis extremi duce te requirunt
Sydere Chaldi.
Te pecus prono veneratur ore
Bruta, te cantu modulans agresti
Laudat, exultat pietas relictis
Rustica bubus.
Quin et umbrosas subito renatis
Frondibus sylvas videas et omne
Floribus densis viruisse pratum et
Gramine laeto.
Iam fluunt amnes celeres Lyaei
Dulcibus rivis, sapit unda vitem,
Rore iam stillant hilares benigno
Balsama caeli.
Iam ferunt duri nova mella scopli,
Ismarae cautes redolente nardo
Iam calent, Syrum spatiosa sudat
Quercus amomum.
Inter haec quanto saliisse rere
Gaudio castae tenerum puellae
Pectus, immensi impedientis orbis
Gaudia pannis?
Prolis o salve veneranda tantae
Mater, abs cuius niveis papillis
Pendet et terrae Deus et supremi
Rector Olymphi;
Lacteo cuius alitur liquore,
Cuncta qui pascit, vehit aura quicquid,
Quod capit tellus, natat inquieto
Aequore quicquid,
In sinu cuius recubat pudico
Ambitus quem nec sinuosus aethrae
Concipit, cuius roseis propinat
Oscula malis

Behold, at your birth all things rejoice with untroubled countenances. Phoebus, driving on a better course, enlivens the light, which was almost cut off.

Behold, a heavenly choir from the clouds above is singing songs of joy never heard before. From the furthest edge of the earth the Magi are following the star to find you.

The brute beasts worship you, bowing their heads down low; in rural song the pious country people sing your praises; leaving their oxen behind, they leap for joy.

Indeed, you can see how the dark woods have suddenly put forth new foliage again and how all the meadows flourish, thickly strewn with flowers and gaily clad with grass.

Now the swift brooks flow with sweet streams of wine, the water tastes of the grapevine, the cheerful sky drips down a kindly dew of balm.

Now the hard crags bear unheard-of honey, the Thracian peaks now grow warm with the fragrance of nard, the spreading oak sweats drops of Syrian cardamom.

Amidst these things, what joy, do you suppose, leapt up in the tender breast of the chaste girl as she wrapped in swaddling clothes him who is the joy of the boundless universe.

Hail, O venerable mother of such mighty offspring! On your breasts, white as snow, hangs the God of the earth and the ruler of highest heaven.

Your flowing milk nourishes him who feeds all things, whatever is borne along by the air, whatever the earth contains, whatever swims in the restless sea.

On your chaste bosom lies one who cannot be encompassed by the winding orbits of the heavens. On your rosy cheeks kisses are planted

Ille pre natis hominum decorus,
Patris exemplar superi, ac tenellis
Dulce subridens recipit vicissim
Pressa labellis.
Quid neget, mater, tibi iam rogatus
Filius? Seu quid nequeat roganti
Ferre, quam tanto veneratur unam
Tantus honore?
Ergo te cuncti querulis fatigant
Iure mortales precibus, dolore
Quolibet pressi, veriti tremendi
Iudicis ora.
Qui cavis tentant trabibus minaces
Adriae fluctus rabidasque Syrtes,
Certa tu nautis, duce qua ferantur,
Stella refulges.
Cumque iam scissis Aquilone velis
Concitae cymbam rapiunt procellae,
Te vocant unam, prece tu cieris
Supplice, diva.
Te petit votis, dea, quem lacessit
Noxius languor, domini petit te
Barbari saevis miseranda vinctus
Colla cathenis.
Tu levas cunctos miserans et aures
Admoves votis faciles precantum,
Tu reis placas trepidis, dearum
Maxima, regem.
En ego morbis animi laborans,
Mersus immani scelerum baratro,
En ego vinclis premor impeditus
Colla pudendis.
Tu meos, virgo, miserare fletus,
Te mei unam suspiciunt ocelli,
Tu meos audi lyrico vocata
Carmine questus.

by one more beautiful than all the sons of men, the pattern of his Father on high; and smiling sweetly he receives kisses in turn, pressed on him by your tender lips.

Can your son, O mother, refuse you anything you ask for, and is there anything you can ask for that he does not have the power to provide for you, whom one so great has singled out and venerated with such a great honour?

Therefore all mortals rightly wear you out with their complaints and prayers, whenever they are crushed by any kind of suffering, fearing the countenance of their terrible judge.

For sailors who brave the threatening waves of the Adriatic or the raging Syrtes in their hollow wooden ships, you shine out as a fixed star by which to set their course.

And when their sails have already been split by the north wind and their skiff is in the grip of the onrushing storm, they cry out to you alone, they invoke you, O holy lady, with their humble entreaties.

Anyone stricken by a consuming disease seeks you out, O divine lady, with his prayers. Anyone whose miserable neck is bound with the cruel chains of a barbarian overlord seeks you out.

In your compassion you lift up everyone and you are quick to give ear to the prayers of those who beseech you. For fearful sinners, O greatest of goddesses, you placate the king.

Behold, I struggle with diseases of the mind; I am drowned in a boundless abyss of sins; behold, my neck is shackled and weighed down with shameful chains.

Take pity, O Virgin, on my tears. My eyes look up to you alone. As I invoke you in these lyric strains, hear my laments.

111 Carmen de monstrosis signis Christo moriente factis. Metrum primum est asclepiadeicum coryambicum. Secundum est archiloicum iambicum dimetrum.

[summer? 1499 / 1706]

'Quis tam turbo ferox tantus et omnia
Repente concutit tremor?
Nostra et non modico mens trepidat metu,
Vultumque pallor occupat.
Vix Phaebus medium contigit aethera
Nonam recurrens lineam,
Et iam nunc hyemis noctibus atrior
Caligo texit sydera.
Terra ingente tremit concita turbine,
Seseque saxa dissecant,
Convexoque poli pondere machina
Pendet recliva in inferos.
Unde hic insolitae noctis ab aethere
Toti horror incubat solo?
Tantum, ah, ne vetulis territa concidat
Natura ruptis legibus
Et totam properent solvere machinam
Rerum soluta faedera,
Neu caeleste iubar Tartareum cahos
Terrae rescindens obicem
Involvat tenebris triste nigrantibus
Rumpatque luminis vices
Confundatque gravans omnia Tartarus
Umbris creata informibus!
Quod si nunc superum conspiciant diem
Manes recluso carcere,
Nil huius reliquum (credite) machinae
Dies videbit crastina.
At tu tale veta, summe deus, nefas,
Magni creator aetheris,
Quin iam salvet opus ipsa quod aedidit
Invicta virtus dexterae.

111 A poem on the preternatural signs that occurred at the death of Christ. The first line of each couplet is asclepiadean, with choriambs; the second is in archilochean iambic dimeters.

'What whirlwind, raging so fiercely, what massive tremor suddenly shakes everything? My mind, too, is shaken by no small fear, and pallor overspreads my face. The sun barely touched the midpoint of his course in the sky, circling back to the ninth hour-line, and just at that moment a darkness blacker than winter nights covered the sky. The earth shakes, agitated by an enormous [underground] whirlwind; and rocks split in two of their own accord, and the frame of the universe, under the weight of the curving heavens, hangs tilted downward toward the underworld. What caused this strange and horrible night to descend from the heavens and brood over the ground everywhere? Ah, if only nature does not collapse in terror at this rupture of her ancient laws and if only the breaking of the compact which holds things together does not hasten the dissolution of the universal frame, and if only the darkness of the underworld does not tear open the barrier of the earth and wrap the light of heaven in dark shadows and gloom, if only it does not break the successive returns of light, and if only hell does not oppress and confound all creatures in shapeless shadows! But if now the shades of the dead have their prison opened and behold the daylight above them, tomorrow, believe me, will see nothing left of this universal frame. But may you, almighty God, creator of the vast heavens, forbid such a horror. Nay rather, let the same invincible power of the right hand that produced this work now save it.

'Sed quid deterius in dubiis sibi
Mens usque praesumit tremens?
Noctem hanc forte vagans et male cognitus
Poposcit ordo syderum.
Phaebe forte gravi noxia corpore
Fratris recondidit facem.
Huc huc quotquot habet Graecia, quotquot et
Chaldaea nutrit regio,
Qui nostis varios aetheris ordines,
Cursum et recursum syderum,
Et quo luna meet menstrua tramite,
Adeste, ne moremini.
Collustrate polum, sydera discite,
Quo quaeque volvantur gradu,
Et monstrate novae noctis originem,
Si forte deprendi queat.'
'Vae terrae indigenis, piscibus et feris,
Quicquidque caelo clauditur.
Triste heu, triste nimis fata parant opus
Saevo sinistra numine.
En mox pressa cadet pondere non levi
Tellus ruentis aetheris.
Nil haec nox aliud, nil sibi vult tremor:
Solvenda clamant secula
Et dirupta canunt vincula faederis
Quo cuncta strinxerat deus.
Nam nec luna quidem crassa tegit diem,
Solis morata lampadem,
Quae iam nunc rosei luminis inscios
Completa lustrat inferos.'
Heus! Quo tota strepit murmure concio?
Quis tantus in turba timor?
Quo tanto trepidat turba fugax metu?
Quis nam ruentium pavor?
O caecam rabiem, proh furor impudens!
Heu gentis horrendum scelus!
En plebs ausa deum perdere perfida,
Caecis citata furiis!
Qui caelum atque solum, qui mare et omnia
Potente condidit manu,

'But why does the mind, when it trembles in doubt, always presume the worst? Perhaps the orderly wandering of the heavenly bodies, which is not well understood, requires this darkness. Perhaps Phoebe does the damage by hiding her brother's light with her massive body. Hither, come hither, all you astronomers claimed by Greece or raised in Chaldea, you who know the various patterns of the heavens, the comings and goings of the stars, and how the moon moves in its monthly course, come, do not delay! Sweep through the heavens, discover the path of each star turning in its orbit, and show the reason for this strange darkness, if it can be at all understood.'

'Woe to the inhabitants of earth, to the fish and the beasts, and to whatever is enclosed in the heavens! The hostile Fates, with their cruel power, are preparing some grievous, alas, too grievous deed. Lo, the earth will soon fall, weighed down by the enormous weight of the falling sky. This darkness, this earthquake have one meaning and one only: they proclaim that the world is to be dissolved; they forebode the breaking of that compact in which God has bound all things together. For it is doubtless not the gross body of the moon that is blocking out the day by hindering the light of the sun, for the moon, having reached fullness, now makes her way in the underworld, among those who know not the rosy light.'

Hark, how the whole assembly rustles and murmurs! How the crowd is stricken with terror! How the crowd bustles about in great fear and flees in panic! How they rush about in terror! O blind frenzy! Ah, the arrogant madness! Alas, the horrible wickedness of that nation! Lo, this faithless people, driven by blind fury, has dared to kill God! The one who with his powerful hand made heaven and earth, who made the sea and all things, is now

Confossus lacero est in cruce corpore,
Iam morte pallet insuper.
Duram heu vita necem mortua pertulit,
Sol ille verus occidit!
Quid ni cuncta nefas expaveant novum
Turbis patratum pessimis
Authorique suo condoleant deo,
Orbata quippe iam patre?
Hinc plane, hinc subitae funereum polo
Diem tulere tenebrae.
Pressis obstupuit lucida cornibus
Phaebi videntis orbita
Obduxitque suam nube nigra facem,
Ne indigna cernat funera.
Et tellus oneris impatiens gravis
Imis tremit radicibus,
Ah, quam pene suum tota per infera
Regem sequuta Tartara!
Verum quicquid id est, nil cadit omnium
Christi necem gementium.
Non solum solidum perdere non venit,
Verum imbecille ut roboret.
Quae te, quae maneat iudicis ultio,
Gens caeca, saxo durior!
En sol turpe scelus tectus abhorruit,
Tellusque sensit stolida,
At tu, sola animis caeca procacibus,
Quem perdis ignoras deum.

112 Carmen heroicum de solemnitate paschali atque de tryumphali Christi resurgentis pompa et descensu eius ad inferos

[summer? 1499 / 1706]

Clara serenati laetentur sydera caeli,
Sydera quae quondam domino moriente choruscos
Condiderant radios caligine turbida tristi,
Laetentur referantque obtectos ocyus ignes.
Umbris ut quid enim nox usque nigrantibus omnem

on the cross, his body torn and pierced, already overspread with the pallor of death. Alas, Life has cruelly perished and is dead. That true sun has set. Why should not all things shudder at the unheard-of crime perpetrated by the most wicked mob? And why should they not share the grief of their creator and their God, orphaned as they now are and fatherless? This is clearly the reason, this is why sudden darkness has removed the grieving daylight from the sky. Astounded at the sight Phoebus has drawn his horns within his bright disk and covered his light with a black cloud lest he see such an undeserved death. And the earth, incapable of bearing such a heavy burden, trembles to its inner depths – how close the entire earth came to following her king through the darkness of the underworld! But however that may be, none of all the things that groaned at the death of Christ actually falls. Not only does he not come to destroy what is firm but rather that he might strengthen what is weak. What kind of avenging judgment awaits you, O blind nation, harder than rock! Lo, the sun covered himself in horror at this foul crime and the stolid earth felt it, but you alone have minds so brazenly blind as not to know that the one you kill is God.

112 A heroic poem on the feast of Easter and on the triumphant procession of the risen Christ and on his descent into hell

Let the bright stars rejoice in the clear heavens, the same stars that formerly hid their flashing rays at the death of the Lord, expressing their grief in gloomy darkness, let them rejoice and speedily reveal once more their covered fires. For why do the black shadows of dark night

Occupat atra polum? Fugiens petat infera nox haec.
Ecce etenim iamiam, tetris male amica tenebris,
Nascitur ecce dies, lux surgit amabilis orbi,
Lucis et immo opifex verusque Diespiter ille
Nascitur, horrentis pulsurus nubila noctis.
Florida plaudat humus, fundat sua munera tellus,
Squallorem excutiat, blandis se floribus ornet.
Incipiat steriles dudum componere ramos
Sylva virente coma et festa se fronde coronet,
Missaque plumigeri repetant sua carmina caetus.
Dulce susurrantes modulentur in aethere voces,
Et freta inaequales ponant pacata procellas,
Nimbosusque Nothus longe concedat et Auster
Grandisonus, tumidos cessent attollere fluctus,
Et natura novos omnis iam denique vultus
Laetior assumat seque in nova gaudia solvat.
Nec desit superum tantis solemnibus ordo.
Huc huc quin mage quot habet regio illa beata
Aetheris indigenas properent penetralibus omnes
Sydereis caelumque leves et mollia rumpant
Nubila iamque oras veniant invisere nostras.
Terris haec celebranda dies; nova gaudia terris
Christus agit, superis nondum gustata vel ipsis.
Sed pater esse modo communia cuncta benignus
Terrigenis superisque iubet, veteris mala quando
Semina dissidii patris unicus ipse rubenti
Sanguine diluerit moriens; iam nulla simultas,
Materies iam nulla odii, limum quia nostrum
Assumpsit deitas, reddens divina vicissim.

still continue to occupy the whole sky? Let this night flee to the underworld. For behold, even now the day, the enemy of dismal shadows, is being born; the lovely light is dawning on the world; indeed, the very maker of light and the true lord of the day is being born and is about to drive away the mists of dreadful night.

Let the soil with its flowers applaud, let the ground pour forth its gifts, let it shake off its ugliness and adorn itself with charming blossoms. Let the forest begin to arrange green tresses on its branches, long bare, and let it put on its festive crown of leaves, and let the feathered flocks take up once more the songs they had ceased to sing. Let their twittering voices make sweet melodies in the air, and let the sea be peaceful and put down the storms which roughen her waters; and let the rainy south wind, let the howling southwester depart far hence; let them stop stirring up the swelling waves. And in short, let all nature in her happiness put on a new face now and find release in new joys.

Also let not the ranks of those above be lacking to this great celebration. Nay rather let them come hither, let all the denizens of that blessed region of heaven hasten hither from their inner sanctum beyond the stars. Let them swiftly break through the firmament and the soft clouds and come now to visit our climes. On earth this day should be celebrated; for earth Christ is causing new joys never yet tasted even by those on high. But the beneficent Father commands that the inhabitants of earth and heaven alike should now have all things in common, since the only begotten Son of the Father by dying has himself washed away with his red blood the evil seeds of the ancient dissension. Now there is no conflict, no reason for hatred now, because the Godhead has taken on our clay,

Nostra tulit suaque ille dedit, mortalia caepit,
Rettulit aeterna, per enim haec commertia carnem
Conciliat patri, commiscuit infima summis
Caelumque et terram vinclo connexuit uno.
Ergo homini ne dedignetur adesse vocatus
Spirituum sacer ille chorus, demissus Olympho
Sedibus in nostris nobis se misceat una
Laetificum celebrare diem ac post fortia bella
Victorem festo deducere carmine regem.
Ille canat caeleste melos, nos terrea terra
Plaudentes fragili miscebimus organa voce.
Ille lyram feriat, hic plectra sonantia pulset,
Ille canat cythara, hic agitet salientia sistra,
Hinc ventosa tonet tuba, misceat inde suaves
Tibia blanda modos, domini modulata tryumphos.
Sed nec nostra quidem, quicquid tenui ipsa valebit
Carmine, Musa novos parcet cantare tryumphos
Victoris domini et solemnes ducere pompas.
Ergo age iam fidibus quodcumque, Camaena, sonoris,
Nostra, potes, nunc hora monet, nunc incipe carmen.
Incipe, magnificos Iesu cantemus honores.
Fronte leves discinge hederas et tempora lauro
Cinge sacra atque imbellis amica pacis oliva:
Palma pii recinenda ducis, recinenda trophaea,
Vicerit ut nostram moriente in corpore mortem,
Ut quoque Tartareae colliso principe noctis
Regna tryumphali populaverit infera ligno

making us godlike in turn. He took what is ours and gave what is his. He took what is mortal and gave back what is eternal, for by this exchange he reconciled our flesh to the Father, mingling the lowest with the highest, and bound heaven and earth together in a single bond. Therefore, let that sacred choir of spirits deign to answer our call and be present with mankind; let them be sent down from heaven and intermingle with us where we live so as to celebrate this joyful day and after the hard fight to escort the royal victor with festive song. Let that choir sing a heavenly melody; we on earth will applaud and mingle our earthly instruments with our weak voices. Let one strike his harp; let another pluck the resounding strings. Let one sing to the lyre; let another shake the jiggling tambourine. From one side let the blown horn sound; from another let the sweet flute blend its smooth notes, making music for the triumphant procession of the Lord.

But my muse, too, whatever contribution her thin song can make, will not refrain from celebrating in song this marvellous triumph of our victorious Lord, accompanying the solemn procession. Come then, my muse, whatever music you can make on the resounding strings, now is the time, now begin your song. Begin, let us sing in honour of the great deeds done by Jesus. Remove from your brow the trifling ivy; encircle your temples with the sacred laurel and with the peace-loving olive, enemy to war. We must sing the palm won by our faithful leader; we must sing his victory, how he conquered our death through his own bodily death, how he also crushed the prince of Tartarean darkness and despoiled the kingdom of hell through the triumphant wood of the cross and removed the hard chains of

Duraque captivae dimorit vincula gentis,
Vincula quae canos religabant carcere patres.
Ergo ubi triste iugum et veteris durissima lethi
Imperia ipse ferens indigna morte peremit,
Protinus arrepto post praelia dura bacillo,
Livida quo torvi contriverat ora colubri,
Victor perpetuis squalentia castra tenebris
Laetus adit properatque ereptam abducere praedam.
Ast tenebrosa cohors et noctis amica silentis,
Eminus ut sensere diem radiare serenum
Insolita et noctem rarescere luce profundam
Prospiciuntque novi radiantia signa triumphi,
Concusso subitis tremuerunt pectore monstris,
Moxque umbrosa specus dubio tremebunda tumultu
Verticibus summis imisque a sedibus omnis
Concutitur; stetit unda Stygis Phlegetontis et amnis,
Cocytique vagos tenuerunt flumina cursus.
Umbrarum tremuere duces, tremuere rigentes
Centumque Eumenides subito intumuere colubris,
Et cecidere manu radiantia sceptra minaci,
Ac trepidans premit ora trifaucia ianitor ingens,
Cunctaque praeterea teter quae plurima Averni
Carcer habet gelido pallebant monstra timore.
Nec non interea valido ter turbine quassae
Tartareae tremuere domus, mirabile dictu,
Ter sunt mugitus per opaca silentia turpes
Horrendum ex imis visi resonare cavernis.
Flebat enim absorptam rabido qui gutture praedam
Eriperet propius fera bellua figere gressus

the captive people, the chains which bound the white-haired fathers in prison.

And so, after he had borne the sad yoke and the most cruel dominion of death, decreed in ancient times, and had destroyed them by his undeserved death, immediately after the hard battle he seized the staff with which he had crushed the envious head of the grim serpent, and he approached in joyful triumph the squalid camp, enshrouded in perpetual darkness, hastening to rescue and lead away his booty. But, when the dark cohort, friends of noiseless night, saw the serene daylight shining in the distance and perceived that the deep night was thinning in the unfamiliar light, when they beheld the shining sign of this strange triumph, these sudden prodigies struck their hearts with shuddering fear, and then the whole shadowy cavern trembled in doubtful confusion, shaken from its uppermost regions to the lowest; the waters of the rivers Styx and Phlegethon stopped flowing and the streams of Cocytus ceased in their wandering course. The princes of the shades trembled, and the Furies, stiffening, trembled and suddenly swelled up with their numberless snakes, and the radiant sceptres fell from threatening hands, and the huge guardian of the threshold shut his threefold jaws in fear, and all the many other monsters besides that are kept in the foul prison of hell grew pale with chilling fear. And also, at the same time, the mansions of hell, struck by a powerful whirlwind, quaked three times, and three times (marvellous to say!) ugly bellowing was heard resounding horribly through the dark silence from the very depths of the caverns. For the savage beast wept at the thought that the one who would snatch the prey swallowed by his rabid throat was planting his footsteps nearer and nearer, and he was howling because Christ's triumph,

Et iamiam veritos ululabat adesse triumphos.
Pectore quinetiam trepidanti maximus ipse
Arbiter umbrarumque deus paulum ore represso
Pallidus obriguit animoque exterritus haesit.
Nam quid tanta novis portendant omina monstris
Nec prorsus latuit neque certius omnia novit.
Mente legit veterum studiosa carmina vatum,
Venturum qui carne deum miserabile sacra
Morte piare genus mundo et succurrere lapso
Legis adhuc dubia positi cecinere sub umbra;
Anxius atque refert, quae monstra potentia quondam
Infirma testata deum sub carne latentem
Hauserit ipse suis non longe amotus ocellis,
Utque viro in ligno vitam expirante supremam
Legibus antiquis subito natura remissis
Tota perhorruerit mortem et damnarit iniquam.
Iamque iterum furiis inter praecordia ceptis
Frigidus intremuit gemitumque e pectore duxit.
Haud mora longa fuit, moxque alta silentia rupit
Affaturque suam maesto sermone cohortem:
'Saepe quidem mentem turbarunt haec mala nostram,
O fortes socii, cum perfidus ille aliena
Subrepens specie nova tam miracula mundo
Proderet assiduus faceretque ingentia signa.
Quin etiam ipse adii variatis artibus olim
Explorare virum dubiosque resolvere sensus.
Ille sed occuluit sese mixtusque fefellit
Infirmus virtute dolor, nam more parentum
Alsit et esuriit, sed et infans ubera suxit,
Vagiit, excrevit, nunc haec super omnia et ipsam

which he had feared, was now finally at hand. Indeed, with fear in his heart, even the supreme ruler himself, the god of the shades paled, stiffened, and kept his mouth shut for a little while, his mind frozen with terror. For what ominous events were portended by these strange prodigies was neither entirely concealed from him nor did he know all about them for sure. He carefully ran over in his mind the songs of the ancient prophets who predicted, while they were still placed under the doubtful shadow of the Old Law, that God would come in flesh to atone for miserable mankind by his holy death and would bring succour to the fallen world. And he anxiously remembered those mighty wonders that he himself had formerly taken in with his own eyes as he stood not far away, miracles testifying that God was concealed under the weak flesh; he recalled how, when the man breathed his last on the cross, all nature suddenly departed from her ancient laws, in horror and condemnation of his unjust death. And now once more his breast began to be tormented by the Furies; chilled and shivering, he groaned from the bottom of his heart. Soon, after a short delay, he broke the deep silence and addressed his cohorts in sad speech:

'Often indeed, O brave companions, our mind was disturbed by such afflictions as these, when that treacherous man, hiding under a false appearance, constantly displayed to the world such unheard-of wonders and performed such mighty miracles. Indeed, I myself also approached him once with various strategies to test him and resolve my doubts. But he concealed himself and deceived me by mixing weakness and pain with his power, for like his parents he felt cold and hunger, as a baby he sucked at the breast, he cried, he grew up, and now, over and above all this, he

Mortem obiit fuditque extremam in funere vitam.
At nunc sero quidem tectas nunc novimus artes,
Novimus heu victi nunc sero dolumque virumque
Nequicquamque crucis radiantia cernimus arma.
Laedit et id nostram gravius super omnia mentem,
Tela quod haec hosti male sani cudimus ipsi
Nostram in pernitiem: nostris heu vincimur armis.'
Cominus interea gradiens se lumine victor
Admovet immenso media inter verba loquentis.
Iam trepidatus adest, validas nec multa moratus
Impulit in valvas, vectes confregit ahenos
Divinoque graves disiecit numine moles.
Inde profunda subit saevi penetralia Ditis,
Sceptra ferens erecta manu radiantia dextra,
Pallida et ingenti perfundit fulmine tecta.
Protinus immissum reserata sub atria manes
Obstupuere diem, mirantur lampada Phaebi
Deductam, roseis penitus ingressa quadrigis.
Quis tibi tunc, Pluto, cernenti talia sensus?
Quosve dabas fremitus cum Tartara luce nitere
Protinus insolita aspiceres totumque videres
Misceri ante oculos tantis fulgoribus Orcum?
Est specus extremum barathri devexa sub antrum
Immensumque cahos tetris sine lumine flammis
Aetnae more calens, tormenta ubi dira perenni
Igne ferunt animaeque luunt sua crimina sontes,
Bis tantum in praeceps tantumque sub infera tendens
Quantus syderei suspectus ad ardua caeli.

suffered death itself and expired, shedding all his blood. But now indeed, when it is too late, now we recognize his deceptive tricks; too late, alas, now that we are vanquished, we recognize the man and his deception, and in vain we perceive the shining weapon of the cross. Above all, our mind is pained by this: that we ourselves insanely forged for the enemy the very weapon of our own destruction; we are conquered, alas, by our own arms.'

Meanwhile, even as he is speaking these words, the victor, walking in an immense aura of light, is drawing near. The dreaded figure is now at hand; with no delay he strikes the strong doors, breaks the bronze bars, and by his divine power dashes the heavy mass to pieces. Then he enters the deep inner regions of cruel Dis, holding erect in his right hand his radiant sceptre, which engulfs the pale mansions in an enormous flash of light. Immediately the shades of the dead are stunned that the daylight has flooded into the unlocked halls; they marvel that the lamp of Phoebus has been brought down, at the light which has entered into the depths on his rose-streaked chariot. What was your reaction then, Pluto, when you saw such things? How did you growl when you beheld hell suddenly illuminated by such unheard-of light and saw, before your very eyes, all the underworld thrown into confusion by such dazzling flashes?

There is a cave which is hollowed out at the very bottom of the abyss, an immense confusion of darkness, burning like Aetna with hideous and lightless flames, where guilty souls suffer the fierce punishment of eternal fire and pay for their sins. It reaches sheer down into hell twice as far as the distance to the starry heights of heaven which we see

Ocius huc omnis denso ruit agmine facto
Luciferi tremefacta cohors, neque tanta ferentes
Fulgura mobilibus mire vibrantia flammis,
Ultro sulphureis sese immersere caminis.
Ille autem placido per inania regna meatu
Arduus incedit, vasti sedes et Averni
Squallentes legit hinc illincque stupentibus umbris.
Tum facili Phlegetonta gradu flammantibus undis
Horrentem piceoque tumentem gurgite victor
Transilit et summam barathri citus astat ad oram.
At dirae subita deprensae luce sorores
Praecipites imam valido cum turbine abyssum
Ultro petunt alta seseque voragine condunt.
Hi vero quos iam tormenta et vincula captos
Longa fatigarunt, ut primum lumine tanto
Adventasse deum didicere sub infera summum,
Spem frustra caepere animis gemituque represso
Nequicquam aeterna torpentia lumina nocte
Attollunt praebentque arrectas ocyus aures,
Si metam, si forte modum daret ille malorum.
Grande sed horrisono iustissimus arbiter ore
Desuper increpitans stolidissima pectora quondam
Intonat et meritos caepisse haec omnia pandit.
Inde potente ferum dominus verbo alligat hostem,
Alligat et valido pavitantem sauciat ictu,
Ferrea captivis innectens vincula collis,
Posthac mortiferum tentet ne spargere virus
In famulos famulasque dei faucesve cruentas
Imbuat effuso laniatae sanguine praedae.
Haec ubi complevit, grave olentia limina linquit,

extending above us. Swiftly the whole quaking cohort of Lucifer closes its thick ranks and rushes down to this cave. Unable to bear such great bolts of wondrously darting and flashing light, they willingly plunge into the sulphurous furnace. But Christ, holding his head high, walks calmly through the bodiless kingdom and passes through the vast and filthy mansions of hell, as the shades look on in amazement, now from one side, now from another. Then the victor easily leaps over the Phlegethon, whose waters bristle with peaks of flame and gurgle with surges of pitch, and soon he stands on the very brink of the abyss. But the dreadful sisters, surprised by the sudden light, of their own accord hurl themselves headlong in a great uproar down to the bottom of the abyss and hide in the depths of the chasm. But those who had already been worn down by the torments and bonds of their long captivity, as soon as they perceived from the great light that almighty God had come down into hell, were seized by a futile hope and stopped groaning; in vain they lift up their eyes, grown dim in the eternal night, and quickly prick up their ears, to learn if perhaps he would place some limit, some end to their afflictions. But the most just judge, speaking lofty but horrible-sounding words, thunders down rebukes on those who once completely hardened their hearts, and he makes it clear that they have earned all their punishments. Then the Lord binds our savage enemy with a word of power, binds him and wounds the cowering devil with a strong blow, wrapping his captive neck in iron chains lest he later try to spread his deadly poison among the men and women who serve God or to steep his gory jaws in the blood poured out by his mutilated victims. When he has finished these things, he leaves the foul-smelling brink

Rursus et illusis spes mentibus excidit omnis,
Et maesti posuere caput gemituque resumpto
Tota simul tristi complebant Tartara voce,
Incipit et gravius late increbrescere planctus.
Sic tibi sic visum, dux inclyte Christicolarum,
Ut videant doleantque magis. Iam reddere charis,
Christe, tuis: videant laeti et suspiria ponant.
Ocyus ergo recurrit iter quo venerat et iam
Limina prima tenet Erebi sedesque supremas.
Hic quos a prima nascentis origine mundi
Ipsos recta quidem Moysique aedicta sequentes
Patria sub noctem detraxit culpa profundam.
Spe longa labefacti animis ingentibus usque
Fletibus ora rigant, nec non suspiria maesto
Pectore longa trahunt umbroso carcere clausi,
Dum veniat tandem tenebris qui, morte soluta,
Tristibus eripiat superasque educat in auras.
Ut primum ergo crucis victricia signa choruscae
Molibus adversisque domus portis et ahenis
Obiecit, cecidere fores, et carceris ingens
Machina terrifica sonuit concussa ruina.
Detectae patuere domus, patuere cavernae,
Mox et discussis nox atra evanuit umbris.
Hic primum ille sacer populus dilata serenum
Conspexit post vota diem, post nubila solem
Laetus, et optatum viderunt lumina lumen.
Quae tum, quae subitas rapuerunt gaudia mentes?
Quem tum laeticiae trepidis, quem plausibus illic

behind him, and the souls who had been deceived lost all hope again and hung their heads in grief and took up their groaning once more; they filled all hell at once with their sad voices and began to send forth even more frequent and heavy lamentation far and wide.

This, this is what was pleasing to you, O glorious commander of Christians, that they should see you and grieve all the more. Now go back to your dear ones, Christ, let them see you with joy, let them put an end to their sighs. And so he returns more swiftly the way he had come and now he reaches the outer threshold of hell and the highest mansions. Here are those who from the very dawn of the world had been drawn down into the depths of darkness by our forefather's guilt, even though they themselves had followed the rule of right and the commands of Moses. Their minds are worn out by hope long deferred, their faces are continually wet with copious tears, and from heavy hearts they draw deep sighs, shut up in their shadowy prison, until the one should finally come who would break the bonds of death, rescue them from the gloomy darkness, and lead them forth into the air above. Accordingly, as soon as the victorious ensign of the glittering cross faced the massive mansion with its bronze gate, the doors fell and the huge framework of the prison was smashed, collapsing with a terrifying crash. Uncovered, the mansion lay open, the cavern was exposed. And immediately the shadows were dispersed and black night vanished. Now for the first time, after prayers so long drawn out, that holy people saw the clear light of day; after clouds they joyfully saw the sun, and their eyes took in the light they had longed for. What joy, what sudden joy then flooded their minds? What limit then, do you suppose, could there

Rere fuisse modum? Tandem o, post tristia tandem
Vota datum admotis coram qui salvet ocellis
Cernere victorem, iam non sub imagine, Iesum,
Iesum, quem veterum cecinerunt provida vatum
Carmina, quem sacri, nascens ubi caeperat orbis,
Usque adeo ardenti clamabant pectore patres.
Nec mora multa fuit, mox ferrea claustra resolvit,
Rumpit et indignis circundata vincula collis.
Libera scandentis sequitur post terga magistri
Candida turba, ducis comitans vestigia tanti.
Atque hinc ne qua domus maneant monumenta nefandae
Ille levi penitus disperdidit omnia flatu,
Immanisque brevi structura evanuit ictu.
Nunc age magnarum stimulant fastigia rerum,
Nunc age grandiloquum (si quid potes) incipe carmen.
Incipe, Musa, opus est totos intendere nervos.
Dicito laeta quibus procedant agmina pompis
Utque ipse ante alios victor clarissimus omnes
Praevius incedat praedamque sub aethera ducat.
Tuque ades, o cantande, tuo tu suggere vati,
Ut te digna canat tibi carmina, et abdita pande.
Agmine prima praeit veterum veneranda parentum
Canities, ac dein superno numine mentem
Plena prophaetarum series, quos legis amantum
Purpureus regum sequitur longo ordine caetus.
Iungit adulta quibus se animoque aevoque valentum
Turba virum, nec non agili laetissima gressu

be to the rejoicing of these anxious souls; what bounds, in such circumstances, to their applause? At last, after such sad prayers, oh at last it was granted to them to see in person with their own eyes the conqueror who would save them, to see him no longer under foreshadowings but to behold Jesus himself, Jesus who had been foretold by the prophetic songs of the ancient seers, Jesus who had been invoked with such a burning heart by the holy patriarchs from the very origin and birth of the world. He does not delay any longer; he soon releases the iron bars and breaks the chains which had undeservedly been placed round their necks. Free, the white-robed multitude follow behind their master as he climbs upward, keeping pace with their great commander. Moreover, so that there would henceforth be no remains of that evil mansion, with a single breath he utterly destroyed all of it, and the immense structure vanished at his slightest blow.

Now come, we are hurried along up to the heights of our great theme. Now come, lift the strains of song as high as you possibly can. Begin, O Muse – you need to strain with all your strength. Tell how the joyful ranks parade onward and how the most illustrious conqueror himself goes before all the others and leads his booty up into the sky. And you also, the subject of my song, come, reveal the hidden mysteries and inspire your poet to sing of you worthily. Ahead in the first rank go our venerable, white-haired forefathers and then the full series of prophets, whose minds were inspired by God from above. They are followed by the band of kings who loved the Law, clad in royal purple and stretched out in a long line. They are joined by a crowd of grown men, mature in mind and years, and then come the young people, full of joy and

Accedit pubes, pueri teneraeque puellae,
Chara nec amplexae desunt sua pignora matres.
Par cunctis studium, laudis vox omnibus una,
Omnibus unus amor, una exultatio cunctis.
Qui taceat nemo est: cantant memoranda potentis
Bella manus praedamque gravem atque insigne tropheum,
Solemnique ducem plaudentes carmine clarum
Concelebrant, animis omnes atque ore faventes.
At novus ille novo victor praeit agmina cultu,
Nec tegitur solito insolitus bellator amictu.
Fulminis in morem, Phaebeae lampadis instar
Cingebat diadema caput totumque serenat
Lumine purpureo regem. Velut ignis in igne
Ille micat, medioque refulget lumine lumen;
Ex humerisque fluens talos dependet in imos
Murice palla rubens roseoque ardentior ostro
Auroque et multa gemmarum luce choruscans.
Quomodo si adversis aestivo lumine flammis
Obiicias soli speculorum levia centum
Vitra refulgentum, conceptis aequore plano
Ignibus emittunt radios impulsa receptos
Et nova vibranti simulant sese aedere luce
Fulmina concertantque vel ipsum vincere solem:
Talis erat lapidumque decor flaventis et auri,
Talis erat species, rutili dum fulmine miro
Desuper exceptos revomunt diadematis ignes
Scintillantque rubra velut aethere sydera bysso.
Regia nec desunt tantis vexilla triumphis,
Invicta tollebat enim radiantia dextra
Vivificae vexilla crucis, iam nescia lethi,

walking with nimble steps, the boys and the young girls. Nor is there any lack of mothers embracing their dear children. They all have one purpose, they all sing with one voice of praise, they all share the same love, they all share the same exultation. There is no one who is silent: they sing the power of his hand in battle, never to be forgotten, the abundant booty and the glorious trophies, they sing and clap, celebrating their illustrious commander in festive song, everyone praising him with heart and mouth.

But that new conqueror goes before his ranks clad in new raiment, and such an unheard-of warrior does not wear the garb we usually hear of: a crown as bright as lightning or the rays of the sun binds his temples and bathes the whole body of the king with clear, bright light. He flashes through it like fire surrounded by fire or light shining in the midst of light. And from his shoulders down to his ankles hangs a flowing robe, dyed a deep red, brighter than the scarlet sea-dye, glittering with gold and the many-faceted light of gems. Just as if you were to set up the smooth glass of a hundred gleaming mirrors to face the flaming light of the summer sun, the level surfaces are struck by the rays they take in, giving off the beams they have received, and they look as if they themselves with their shimmering light were giving off their own original flashes and trying to outdo the sun himself; such was the beauty of the gemstones and of the yellow gold, so gorgeous were they when their brightness cast back in marvellous flashes the fire they received from the crown up above, glowing on the fine linen like red stars against the sky. Nor does such a great triumph lack its royal ensign, for in his invincible right hand he carries the radiant standard of the life-giving cross, no longer a symbol of death, no longer

Nescia dedecoris solitique ignara pudoris,
Tota sed effuso innocui distincta cruore
Agnelli summique sacrato nomine regis
Picta nitent, oleae fixis in vertice sertis.
Hoc gradibus victor redimitus honore superbis
Ad superos Phlegetonte procul post terga relicto
Scandit ovans seseque iacenti reddere mundo
Concitus accelerat, ne spes dilata dolentes
Frangeret, hymnisona longe comitante caterva.
Iamque iter emensus ipsis in faucibus astat
Liminibusque quibus superas via ducit in auras.
  Interea oppressis confuso turbine terris
Humanum trepidare genus caecasque volutat
Noctes atque dies perplexo pectore curas,
Ne qua timens visis graviora pericula monstris
Perferat inveniantque suos sua crimina sontes.
Nec dictu facile est, quae cura, quis angor amantum
Corda agitet, quae vota, quibus suspiria flentum
Anxia perpetuo vexent singultibus ora.
Nulla quies oculis, fletur noctesque diesque,
Lumina nec dulci capiuntur fessa sopore.
Quid mirum? Cruciabat enim prolixa calentes
Spes animos onerata metu, triduumque per omne
Nequicquam (triduum hoc toto productius anno)
Plangitur, et lachrymae miseris volvuntur inanes,
Amissumque gemunt tristi quem funere mersum,
Algida quem caeci frigentem saxa sepulchri
Condere conspiciunt. Ingens exanguia rupes
Ossa premit, signantur et ostia, milite duro

linked with ignominy, divorced from its usual associations of shame. But rather, adorned everywhere with the blood poured out by the innocent lamb and brightly painted with the sacred name of the highest king, it shines forth, surmounted by an olive wreath. His proud steps leaving Phlegethon far behind him, the victor, adorned with this honour, ascends rejoicing to the upper earth and hurries eagerly to present himself to a downcast world, lest hope deferred should crush them in their grief; and the long procession accompanies him singing their hymns. And now his journey brings him to the point where he stands at the very jaws of hell, at the threshold where the way leads to the upper air.

Meanwhile, the human race is disturbed at how the earth had been afflicted by turmoil and confusion, and they moil over their dark cares day and night in perplexity of heart, fearing that, having seen these prodigies, they might suffer even graver dangers and that their own sins should find them out in their guilt. It is not easy to describe the sorrow, the anguish that afflicts the hearts of those who love him, with what desires, sobs, and sighs of anxiety their tearful faces are perpetually disturbed. Their eyes have no rest, they weep night and day, their weary eyelids never find sweet repose. How can that be surprising? For their feverish minds are tormented by hope deferred, hope burdened with fear, and for three whole days (three days longer than a whole year) they lament in vain, and futile tears roll down their wretched faces, and they groan for the one they have lost, the one now extinguished by dismal death, whose cold corpse they saw laid away in the chilly stones of the dark sepulchre. A huge stone conceals the bloodless bones, and the entrance is sealed,

Stipantur, servatque fores custodia clausas
Ensibus et ferro servat noctesque diesque.
His prodire queat, haec tantane rumpere claustra?
Rumpat at esto, virum poterit superare furorem?
Custodesque queat medius transire per omnes?
His agitata malis miserum in diversa labat mens.
Iam spes victa timore cadit, iamiamque cadentem
Tollit amor; iam saeva timent, iam prospera sperant.
Tertia lux roseo iam rarescentibus umbris
Caeperat irradiare polo, caeloque voluto,
Sera quidem et tardis tandem prolixior horis,
Tandem aderat votiva dies. Ire ocyus ergo
Noctis adhuc dubia mixtis cum luce tenebris
Ad monimenta parant, usquam si forte magistri
Occurrat facies, lachrymarum aut ubere saltem
Frigida (quandoquidem miseris spes caetera languet)
Imbre et odorata perfundant corpora myrrha,
Exhibeant vel hoc exangui munus amico
Funeris et maestum fletu solentur amorem.
  Quid tibi, Christe, morae est? Quid te, regum optime, tardat?
Quid tibi cum Phlegetonte, quid est, quid te atria longum
Atra tenent? Iam redde fidem: sol tertius ecce.
Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
Aspice, Christe, tuo recreentur ut omnia vultu.
Orbis enim, dum lentus inania Tartara lustras,
Heu prope totus abit, heu pene resolvitur ingens
Machina, pene suos liquerunt sydera cursus.

guarded by a troop of cruel soldiers, who keep the entryway blocked with their swords and keep it so night and day with their weapons. Can he get out through such obstacles? Can he break through such formidable bars? Even if he could break through them, can he overcome the rage of the men? Can he pass through the midst of all the guards? Tormented by such afflictions, the minds of these miserable people waver in manifold doubts. Now hope falls, conquered by fear; now again love raises their falling hope. Now they fear cruel suffering; now they hope that all will be well. In the thinning darkness the dawn of the third morning was already beginning to light up the rosy sky, and as the heavens revolved the longed-for day was finally coming – though it seemed late indeed, delayed by the slow passing of the hours. Accordingly, they quickly prepare to go to the monument, while the shades of night are still mixed with the doubtful light, to see if somewhere perhaps they can encounter their master's face or, since in their misery all other hope is growing faint, at least to lave his cold body with copious showers of tears and anoint it with sweet-smelling myrrh and at least pay these last respects to their dead friend and console with tears their grief for the dead man they love.

What is keeping you, Christ? What is delaying you, O best of kings? What do you have to do with the Phlegethon? Why do the dark halls hold you so long? Keep your promise now. Lo, the third sun is here. Look upon the world bowing under the weight of its dome, look upon it so as to re-create everything by your glance. For while you are slowly making your way through the bodiless regions of hell, the world, alas, has almost totally perished; alas, the frame of the universe is almost dissolved; the stars have almost

Ipsa etenim vastam minitat tremefacta ruinam
Tellus et monstris mortalia corda sinistris
Concutit, et (quid triste magis?) caligine crassa
Nox operit nebulosa animos, dum te infera verum
Claudunt regna diem. Iam nemo salubria, nemo est
Qui teneat tua facta memor; totum avius orbem
Error habet, quoniam si te doctore quid unquam
Crediderant penitus te longum absente remittunt.
Ipsis quin etiam ceciderunt spesque fidesque
Discipulis. Refer, alme, diem, placidum exere vultum.
Nubila pelle animis, squallentem discute noctem.
Surge age, vel moveant inconsolabile flentum
Te propter gemitus maesti lachrymaeque tuorum.
Otyus ergo fores extremaque limina linquens,
Vota animo aspiciens miserum miserante, superbis
Progreditur rex haud multa sine luce triumphis
Ad superum sedes; lustrataque protinus illum
Sensit et immenso gradientem lumine tellus,
Sensit et effusis subito se vestiit herbis.
Sumpsit sylva comas dudum viduata virentes,
Res mira, et blandis subito se floribus omnis
Pingit ager laetusque deum molli excipit herba.
Nec latuit Titana novo se sydere vinci;
Sensit et ad superos properabat concitus ortus.
Authorique suo quicquid viget aethere, tellus
Quicquid habet, quidque aura vehit, natat aequore quicquid
Applaudit reduci et festo veneratur honore.

abandoned their paths. Even the quaking earth itself threatens to collapse in a vast ruin and strikes the human heart with sinister prodigies; and (what could be sadder?) a thick and misty darkness has descended on our minds, while you, our true daylight, are shut in by the kingdom of hell. Already there is no one, no one who remembers your salutary deeds. The whole world is in the grip of aberrant delusions, since, if they ever did believe anything when you were present to instruct them, they have completely given it up now that you have been absent so long. Indeed, even your disciples have lost their hope and faith. Bring back the daylight, O bountiful one, bring forth your peaceful countenance. Disperse the clouds from our minds, dispel the murky night. Come, arise! at least be moved by the sad groans and the inconsolable tears which your followers shed for your sake.

And so, quickly leaving behind the doors and the outermost threshold, looking with pity in his heart upon the prayers of his piteous followers, the king makes his lofty and triumphant progress, with no lack of brilliant light, back to the upper world, and immediately the earth felt him passing over her, stepping over her surrounded by boundless light, felt him and suddenly clad herself in vast stretches of grass. The trees, formerly bare, put on their green tresses – a wonder to see – and all the fields suddenly adorned themselves with pretty, bright-coloured flowers and joyfully received their God with soft grass. The sun was not unaware that he was surpassed by a new sun. He felt it and hastened eagerly to rise into the upper world. Whatever flourishes in the heavens, whatever the earth contains, whatever is borne by the air, whatever swims in the seas, they all applaud the return of their creator and

Ipse autem festinus oves regione virenti
Pergit et apricis paradysi condere pratis,
Donec corporea in vitam iam carne resumpta
Charorum maestum sese soletur amorem,
Edoceat solidetque suos, ad sydera demum
Quem sumpsit de matre hominem praedamque sequentem
Transvehat, aeternum victurus in aethere victor.

113 Epitaphium Bertae de Heyen [late October 1490? / 1706]

Hac qui carpis iter fixo haec lege carmina gressu.
Ecce hic sarcophagus, quem cominus aspicis, almae
Ossa tegit Bertae. Porro penetralia caeli
Celsa tenent animam, meritorum digna metentem
Praemia; quippe illi praesens dum vita maneret
Pupillis pia mater erat, solamen egenis,
Nutrix his quos dura premebat inedia, cunctis
Unica spes miseris, famula officiosior aegris.
His quondam illa suos partita est prodiga census,
Ut caperet superos multo cum faenore census.

114 Aliud epitaphium, metro anapestico [late October 1490? / 1706]

Huc lumina flecte, viator,
Numeros age perlege nostros.
Tumulum, quem conspicis istic,
Molli levis attere planta:
Bertae tegit ossa beatae
Meritaeque perennibus annis.
Quam postera praedicet aetas
Hymnisque ad sydera tollat,
Donec ferat arbuta tellus,

venerate him with festive honours. But he proceeds quickly to put his sheep away in green places and in the sunny meadows of paradise, until, having once more taken on and revived the flesh of his body, he consoles by his presence the loving grief of his dear ones, teaches and strengthens his followers, and finally conveys up to the stars the humanity he received from his mother, followed by the booty from hell, to live forever victorious in heaven.

113 An epitaph for Berta van Heyen

You who are passing along this way, stop and read these verses. Behold, this tomb, which you see close up, covers the bones of a bountiful lady, Berta. Henceforth the lofty inner courts of heaven possess her soul, which reaps rewards worthy of her merits. For while her life lasted here, she was a kind mother to orphans, a consolation to the needy, a giver of food to those who suffered from cruel starvation, the only hope of all the wretched, a very dutiful servant to the sick. To these she lavishly distributed her treasure so as to receive heavenly treasures together with high interest.

114 Another epitaph, in anapestic metre

Turn your eyes hither, traveller. Come, read these verses of mine. Tread with a light and gentle step on the grave which you see there. It covers the bones of blessed Berta, who deserves praise throughout endless years. May future ages praise and lift her up to the stars in their hymns, for as long as the earth bears

Dum sydera lucidus aether,
Roseum dum sol agat orbem,
Phaebe dum roscida noctem.
Hac namque superstite nusquam
Vasti regionibus orbis
Pietatis amantior ulla
Fuit atque tenacior aequi.
Mater fuit omnibus illa,
Ope quos studioque parentum
Furor illachrimabilis Orci
Fatis viduarat iniquis.
Nutrix fuit omnibus illa
Quos dira premebat egestas,
Spes una dolentibus, una
Aegris reparatio vitae.
Humili licet aggere terrae
Lateant modo lucis egena
Et nescia sanguinis ossa,
Ea secula sed tamen olim
Venient, quis prisca revisens
Vivax habitacula sensus
Putribus rediviva sepulchris
Secum super aethera tollat.

Poems from MS Egerton 1651

115 Carmen extemporale

[autumn 1499 / 1856]

Quid tibi facundum nostra in praeconia fontem
Solvere collibuit,
Aeterna vates, Skelton, dignissime lauro
Casthalidumque decus?
Nos neque Pieridum celebravimus antra sororum,
Fonte nec Aonio
Ebibimus vatum ditantes ora liquores.
At tibi Apollo chelim
Auratam dedit, et vocalia plectra sorores,
Inque tuis labiis

trees, or the sky is bright with stars, or the sun makes his rosy rounds, or Phoebe brings dewy nights. For while she was alive there was no one in all the regions of the vast world who loved kindness more or was more intent upon justice. She was a mother to all those whom the unjust fates and the ruthless fury of death had deprived of their parents' support and care. To all who suffered from cruel poverty she gave food. For those who mourned she was their only hope. To the sick she was their only source of life-giving help. Though her bones, hidden under this low mound, are now destitute of life and deprived of blood, nevertheless the time will one day come when her living soul will revisit the former habitation of its consciousness and, raising it to life from the mouldering grave, will take it with her up to heaven.

Poems from MS Egerton 1651

115 An extemporaneous poem

Why did you deign to set the spring of your eloquence flowing to proclaim my praises, O Skelton, O poet fully worthy of the eternal laurel, O glory of the Castalian Muses? I have not frequented the grotto of the Pierian sisters, nor have I drunk from the Aonian spring those waters that enrich the mouths of poets. But to you Apollo has given a golden lyre, and those Sisters have given you a sonorous plectrum, and the goddess Persuasion, sweeter than the

Dulcior Hybleo residet Suadela liquore.
Se tibi Calliope
Infudit totam, tu carmine vincis olorem,
Cedit et ipse tibi
Ultro porrecta cithara Rhodopeius Orpheus.
Tu modulante lyra
Et mulcere feras et duras ducere quercus,
Tu potes et rapidos
Flexanimis fidibus fluviorum sistere cursus,
Flectere saxa potes.
Grecia Meonio quantum debebat Homero,
Mantua Virgilio,
Tantum Skeltono iam se debere fatetur
Terra Britanna suo.
Primus in hanc Latio deduxit ab orbe Camenas,
Primus hic edocuit
Exculte pureque loqui. Te principe, Skelton,
Anglia nil metuat
Vel cum Romanis versu certare poetis.
Vive valeque diu.

116 In castigationes Vincentii contra Malleoli castigatoris depravationes

[February? 1498 / 1923]

Plus sibi quam Varo volui Tuccaeque licere
In musam sumit turba prophana meam.
Hic lacerat mutilatque, hic pannos assuit ostro,
Sordibus et mendis pagina nulla vacat.
Vel nuper quanta horrebam rubigine, scabro
Malleolo vexor dum miser atque premor!
Hic sordes mihi dum male sedulus excutit auxit,
Dumque agitat veteres addidit ipse novas.
Reddidit ereptum Vincenti lima nitorem,
Ornavit variis insuper indicibus.
Vivat ut usque meus vindex Vincentius opto,
Flagret malleolis Malleus ille malis.

honey of Hybla, sits on your lips. Calliope has bestowed on you her fullest inspiration. In song you surpass the swan, and even Rhodopeian Orpheus yields to you and freely offers you his lute. When you make music on your lyre, you have the power both to soothe wild beasts and to make hard-hearted oaks follow you. With your soul-stirring lute you can make swift rivers stop flowing; you can move stones. What Greece owed to Maeonian Homer, what Mantua to Virgil, the land of Britain now owes to Skelton, as she openly professes. He was the first to bring the Muses hither from the world of Rome. This man was the first to teach men refined and pure speech. Under your sway, Skelton, England need not fear to contend in song even with the poets of Rome. Live long and fare well.

116 On Vincentius' corrections of the corruptions introduced by the corrector Hemmerlin [meaning 'little hammer.' The book, an edition of Virgil, speaks.]

In handling my muse, the unholy mob takes upon itself more than I wanted to grant to Varius and Tucca. One rips and mutilates, another sews rags onto my purple, leaving no page without its filthy errors. Just recently, what horrid rust was deposited on me while I was held down and miserably tormented by the scabrous Hemmerlin! In his misguided eagerness to beat the filth out of me, he increased it; and while he pounded away at old blotches he added new ones. The file of Vincentius restored the polish that had been lost, and he also adorned me with various indices. I wish a long life to Vincentius, my vindicator. May that plaguy hammerhead Hemmerlin be mauled with hammer and tongs.

117 Contestatio salvatoris ad hominem sua culpa pereuntem. Carminis futuri rudimentum [winter 1490–1? / 1923]

Qum mihi sint uni si quae bona terra polusque
Habet, quid hoc dementiae est
Ut malis, homo, falsa sequi bona, sed mala vera,
Me rarus aut nemo petat?
Forma capit multos: me nil formosius usquam est,
Formam hanc amat nemo tamen.
Sum clarissimus et generosus utroque parente:
Servire nobis qur pudet?
Dives item et facilis dare multa et magna rogatus,
Rogari amo: nemo rogat.
Sumque vocorque patris summi sapiencia: nemo
Me consulit mortalium;
Preceptor: mihi nemo cupit parere magistro;
Eternitas: nec expetor.
Sum via qua sola celi itur ad astra, tamen me
Terit viator infrequens.
Auctor qum ego sim vitae unicus ipsaque vita,
Qur sordeo mortalibus?
Veraci credit nemo, fidit mihi nemo,
Qum sit nihil fidelius.
Sum placabilis ac misereri pronus, et ad nos
Vix confugit quisquam miser.
Denique iustus ego vindexque severus iniqui:
Nostri metus vix ullum habet.
Proinde, mei desertor homo, socordia si te
Adducet in mortem tua,
Preteritum nihil est. In me ne reiice culpam,
Malorum es ipse auctor tibi.

117 The Saviour's earnest entreaty to mankind, perishing by its own fault. The first draft of a future poem

Since whatever good is to be found in the earth and sky belongs to me alone, what is this madness, O mankind, that you prefer to pursue false goods which are truly evils, while few or none seek out me? Many are taken with beauty: nothing anywhere is more beautiful than I am, but no one loves this beauty. I am most illustrious and noble-born both on my Father's and my mother's side: why are people ashamed to serve me? I am rich as well and I am quick to give many and great gifts to anyone who asks – I love to be asked: no one asks. I am and I am called the wisdom of the highest Father: no one among mortals asks me for advice. I am a teacher: no one wishes to submit himself to me as his master. I am eternity: and yet I am not longed for. I am the only way that leads up to the stars in the heavens: but rarely am I trodden by any traveller. Since I am the only source of life, since I am life itself, why do mortals think me so paltry? Though I speak the truth, no one believes me; no one trusts me, though no one is more trustworthy than I. I am forgiving and quickly moved to mercy, and yet hardly anyone in his misery takes refuge in me. Finally, I am a just and severe punisher of evil; hardly anyone is constrained by fear of me. And so, O mankind, if you desert me and stupidly cause your own death, there is nothing I have not done. Do not put the blame on me; you yourself are the source of your own afflictions.

Poems from other sources

118 Erasmi precatio 'Salve, regina'

[spring 1499? / 1538]

O regina, reum miseratrix maxima, salve,
O spes, dulcedo vitaque nostra simul,
Ad te clamamus nati miserabilis Hevae,
Quos lachrymae et gemitus vallis et ista premunt.
In miseros ergo miserantia lumina flecte,
Ostendas natum post mala secla tuum.
Nam pia, nam dulcis, nam clementissima quum sis,
Fac dignos fructu, virgo Maria, tuo.

119 Carmen iambicum

[late spring 1511? / 1925]

Ut examussim quadrat in te Iulii
Nomen secundi! Plane es alter Iulius.
Et pontifex fuit ille quondam maximus,
Et ille arripuit per nefas tyrannidem.
Nec secius illi, quam tibi modo placet,
Violata placuit gratia regni fides.
Contempsit ille deos, et hoc es Iulius.
Orbem universum cede, bello, sanguine
Miscebat ille, et hoc es alter Iulius.
Tibi Nicomedes unus haut sat est seni,
Iam nomine isto plus eris quam Iulius.
Vexator ille Galliarum maximus,
Es et ipse pestis Galliarum maxima.
Nihil illi erat sacrum, nisi morbus sacer.
Et pectus illi Erinnys ultrix criminum
Furiis agebat, mensque scelerum conscia.
Torva erat et illi frons minaci lumine,
Et ille quovis histrione vafrior.
Et his et aliis non silendis dotibus
Refers et equas, imo superas Iulium.
Tantum una ab illo levicula differs nota
Quod, gente nulla, vinum amas pro litteris.
Unum illud ergo totus ut sis Iulius
Superest, ut aliquis Brutus obtingat tibi.

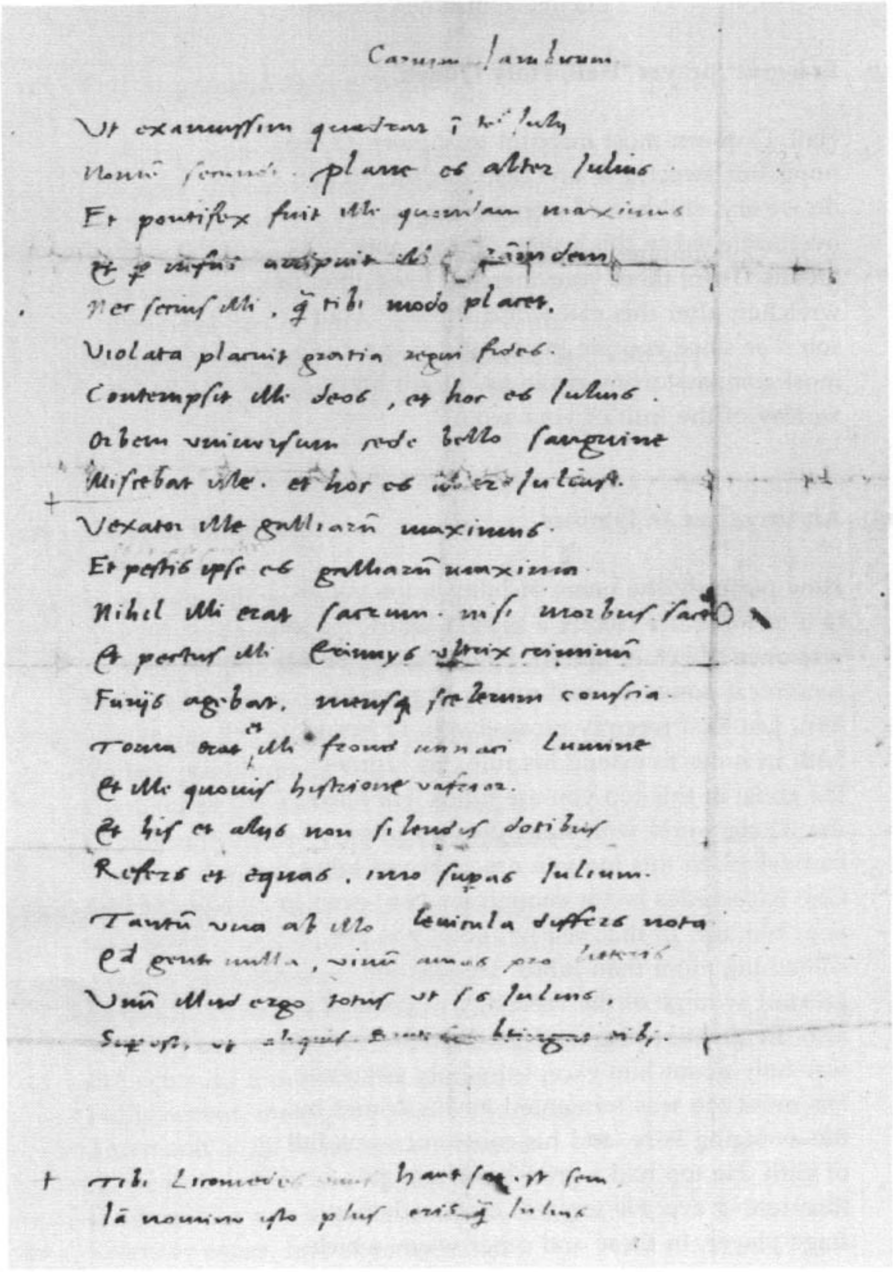
Poems from other sources

118 Erasmus' prayer 'Hail, Holy Queen'

Hail, O queen most merciful to sinners, O our hope, our sweetness, and also our life, to you do we cry, children of piteous Eve, overburdened in this valley of tears and groans. Turn, then, your merciful eyes upon us wretches; after this evil world show us your son. For since you are loving and sweet and most compassionate, make us, Virgin Mary, worthy of the fruit of your womb.

119 An invective in iambics

How perfectly the name of Julius II fits you – to a tee! You are clearly a second Julius. He too was once the chief pontiff. He too snatched his tyrannical power by foul means. It pleased him, just as it recently pleased you, to break faith in order to extend his rule. He scorned the gods; in this too you are Julius. He filled the whole world with slaughter, war, and bloodshed; in this too you are a second Julius. One Nicomedes is not enough for you, even in your old age. In that respect, now, you are something more than Julius. He was the greatest scourge of the French; you yourself are also the greatest plague of the French. Nothing was holy about him except the holy sickness. His mind too was tormented for his crimes by the avenging Fury, and his conscience was full of guilt. He too had a grim brow and a threatening eye. He too was craftier than a stage player. In these and other ways, which ought not to be passed over in silence, you resemble and equal – nay, you surpass – Julius. There is just one tiny difference between you: low-born as you are, you love wine, not literature. Only one thing remains, then, that would make you a complete Julius: that some Brutus should turn up for you.

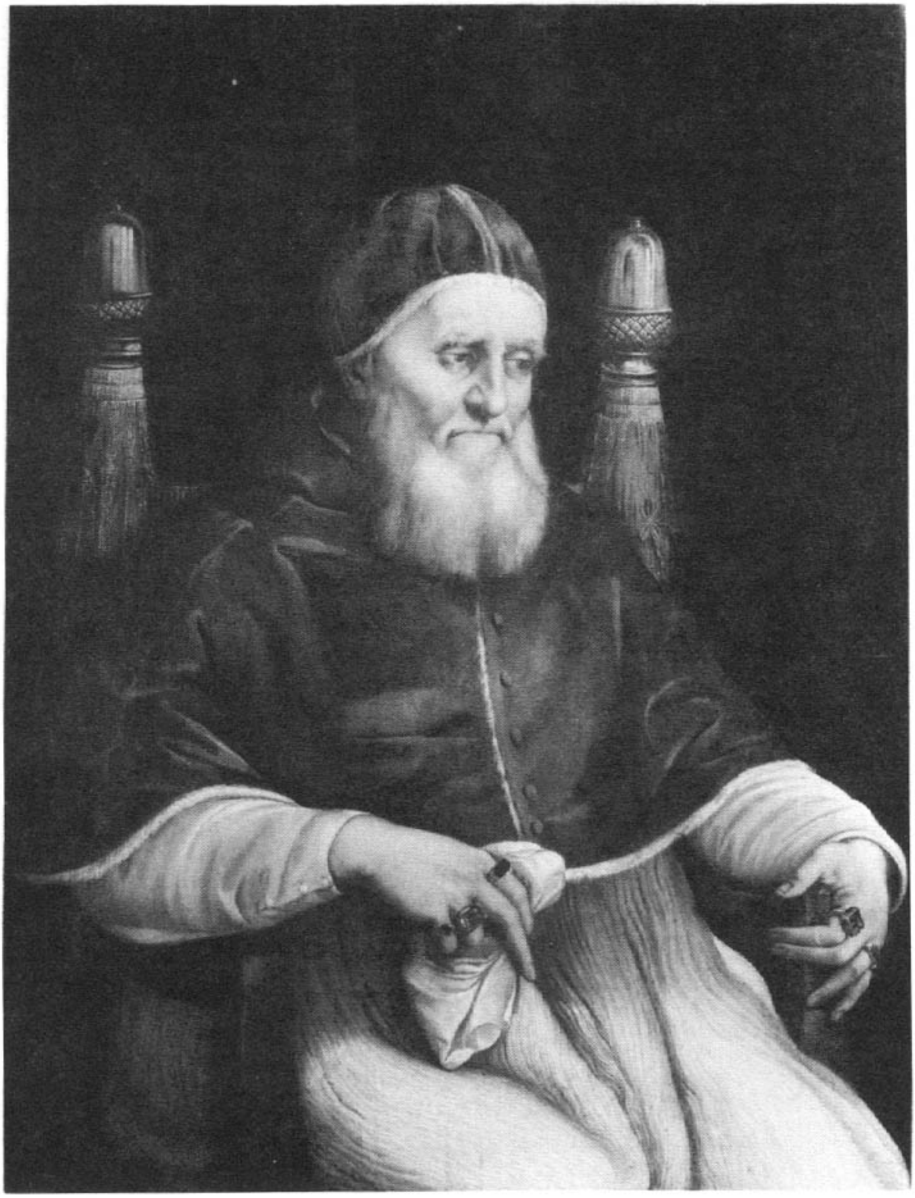


Carmen Iambicum

Ut examussim quadrat ĩ te Iuli
Nomẽ secundi. plane es alter Julius.
Et pontifex fuit ille quondam maximus
Et tu supremus antistes ille [illegible] eundem
Nec secius ille, q̃ tibi modo placet.
Violata placuit gratia regni fides.
Contempsit ille deos, et hoc es Julius.
Orbem universum caede bello sanguine
Miscebat ille. et hoc es [illegible] Julius.
Vexator ille galliarũ maximus.
Et pestis ipse es galliarũ maxima
Nihil illi erat sacrum. nisi morbus sacer
Et pectus illi Erinnys ultrix criminũ
Furijs agebat. mensque scelerum conscia.
Torva erat et illi frons minaci lumine
Et ille quovis histrione vafrior.
Et his et alijs non silendis dotibus
Refers et equas. imo superas Julium.
Tantũ una ab illo leviuscula differs nota
Ed gente nulla, vinũ amas pro literis
Unũ illud ergo totus ut sis Julius,
Superest, ut aliquis Brutus [illegible] benignus sit tibi.

+ Tibi Ciceronianus nunc haud sat est sem
Iã nomine isto plus erit q̃ Julius

Autograph copy of Erasmus *Carmen iambicum*, bound in before the title-page in his *Moria* (Basel 1676)
Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais, Paris



Pope Julius II
Portrait by Raphael
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence
Photo: Alinari

120 Desi. Erasmus Rotero. lectori

[early 1517? / 1540]

Enituit (proh grande nefas) post saecula multa
Nobilium rerum series et velleris almi
Inclyta Romanos contemnens fama triumphos.
Et nullam Aoniae, nullam Parnasidos undae
Sensit opem, nullo se evexit in astra cothurno,
Donec Hesperio spectatus sanguine Gomez,
Clarus avis opibusque potens, sed carminis alti
Divitiis caelsaque et magniloquente Camoena
Nobilior, tantae miserans oblivia laudis
Ac prima intactum repetens ab origine carmen,
Splendida grandiloquo reserans exordia versu
Ordinis et causam, ter magno et maxima Charlo
Decretis promissa deum venturaque fata
Asseruit tetris illustria gesta tenebris,
Ausonii lucem eloquii sacrumque furorem
Carminis Hispani succendens flatibus oris.
Non hic mendaci commendat Iasona versu,
Nec vigilem Medaea parat sopire draconem,
Aut mentita novo prorumpunt praelia sulco.
Fulgida sed sacri miracula velleris udi
Arenti tellure prius, ac mox vice versa
Undantem pluviis sudo iam vellere terram,
Et Gedeoniacos ausus divinaque bella
Tercentum pugnata viris, quos more ferarum
Dira sitis liquidas non adpronavit in undas,
Dulcia sed gerulis rapuerunt flumina dextris,

120 Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam to the reader [of Âlvar Gômez's poem on the Order of the Golden Fleece]

Oh what a great shame, what a crime it is that only now, after so many ages, the history of these noble matters shines forth, illuminating the glorious fame of the bountiful fleece, which can scorn the triumphs of Rome. The order found no help from the Heliconian or Parnassian springs; no lofty poet praised it to the sky until Gómez, a Spaniard of noble blood, a man famous for his forebears and mighty in his wealth, but even nobler because of his rich vein of lofty poetry and the full-throated eloquence of his soaring muse, was struck with pity that such great and praiseworthy deeds were hidden in oblivion, and so he sang the untold story, going back to its first beginnings. Displaying in grandiloquent verse the splendid origin and cause of the order and revealing the great things decreed by the gods for the thrice-great Charles and prophesying his destiny, he saved illustrious deeds from the dark shadows of oblivion, enkindling the light of Ausonian eloquence and the sacred fury of Spanish song with the breath of his mouth. His verse gives no lying praise to Jason, nor does Medea prepare to put the watchful dragon to sleep, nor do fictitious warriors spring up from the newly ploughed furrow. But rather, with the voice of a swan he sings of the shining miracles of the holy fleece, first wet while the ground around it was dry and then dry in turn while the earth around it was saturated with rainwater, and he sings of the daring deeds of Gideon's men and the wars fought for God by the three hundred men whose fierce thirst did not cause them to lie down and drink from the clear stream like wild beasts but who instead carried the sweet water

Ac precibus superata piis furiata Sathanum
Agmina et innumeris turgentia castra maniplis
Militiamque sacram generosique ordinis amplum
Eximiumque decus cygnaeo gutture cantat,
Martia flammato celebrans praeconia versu.
Scilicet ut mutae longo iam tempore laudes
Non nisi ab Hispano rupere silentia cantu,
Sic erit armipotens virtus tua, maxime Charle,
Tum demum foelix, toto spectabilis orbe,
Cum dabit infractas vires et robora firma
Addita Burgundis Hispanica lancea gesis.

121 Erasmi Roterodami theologi in commentarios D.B. Andreae Tholozani poetae regii super opus Aurelii Augustini De civitate dei

[April 1517? / 1939]

Doctor Augustine, sacrae celebris author paginae,
Tua gravi scalebat antehac Civitas caligine
Et parum liquebat oculis impericioribus.
Ecce Bernardus labore plurimarum noctium
Luculentis sic retexit cuncta commentariis,
Ut queant vel lusciosis perspici dilucide.

122 Erasmus de concordia Caroli imperatoris et Henrici regis Angliae et Franciae

[July 1520 / 1882]

Sidera si quando in caelis coiere benigna,
Id maximo fit gentis humanae bono.

rapidly to their mouths with their cupped right hands, and he sings of the devils' enraged battle lines conquered by pious prayers and of the camp swarming with innumerable squadrons and of the holy chivalric order and of the abundant and extraordinary glory of the noble order, proclaiming in fiery verse their martial exploits. Thus, just as these praiseworthy deeds had already remained unsung for a long time until the silence was broken by the song of a Spaniard, so too, greatest Charles, your military valour will finally bear fruit and be revealed to the whole world when the lance of Spain adds unbreakable power and unshakable strength to the pikes of Burgundy.

121 [A poem] by the theologian Erasmus of Rotterdam on the commentary by the Reverend B[ernard] André of Toulouse, the king's poet, on the work by Aurelius Augustine called *The City of God*

O Augustine, great teacher and famous expounder of the Bible, hitherto your *City* was so grievously defaced and darkened by errors that to unlearned eyes it was quite obscure. Behold, Bernard has laboured through many a night to make it all visible again by means of his lucid commentary so that now it is perfectly clear even to the purblind.

122 Erasmus on the concord between the emperor Charles and Henry, king of England and France

Whenever beneficent planets have formed a conjunction in the heavens, that turns out to be of the greatest benefit to mankind. Now,

Nunc quia summorum duo candida pectora regum
Tam rarus ecce iunxit in terris amor,
Haud leviora sibi promittit commoda mundus,
Henricum ubi videt faederatum Carolo,
Quam si vel Veneri Solem se iungere, vel si
Solem benigno cernat adiunctum Iovi.

123 Idem in substructionem Caletiensem [July 1520 / 1882]

Miraris hospes unde moles haec nova?
Templum est, dicatum regiae concordiae,
Quod hunc in usum condidere Gratiae.

124 In laudem divae Mariae Magdalenae [August 1520? / 1882]

Impotenti amoris oestrO | Haec beata percitA
Nardicum profudit ungueN, | Eluit lacrymis pedeS,
Mox capillis tersit; eccE | Rex Olympi, qui semeL
Illecebras sprevit ac suB- | Egit, istis ampliteR
Capitur oblectaculis. ProcH, | Daemonis technis malI
Eva capta est: ista lacrymiS | Tincta culpas diluit.

125 Erasmi Roterodami [c September 1522 / 1933]

Non absque causa celebris est mortalibus
Sive est Catonis sive vox testudinis:
Felicitatis portio non infima est
Habitare belle. Quisquis autem iunxerit
Amoena tutis, sic ut adsit puritas,
Is sibi pararit commodam plane domum.
Tibi, hospes, his arrideo si dotibus,
Agnosce dominum qui tenet me et condidit.

because the sincere hearts of two most mighty kings are joined in such a rare conjunction of love here upon earth, the world, seeing Henry in league with Charles, promises itself benefits no less substantial than if it should perceive either the sun in conjunction with Venus or beneficent Jupiter joined with the sun.

123 The same poet on a substructure at Calais

Do you wonder, stranger, what is the reason for this novel structure? It is a temple dedicated to royal concord, constructed by the Graces for this purpose.

124 In praise of St Mary Magdalen

This saint, driven by the gadfly of vehement love, poured out an ointment of nard, washed his feet with her tears, and then dried them with her hair. Behold, the king of heaven, who before scorned and rejected such allurements, was much taken with these delights. Alas, Eve was taken in by the wiles of the wicked devil; this woman washed away her guilt with her streaming tears.

125 [Meersburg Castle] by Erasmus of Rotterdam

Not without good reason is the saying oft repeated among mortals – whether the source be Cato or a tortoise – that not the smallest part of happiness is to have a handsome place to live in. But whoever combines beauty with safety and adds spotlessness too has gotten himself a thoroughly fine home. If these gifts make me attractive to you, visitor, you should recognize in them the master who built and

Mores suos expressit hac imagine,
Fidis amicis fidus et cautus sibi.
Tutum ergo reddit a dolis et hostibus
Coniuncta fortitudini prudentia,
Pietasque purum, comitas amabilem;
Ac talem in opere semet expressit suo.
Is me novavit, auxit, expoliit, meo
Baro Iohannes inclytus cognomine.
Si cupis et illud nosse, Merspurgum vocor.

M.D.XXIII

126 [autumn? 1527 / 1628]

Hic Theodoricus iaceo, prognatus Alosto;
Ars erat impressis scripta referre typis.
Fratribus, uxori, soboli notisque superstes
Octavam vegetus praeterii decadem.
Anchora sacra manet, gratae notissima pubi.
Christe, precor, nunc sis anchora sacra mihi.

127 [early April 1536 / 1939]

Est pomum pede quod dependet ab arbore curto,
Atque hinc cognomen Gallica lingua dedit.
Huius si posses sex, octo decemve parare,
Iam pranso stomacho clausula grata foret.

maintains me. In this image he expressed his own character: to his true friends he is true and he is careful to protect himself. Thus prudence joined with courage makes him safe from open or underhanded enemies, piety makes him spotless and courtesy makes him amiable; and these are the traits in him which he expressed in this work of his. The one who renovated, expanded, and put the finishing touches on me is Baron Johann, renowned because I am his surname. If you want to know it too, I am called Meersburg.

1523

126 [An epitaph for Dirk Martens]

Here I lie, Dirk, born at Aalst. My craft was to print writings with pieces of type. Having survived my brothers, wife, offspring, and friends, I have lived hale and hearty past my eighth decade. The sheet anchor still remains, well known to a grateful public. I beg you, Christ, be my sheet anchor now.

127 [A request for dates]

There is a fruit which hangs from the tree by a short foot, and from this fact it gets its name in French. If you can get six, eight, or ten of them, it would be pleasant to have them as an after-dinner dessert.

POEMS EMBEDDED IN ERASMUS' PROSE WORKS (EXCLUDING TRANSLATIONS)

128 **From** ***Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei*** [latter half of 1489? / 1684]

Barbaries Swollenses tales quod eorum Theutonicales
Nomen per partes ubicunque probantur et artes
Et quasi per mundum totum sunt nota rotundum,
Swollensique solo proferre Latinica solo
Discunt clericuli nimium bene verba novelli.

En ii versiculi in poematibus quam sim diserta declarant.

Thalia Ha ha hae. Tot barbarismos numero, quot voces. Patria certe haec vox est: Chironis videlicet. Hui, quam digesta poemata! Non differam iis laudes referre suas:

Tale sonant insulsa mihi tua carmina, vates,
Quale sonat sylvis vox irrudentis onagri,
Quale boat torvus pecora inter agrestia taurus,
Qualeque testiculis gallus genitalibus orbus
Concinit; haud vocem humanam, sed dico ferinam.

POEMS EMBEDDED IN ERASMUS' PROSE WORKS (EXCLUDING TRANSLATIONS)

128 [The Latinity of the school at Zwolle, from *The Conflict between Thalia and Barbarism*]

Barbarism The students at Zwolle are such
what their name and their skills be
approved throughout the whole
Teutonical regions. And just like it is
knowed through the whole round
world, solely on the soil of Zwolle
do the young scholarlings learn to
produce Latinian words real good.

See, these verselets show how smart I am in poems.

Thalia Ha, ha, ha! I count as many barbarisms in them as there are words. You certainly talk your forebear's language – Chiron's, that is. Oh, such well-composed poetry! Without delay I will give them their due praise:

Poet, your witless verses sound to
me like the braying of a wild ass in
the woods, like the bellowing of a
mad bull among the cattle in the
country, like the singing of a rooster
that has had its generative testicles
cut off. You speak like a wild
animal, I say, not like a human being.

Hanc, celebres, laudate, viri, et doctissime Florum
Author, ades: gratos in serta nitentia Flores
Colligito meritaeque coronam nectito divae.
Urticae viridi graveolentem iunge cicutam,
Talia nam tali debentur praemia vati.
Annue, Barbaries: tuque hanc sine cornua circum
Inter candidulas laurum tibi nectier aures.

129 **From the colloquy *De lusu*: *Ludus sphaerae per anulum ferreum*** [March 1522]

Plaudite victori, iuvenes, hic quotquot adestis,
Nam me qui vicit, doctior est nebulo.

130 **From the colloquy *Convivium poeticum*** [August 1523]

The colloquy begins as follows:

Hilarius Levis apparatus, animus est lautissimus.
Leonardus Coenam sinistro es auspicatus omine.
Hilarius Imo absit omen triste. Sed cur hoc putas?
Leonardus Cruenti iambi haud congruunt convivio.
Crato Euge, certum est adesse Musas, effluunt carmina imprudentibus.

Celebrated men, praise this voice,
and you too, most learned author of
The Flowers, come hither. Gather
charming flowers into a bright
garland and weave for the goddess
the wreath she deserves. Join the
green nettle with the ill-smelling
hemlock, for such a poet deserves
such a reward. Bow your head,
Barbarism, and let this sort of laurel
encircle your horns and be attached
between your pretty white ears.

129 [From the colloquy 'Sport': 'The game of sending a ball through an iron ring.' Gaspar, the loser in a game resembling croquet, pays his forfeit, a couplet in praise of the winner.]

Let all the young people who are here applaud
the winner! The one who beat me is first-rate –
a first-rate bastard!

130 [From the colloquy 'A Poetic Banquet']

[The colloquy begins as follows:]

Hilary The fare is slight; the intentions,
very elegant.
Leonard You open the dinner with an
unlucky omen.
Hilary Far be it from me to suggest a bad
omen. But why do you think so?
Leonard Harsh iambics are hardly suitable to
a banquet.
Crato Bravo! The Muses must certainly be
lending their aid: unconsciously you
speak in flowing verse.

Hilarius Si rotatiles trocheos mavelis, en accipe:
Vilis apparatus hic est, animus est lautissimus.
Quanquam et iambi olim ad rixas ac pugnas
nati, post didicerunt omni servire materiae.

Toward the end of the colloquy the friends compete in poetic variations on the theme that it is more important to cultivate your mind than your garden:

Hilarius Cui renitet hortus undiquaque flosculis,
Animumque nullis expolitum dotibus
Squalere patitur, is facit praepostere.

Leonardus Cui tot delitiis renidet hortus,
Herbis, floribus arborumque foetu
Et multo et vario, nec excolendum
Curat pectus et artibus probatis
Et virtutibus, is mihi videtur
Laevo iudicio parumque recto.

Carinus Cura cui est, ut niteat hortus flosculis ac foetibus,
Negligenti excolere pectus disciplinis optimis,
Hic labore, mihi ut videtur, ringitur praepostero.

Eubulus Qui studet, ut variis niteat cultissimus hortus
Delitiis, patiens animum squalere nec ullis
Artibus expoliens, huic est praepostera cura.

Hilary If you prefer tumbling trochees,
come then, take this: Here the fare
is bad; the intentions, very elegant.
Although iambs were originally
born for quarrels and fights, they
later learned to serve for all sorts of
subject-matter.

[Toward the end of the colloquy the friends compete in poetic variations on the theme that it is more important to cultivate your mind than your garden:]

Hilary Whoever has a garden bright with
flowers on all sides but who allows
his mind to be ugly and unadorned
with any accomplishments, he has
his priorities backwards.

Leonard Whoever has a garden resplendent
with many delights – grass, flowers,
and trees laden with abundant and
diverse fruits – but takes no care to
cultivate his mind both with virtues
and commendable intellectual
pursuits, such a person seems to me
to display perverse and erroneous
judgment.

Carinus Whoever takes care to have a
garden resplendent with flowers
and fruit but neglects to cultivate
the mind with the finest disciplines,
that man, it seems to me, is
clenching his teeth with misdirected
effort.

Eubulus Whoever strives to have a
beautifully tended garden,
resplendent with manifold delights,
but allows his mind to be ugly and
unadorned by the liberal arts, that
man has his aims arsy-versy.

Sbrulius Cui vernat hortus cultus et elegans,
Nec pectus ullis artibus excolit,
Praepostera is cura laborat.
Sit ratio tibi prima mentis.

Parthenius Quisquis accurat, variis ut hortus
Floribus vernet, neque pectus idem
Artibus sanctis colit, hunc habet praepostera cura.

Leonardus Ὧι κῆπός ἐστιν ἄνθεσιν γελῶν καλοῖς,
Ὁ δὲ νοῦς μάλ' αὐχμῶν τοῖς καλοῖς μαθήμασι,
Οὐκ ἔστι κομψός, οὗτος οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονεῖ,
Περὶ πλείονος ποιῶν τὰ φαῦλ' ἢ κρείττονα.

131 From the colloquy Πτωχοπλούσιοι [March 1524]

Hospes, in hac mensa fuerint quum viscera tensa,
Surgere ne properes, ni prius annumeres.

132 From the colloquy *Epithalamium Petri Aegidii*

[c 1514 / September 1524]

Clio

Candida laurigero nubit Cornelia Petro;
Auspiciis adsint numina dextra bonis.

Sbrulius	Whoever has a blooming, well-tended, and elegant garden and a mind uncultivated by the liberal arts, is devoting himself to inverted values. Your first thought should be for the mind.
Parthenius	Whoever takes care that his garden should bloom with different kinds of flowers but does not also cultivate his mind with lofty intellectual pursuits, that man has his priorities upside down.
Leonard	Whoever has a garden smiling with fine flowers but a mind quite dry and devoid of fine learning, he is not refined; such a man does not think straight, placing as he does more value on the trivial than on what is more important.

131 [A sign in the common room of an inn, from the colloquy 'The Well-to-do Beggars']

Guest, at this table, when you have filled your guts till they're ready to burst, don't be in a hurry to get up until you have paid your bill.

132 [An epithalamium for Pieter Gillis, from the colloquy of the same name]

Clio

The dazzling beauty Cornelia is marrying Pieter, crowned with laurel. May the powers above graciously grant them good fortune.

Melpomene

Contingat illis turturum concordia,
Corniculae vivacitas.

Thalia

Ille charitate Gracchum Tiberium praecesserit,
Qui suae vitam anteposuit coniugis Corneliae.

Euterpe

Illa charitate superet coniugem Admeti ducis,
Quae volens mortem mariti morte mutavit sua.

Terpsichore

Ille non flagret leviore flamma,
Attamen fato meliore, quam olim
Plaucius, raptae sociae gravatus
Esse superstes.

Erato

Illa non flagret leviore flamma,
Attamen longe meliore fato,
Casta quam sanctum deamavit olim
Portia Brutum.

Calliope

Sponsum moribus undiquaque sanctis
Nec Nasica probatus antecellat.

Urania

Uxor moribus undiquaque castis
Vincat Sulpiciam Paterculanam.

Polyhymnia

Laudetur simili prole puerpera,

Melpomene

May they be granted the loving harmony of turtle-doves, the long and vigorous life of crows.

Thalia

May his love surpass that of Tiberius Gracchus, who valued the life of his spouse, Cornelia, more than his own.

Euterpe

May her love exceed that of King Admetus' wife, who willingly exchanged her own life for that of her husband.

Terpsichore

May he burn with no lesser flame, but with a happier destiny, than Plautius once did, who could not bear to survive the wife that had been snatched away from him.

Erato

May she burn with no lesser flame, but with a far happier destiny, than chaste Portia once did in her passionate love for the upright Brutus.

Calliope

May the husband's character be so thoroughly upright that even the tried and true Nasica could not outdo him.

Urania

May the wife's character be so thoroughly chaste as to surpass Sulpitia Paterculana.

Polyhymnia

May she be praised for bearing children who

Accrescat domui res simul et decus,
Sed livore vacet, si fieri potest,
Factis egregiis debita gloria.

133 The introit and sequence from *Virginis Matris apud Lauretum cultae liturgia*

[November 1523]

Introitus

Laurus odore iuvat, speciosa virore perhenni,
Sic tua, virgo parens, laus omne virebit in aevum.

Sequentia

Sume nablum, sume citharam, virginum decens chorus.
Virgo mater est canenda virginali carmine,
Vocemque referent accinentes angeli,
Nam virgines amant et ipsi virgines.
Iunget carmina laureata turma,
Vitae prodiga sanguinisque quondam.
Martyr carnificem vincit, et edomat
Carnem virgo: decet laurus et hunc et hanc.
Coelitum plaudet numerosa turba,
Virginem sacram canet omne coelum,
Nato virginis unico
Nulla est cantio gratior.
Ut cedrus inter arbores, quas Lybanus aedit, eminet,
Sic inter omnes coelites virgo refulget nobilis.
Ut inter astra Lucifer emicat,
Sic inter omnes lucida virgines.
Inter cunctorum stellantia lumina florum
Lilia praecellunt candore rosaeque rubore,

resemble her. May their home prosper both in wealth and honour. But, if such a thing is possible, may the glory due to their extraordinary accomplishments provoke no envy.

133 [The introit and sequence from *A Liturgy of the Virgin Mother as She is Venerated at Loreto*]

The Introit

The laurel has a pleasing fragrance and delights the eye with its perennial green. So too, O Virgin Mother, your praise will be forever green.

The Sequence

Take up the harp, take up the lute, O seemly choir of virgins. A hymn to the Virgin Mother should be sung by virgins, and the angels will add their voices, singing along with you, for they love virgins, being virgins themselves.

The band of those who once freely gave up their lives and blood will join the song, wearing their laurel crowns. A martyr conquers those who kill the flesh, and a virgin subdues the flesh itself. Both the one and the other deserve the laurel.

The whole heavenly host will applaud. All heaven will hymn the holy Virgin. To the only son of the Virgin no song is more pleasing.

As the cedar stands tallest among the trees growing on Mount Lebanon, so the noble Virgin shines among all the inhabitants of heaven. As the morning star shines brightest among his fellows, such is the lady of light among all the virgins.

Among all the flowers, bright like stars, the lily is the whitest, the rose the most red: and

Nec gratior ulla corona
Iesu niveae genitrici.
Inter odoriferas non gratior arbor ulla lauro,
Pacifera est, dirimens fera praelia, fulmen arcet ardens,
Baccas habet salubres,
Iugi nitet virore.
Esto, virgo, favens, qui modulis te celebrant piis,
Iram averte dei, ne feriat fulmine noxios.
Laurus esto gaudeasque
Usque Lauretana dici,
Licet in vasti finibus orbis
Plurima passim fumiget ara.

Amen.

134 From *Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem, nullo adversario bellacem*

[c August 1535]

Nihil igitur superest, nisi ut Alvianum inter bellaces deos relatum hoc carmine consalutemus:

Alviane, dii beent
Te qui beasti Oenotriam.

no other crown is more pleasing to the snow-white mother of Jesus.

Among the fragrant trees none is more pleasing than the laurel. It is the tree of peace, putting an end to savage battles. It wards off the fiery thunderbolt; it has healing berries; it is always bright green.

Grant your favour, O Virgin, to those who celebrate you in loving melodies. Turn away God's wrath, lest he strike the guilty with his thunderbolt. Be a laurel and rejoice always in being called the Virgin of Loreto, though many an altar sends up its fragrant fumes throughout the whole wide world.

Amen.

134 [A sarcastic couplet about the Venetian general, Bartolomeo d'Alviano, from Erasmus' *Reply to Pietro Corsi's 'Defence'*]

Therefore all that is left for me to do is to salute Alviano, now that he is taken up among the gods of war, with this poem:

May the gods bless you, Alviano;
you certainly blessed Italy.

POEMS DUBIOUSLY ASCRIBED TO ERASMUS

135 Quum Erasmus et Cornelius inter se carminibus mutuis questi essent de stultitia barbarorum, qui veterum eloquentiam contemnunt et poesim derident, Cornelius tandem inducit divum Hieronimum de poesi colenda sententiam ferentem tanquam sequestrum.

[c May 1489 / 1706]

Hieronimus loquitur.

Iussisti causae sim providus arbiter huius:
Pondera iudicii gratanter suscipe nostri.
Collaudo veterum legisse poemata vatum
Et deridentes acri configere metro.
Ecce per altiloquas currunt Proverbia Musas,
Versibus alludunt Sapiens, Iob, Cantica sponsae,
Concrepat et metricis David sua carmina plectris.
Sed quaedam vicia tibi dico iure cavenda.
Prospice ne maculet damnanda superbia mentem,
Neve pios spernas qui nondum carmina norunt,
Attamen haud vates temnunt, sed amant venerantes.
Si stilus ipse placet, placet et sententia vernans,
In quibus Aoniae renitent (me iudice) Musae,
Non reprobo studium, veniam concedo legenti.

POEMS DUBIOUSLY ASCRIBED TO ERASMUS

135 After Erasmus and Cornelis had complained in alternating strophes about the stupidity of the barbarians who scorn the eloquence of the ancients and deride poetry, Cornelis finally brings in St Jerome as an arbitrator, so to speak, to give his decision about cultivating poetry.

Jerome speaks.

You have required that I should be the prudent arbitrator in this case. Be pleased, then, to accept my well-considered judgment. I think it is praiseworthy to read the poems of the ancients and to satirize with sharp verse those who deride them. See how Proverbs runs the gamut of the grandiloquent Muses, how Wisdom, Job, and the Canticle of the Bride play with poetical lines, and how David renders his songs in metrical rhythm, resounding to the harp. But I say to you that some faults are rightly to be avoided. Watch out that your mind is not stained by damnable pride and that you do not scorn holy men who are not yet familiar with poetry – though they do not condemn poets but venerate and love them. If the style itself is pleasing and pleasure is also to be found in the vigorous content – for in both, if I am any judge, the Aonian Muses shine forth – I have nothing against such studies; I grant permission for such

Dum tamen ex aequo scripturas pondere sacras
Pensans, imo magis venerans, te dedis amori
Pierio, quo vel nitidum tuus induat alto
Scemate sermo stilum, aut Aegipti fulgida tollens
Vasa, pares domino pulchrum aedificare sacellum,
Non culpandus eris, sed laudem laude mereris.
Sic, puto, primitias mellis, quod consona legis
Verba iubent domino devota mente dicare,
Offers et placito placabis munere Christum.
Si tamen iis nimium curas adhibere laborem,
Mel bene libasti, sed sal non apposuisti,
Quo sine nil sapidum acceptumque deo perhibetur.
Musam non damno, sed tantum sobrietatis
Te satis admoneo ne dogmata sacra refutes.
Si quae gesta legis veterum ratione soluta,
Haec vis in numeris pedibusque ligare disertis,
Ingenium veneror et dulci carmine laetor.
Historias imitare sacras quum scribere tentas;
Ornet Musa stilum, scriptura paret tibi sensum.

Cornelius concludit assentiens:

Ieronimi dictis assentio, dulcis Erasme:
Sic faciamus in his quae nutrit amaena poesis.

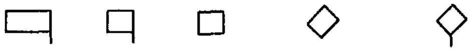
reading. Indeed, as long as you grant equal, nay even greater, emphasis to the study of Holy Scripture, devoting yourselves to the Muses in order to raise your style to a high level of polished expressiveness or to build up and beautify the chapel of the Lord by appropriating the shining vessels of Egypt, you are not to be reproached but rather your praises are to be praised. In this way I think that you offer the first-fruits of the honey which some consonant words in the Law require to be offered to the Lord in a spirit of devotion, and you please Christ with a pleasing gift. But if you expend too much effort and concern on such things, you will have poured out the honey indeed, but you will not have added the salt, without which nothing can be offered to God with an acceptable savour. I do not condemn the Muse, but rather I only urge upon you moderation sufficient to keep you from conflict with sacred dogmas. If you read about the deeds of the ancients written in prose and you desire to reproduce them in the learned confines of metrical composition, I honour your talent and delight in your sweet song. Imitate the histories in Holy Scripture when you try to write; let the Muse elevate your style, let Scripture provide your meaning.

Cornelis concludes by agreeing:

My sweet friend Erasmus, I agree with what Jerome has said. This is the way we should proceed in applying the pleasures provided by poetry.

136 Erasmus cantoribus Maximiliani [1493–4? / 1615]

Ex minimis, vitium, coelum, medicamina, castra,
  Surgit, alit, penetrat, mitigat, exuperat,
Seditio, requies, oratio, coena, favilla,

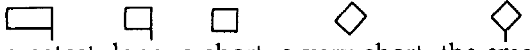


  Maxima, longa, brevis, semibrevis, minima.

137 An epitaph for Hendrik van Bergen, bishop of Cambrai [autumn 1502 / 1853]

Hic premitur tumulo Henricus, cui clara propago
  Bergentum redolet claraque facta magis.
Sidere felici cum natus surgit in annos
  Amplexus studia est libera, iura simul.
Hiisque insignitus lauris perrexit ad urbem,
  Primus et ob merita scriba creatus erat.
Antistesque simul gratus fulsit Cameraci,
  Ut summo ad patrium versus honore solum est.
Dulce refrigerium orbatis luxit viduisque
  Cum populatae edis tum reparator erat.
Celitis hic instar mentem corpusque ferebat
  Intactum maculis, sydera ceu alta petens.
Noverat hic pariter componere faedera regum,
  Velleris aurisoni praeses ob acta fuit.
Sepulchrum Domini, Hesperii quoque templa Iacobi,
  Paulique et visit limina sacra Petri.
Et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extollere ad astra,
  Rumpere et in vocem grandia facta viri?
Hic vir, hic est qui stellifero demissus Olimpo
  Rexit ovesque suas tempore quo illud ait:

136 Erasmus to the singers of Maximilian

From smallest things, vice, heaven, medications, camps,
Arises, nourishes, penetrates, lessens, conquers,
Sedition, idleness, prayer, dinner, spark,

The greatest, long, a short, a very short, the smallest.

137 [An epitaph for Hendrik van Bergen, bishop of Cambrai]

Here, buried in his grave, lies Hendrik, who
emitted and increased the good odour of the
illustrious Bergen lineage. Born under a happy
star, when he grew older he embraced liberal
studies, and also the law. Adorned with these
laurels, he proceeded to the city and because of
his merits he was made the chief clerk. He also
shone as the beloved bishop of Cambrai as
soon as he returned with the highest honours
to his native soil. He grieved with orphans and
widows, providing sweet relief for them, and
he also repaired the ruined church. He
behaved himself in mind and body like a saint
here on earth, untouched by any stain, like one
striving to reach the stars above. He was
equally knowledgeable in drawing up treaties
between kings; because of his accomplishments
he became chancellor of the Golden Fleece. He
visited the sepulchre of the Lord and also the
church of St James in Spain and the sacred
thresholds of Paul and Peter. And are we still
hesitant to praise his virtue to the skies and to
burst into speech to praise the great deeds of
the man? This man, this man sent down from
the starry heavens, ruled his sheep at the time
indicated by this:

eCCe saCerdos MagnVs qVI In dIebVs
sVIs pLaCVIt Deo. 1480
Et referens merita meritis, repetivit ad astra
Inclite ad Hesperia tempore quo sequitur:
et InVentVs est IVstVs.
Ergo si fecere fidem tot tantaque certam,
Degere in ethereis quisque rogate pium.

138 In Europae a monachis subactae picturam, E.R.

[1509? / 1544]

Iuppiter Europam, vera est si fabula, tauri
Lusit mentita callidus effigie.
Quam monachi falsa sub imagine simplicis agni
(Pro pudor, haec non est fabula) nunc subigunt.

139 Ad eandem

[1509? / 1544]

Spurca sacerdotum meretrix, Europa, puella
Inclita quae fueras unius ante Iovis,
Dic, precor, effigies ubi prisca, ubi candida vestis?
Cur luxata modo, cur ita senta iaces?

140 Europa respondet.

[1509? / 1544]

Nonne vides, qui me grex stipat? Hic oris honorem
Abstulit et dotes quas Deus ante dedit:
Foelices Asiae terras Libyesque, procorum
Turba quibus non tam flagitiosa nocet.

Behold the great priest, who pleased God
in the days of his life. 1480
And so, acquiring what he had earned through his merits, he returned gloriously to the western stars at the time indicated by this:
And he was found to be just.
Therefore, if so many and such great achievements are firmly believed in, let everyone beg that this pious man may live in heaven.

138 On a picture of Europa assaulted by monks, E.R.

Jupiter cleverly deceived Europa, if the fable is true, by disguising himself as a bull. Nowadays the monks assault her under the false appearance of innocent lambs, and that – alas, what a shame – is no fable.

139 To the same person

You dirty whore of the priests, Europa, you were once the renowned sweetheart of Jupiter alone. Tell me, I beg you, where are the looks you had then? Where is your white robe? Why are you now so disjointed, why are you lying there so ragged?

140 Europa replies.

Don't you see what a crowd of them is hemming me in? That is what has taken away my fine appearance and the gifts which God once gave me, the prosperous lands of Asia and Africa, which are ravaged by a mob of suitors who are not so outrageous [as the priests are to me].

141 In eundem Iulium II Ligurem [November 1511? / 1901]

O medice verpe, cui vel uni Iulius,
Caput atque princeps Christiani nominis,
Vitam ac salutem contuendam credidit,
Quod belle Hebraeo conveniat et ebrio,
Dic per sacrum illum Messyan Callipedem,
Quid, iam tot annos dissipato podici
Atque ulceroso dum mederis inguini,
Et artem et operam ludis, infoelix, tuam?
Quin tu malis obnoxium furiis caput
Sanas vel herba, si quae nascitur magis
Potens veratro, sive magico carmine?
Valere utroque gentis est dos ac tua.
Quod si via quacumque peste tam gravi
Orbem levaveris, grata perenni vice
Plebs Christiana publicis precabitur,
Recutite, votis mentulam tibi integram.

142 Chorus porcorum [July 1519]

Nos portamus ad sepulchrum
Unam Musam quod videtur nobis pulchrum,
Quae est causa maxima
Quod sophistica nunc dicitur pessima.
Propterea volunt eam magistri nostri sepelire
Nec eius defensionem audire,
Et ideo dicunt eum esse hereticam,
Quia spernit theologiam peripateticam,
Quam incipiunt nunc eciam contemnere isti moderniores,
Cum tamen hec sola confundit hereticos contumaciores.

141 On the same Ligurian, Julius II

O circumcised physician, the one and only doctor to whom Julius, the chief and prince of the Christian domain, entrusts the care of his life and health (because there is a good fit between a Hebrew and an inebriate), tell me, by that holy Messiah of yours who is forever on his way but never gets anywhere, tell me, unhappy man, why are you fooling away both your skill and your labour, trying to cure an asshole that has been spread around for so many years and a groin full of sores? Why don't you try instead to cure a head plagued by the wicked Furies, either with an herb (if any can be found that is stronger than hellebore) or some magical incantation? To do both of these well is the gift of your race and of you personally. But if you should relieve the world of this plague in any way at all, the Christian people in their gratitude will forever offer up public prayers, my circumcised fellow, that you might have a whole dick.

142 [The chorus of the Porkers]

We are carrying an Muse to a grave, which seems to us pretty, who is the greatest reason why sophistic is nowadays said to be the worst. For that reason Our Learned Professors want to bury her and won't hear her defence. And therefore they say that her is a heretic because she spurns peripatetic theology, which these moderns also are now beginning to scorn, when in fact it is the only thing that confounds contumacious heretics.

143 An epitaph for Nicolaas Baechem of Egmond

[November–December 1526 / 1635]

Hic iacet Egmondus, telluris inutile pondus,
  Dilexit rabiem, non habeat requiem.

144 Upon hearing of the death of John Fisher and Thomas More

[August 1535 / 1611]

Henrici laudes vis versu claudier uno,
  Eque Mida facias eque Nerone virum.

143 [An epitaph for Nicolaas Baechem of Egmond]

Here lies the man from Egmond, a useless weight on the ground. He loved to rage; may he never find rest.

144 [Upon hearing of the death of John Fisher and Thomas More]

If you want the praises of Henry to be summed up in one verse, combine Midas and Nero into one man.

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98	Magistro Enghelberto Leydensi	summer 1489?
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28	In fronte libelli dono missi episcopo Atrebatensi	autumn 1503
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64	Illustrissimo principi Philippo foeliciter in patriam redeunti	c February 1504
35	Agit carmine gratias pro misso munere	1505–6
37	Libellus dono missus	1 January 1506?
65	Ad R.P. Guilhelmum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem	January 1506
8	Arx vulgo dicta Hammensis	June 1506?
2	Carmen de senectutis incommodis	August 1506
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Index of Metres

In Allen I 3:19–20 / CWE Ep 1341A:69–70 Erasmus boasts that there is no form of poetry that he did not attempt. The following table, which lists the metrical patterns of his extant verses, shows that he came as close as any poet to exhausting the metrical possibilities of classical Latin verse. Of the metrical combinations here listed one is unparalleled: a dactylic hexameter followed by a catalectic iambic dimeter, used in the 'Poem about the troubles of old age' (2).

The numerals refer to the poems and, where necessary, the lines. Greek poems are marked with an asterisk.

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Index of Medieval and Neo-Latin Words

This index lists words that occur neither in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* nor in Forcellini's *Lexicon totius Latinitatis*. Words that are found in dictionaries of medieval Latin, in the sense indicated here, are marked with an asterisk.

References to Erasmus' poems are by poem and line number. References which are preceded by 4d indicate line numbers of Erasmus' dedicatory letter to Prince Henry printed before poem 4; those preceded by F indicate line numbers of Froben's preface to the *Epigrammata* of 1518; those preceded by P indicate line numbers of Erasmus' preface to poems 94–7; and those preceded by S indicate line numbers of Snoy's preface to poems 93–7.

*altiloquus, -a, -um, *grandiloquent*: 135.5
Amerbachius, -a, -um, *of Amerbach*: 70.2
*archigrammateus, *chief secretary*: 54 heading
*Argentinensis urbs, *Strasbourg*: 54 heading
*Ariensis, -e, *of Aire*: 68 heading
*audientiarius, *audiencer*: 75.3
aurisonus, -a, -um, *golden*: 137.14

Baptistinianicus, -a, -um, *of or belonging to Baptista Mantuanus*: F 23
Berganus (Berghanus), -a, -um, *of Bergen*: 40.1; 62.4
Bergicus, -a, -um, *of Bergen*: 39.1; 62.12
Bernardinus, -a, -um, *of Bernard André of Toulouse*: 67.3
Bertinicus, -a, -um, *of St Bertin monastery*: 62.13
*blandisonus, -a, -um, *sweet-sounding*: 93.70, 118
*Burgundus, -a, -um, *Burgundian, of Burgundy*: 120.37

*canonicus regularis, *canon regular*: S 2, 7
*Cantuariensis, e, *of Canterbury*: 65 heading
Chaldi = Chaldaei: 110.336
Christophilus, -a, -um, *Christ-loving*: 88.42
*clericulus, *clerk, cleric*: 128.5
*Cluniacensis, -e, *Cluniac, of Cluny*: 60 heading
*Cluniacus, -a, -um, *Cluniac, of Cluny*: 60.5
*confundo, *confound, confute*: 142.10
Croicus, -a, -um, *of Croy*: 66.1

*divario, -are, *gain variety*: 67.4
*dux, *duke*: 4d heading; 4d:1; 4d:43; 14 heading; 15.1; 66 heading

Faustinus, -a, -um, *of Fausto Andrelini*: F 23; 6 heading; 6.59
*fescenini versus, *lullaby*: 4.140

*Gandavensis, e, *of Ghent*: 86 heading
Gandicus, -a, -um, *of Ghent*: 86.3
Gedeoniacus, -a, -um, *of Gideon*: 120.23

*Hammensis, e, *of Hammes castle*: 8 heading

Iacobaeus, -a, -um, *of James*: 40.5
*inclite, *gloriously*: 137.24
incogitanter, *thoughtlessly*: 2.174
irreclusus, -a, -um, *unopened*: 110.97
irrudo, -ere, *bray*: 128.11

Lalaingicus, -a, -um, *of Lalaing*: 66.1
Latinicus, -a, -um, *Latin*: 128.4
ludo, *prefigure (praeludo)*: 110.80

Marullicus, -a, -um, *of or belonging to Michael Marullus*: F 24
moricanus, -a, -um, *descanting on moral matters*: 93.61
*mutuo, *lend*: 50.91

*nymbrifer, -era, -erum, *rain-laden*: 100.42; 104.8

oblectaculum, *allurement*: 124.5
*omniiugus, -a, -um, *all sorts of*: 67.4

*pabulo, are = pabulor: 8.16
paedagogulus, *petty schoolmaster*: F 21
Philisteus, -a, -um, *Philistine*: 96.37
plumifer, -a, -um, *feathered*: 93.135
*protectrix, *protectress*: 88.4

*rhythmus, *rhythmical hymn*: 1 heading
*Rubeaquensis, -e, *of Rouffach*: 57 heading

*semibrevis, -e, *very short, semibreve (in musical notation)*: 136.4
*sesquiannus, *a year and a half*: F 8
sesquidies, *a day and a half*: 59.9
simeus, -a, -um = simus, -a, -um: 102.4
*sophistica, *sophistic, scholastic theology*: 142.4
Steynicus, -a, -um, *of Steyn monastery*: S 2, 7, 9
Swollensis, -e, *of Zwolle*: 128.1, 4
supposco, -ere, *secretly ask*: S 16
*synaxis, *Eucharist*: 49.44

*temptor = contemptor: 107.10
themation, *a little set speech*: 97 heading
Theutonicalis, -e, *German, Dutch*: 128.1
*Traiectensis, -e, *of Utrecht*: 14 heading
*typographus, *printer*: P 2
*typus, *printing type*: F 4; 126.2

*vecorditer, *foolishly*: 2.121
vesperus = vesper: 103.3
volumen, *heavenly sphere*: 49.3

Walsingamicus, -a, -um, *of Walsingham*: 51 heading

Zasianus, -a, -um, *of Ulrich Zasius*: 92.12

Tables of Corresponding Numbers

These tables give the corresponding numbers of Erasmus' poems in C. Reedijk's edition (Leiden 1956) and the CWE edition.

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Reedijk	CWE
1	102
2	99
3	100
4	101
5	103
6	109
7	104
8	105
9	106
10	13
11	98
12	113
13	114
14	93
15	135
16	36
17	107
18	108
19	110
20	111
21	112
22	1
23	94
24	95
25	96
26	97
27	19.1–2
28	19.3–4

TABLE II

CWE	Reedijk
1	22
2	83
3	97
4	45
5	38
6	39
7	40
8	82
9	29
10	30
11	31
12	73
13	10
14	41
15	42
16	62
17	63
18	61
19	27–8
20	50–7
21	58
22	59
23	60
24	68
25	69
26	70
27	71
28	75

Reedijk	CWE
29	9
30	10
31	11
32	38
33	42
34	50.1–96
35	50.97–156
36	50.157–80
37	50.181–252
38	5
39	6
40	7
41	14
42	15
43	30
44	116
45	4
46	115
47	117
48	37
49	33
50	20.1–4
51	20.5–6
52	20.7–8
53	20.9–10
54	20.11–12
55	20.13–14
56	20.15–16
57	20.17–18
58	21
59	22
60	23
61	18
62	16
63	17
64	39
65	40
66	62
67	29
68	24
69	25
70	26
71	27
72	34
73	12
74	41

CWE	Reedijk
29	67
30	43
31	76
32	77
33	49
34	72
35	81
36	16
37	48
38	32
39	64
40	65
41	74
42	33
43	85
44	88
45	90
46	86
47	87
48	89
49	94
50	34–7
51	92
52	84
53	98
54	95
55	96
56	91
57	101
58	93
59	102
60	99
61	103
62	66
63	79
64	78
65	80
66	104
67	Not in Reedijk
68	106
69	107
70	108
71	113
72	114
73	116
74	117

Reedijk	CWE	CWE	Reedijk
75	28	75	120
76	31	76	118
77	32	77	119
78	64	78	121
79	63	79	122
80	65	80	125
81	35	81	123
82	8	82	124
83	2	83	126
84	52	84	127
85	43	85	128
86	46	86	129
87	47	87	130
88	44	88	131
89	48	89	132
90	45	90	133
91	56	91	134
92	51	92	135
93	58	93	14
94	49	94	23
95	54	95	24
96	55	96	25
97	3	97	26
98	53	98	11
99	60	99	2
100	118	100	3
101	57	101	4
102	59	102	1
103	61	103	5
104	66	104	7
105	120	105	8
106	68	106	9
107	69	107	17
108	70	108	18
109	122	109	6
110	123	110	19
111	124	111	20
112	125	112	21
113	71	113	12
114	72	114	13
115	126	115	46
116	73	116	44
117	74	117	47
118	76	118	100
119	77	119	Appendix II-2
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Reedijk	CWE
121	78
122	79
123	81
124	82
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130	Appendix I-4
131	Appendix I-5
132	Appendix I-2
133	Appendix I-6
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135	15
136	Not in Reedijk
137	Not in Reedijk
138	Appendix II-1 (a)
139	Appendix II-1 (b)
140	Appendix II-1 (c)
141	Not in Reedijk
142	Appendix II-3
143	Appendix II-4
144	Appendix II-5

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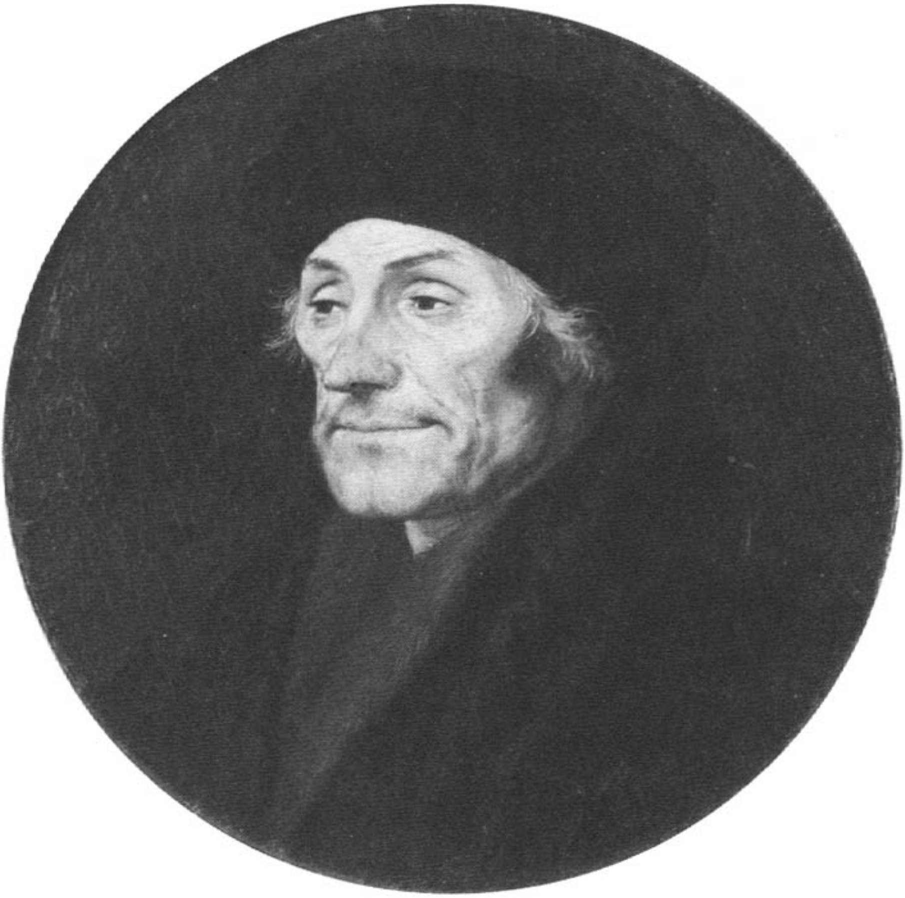

Erasmus in 1531–2
Portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger
Kupferstichkabinett, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel

COLLECTED WORKS OF
ERASMUS

POEMS

translated by Clarence H. Miller

edited and annotated by Harry Vredeveld

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Notes

Works cited frequently in these volumes are referred to in the notes in abbreviated form only. A list of the abbreviations, with full bibliographical information, is given in the list of works frequently cited (pages 736–40).

For bibliographical information about the post-classical primary works cited in the commentary see the index of patristic, medieval, and Renaissance references (pages 766–79). For Erasmus' writings see the short-title list on pages 741–4. References to his correspondence cite epistle and line number in both Allen and CWE. Where the letters have not yet been translated in CWE or where the reference is to Erasmus' own wording, Allen's Latin text is cited. References to Erasmus' poetry are to the poem and line numbers in CWE 85. References to his prose works in CWE and ASD are to volume, page, and line numbers. Translations of Erasmus' works in earlier volumes have on occasion been tacitly modified in the notes.

The following symbols have been used in the lemmata:

1/ A dash (–) indicates 'from ... to'; the words omitted are to be supplied by the reader.

2/ Suspension points (...) signify that the words omitted are to be ignored for the purposes of the note.

3/ An equal sign (=) means that the Latin or Greek words in the lemma occupy the same metrical position in the verse as the words referred to in the note.

Introduction

1 Allen Ep 23:37–9 / CWE Ep 23:39–42
2 Allen I 3:16–18 / CWE Ep 1341A:66–8
3 Allen I 2:31–2 and Ep 1110:4–5 / CWE Epp 1341A:43–4 and 1110:7

4 Allen I 2:29–32 / CWE Ep 1341A:42–5. See also Allen Epp 47:20–1 and 1110:1–19 / CWE Epp 47:23–4 and 1110:3–23.

5 *Compendium vitae* Allen I 47:19–48:24 / CWE 4 404:23–30. Some of these biographical details were confirmed by Giuseppe Avarucci 'Due codici scritti da "Gerardus Helye" padre di Erasmo' *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 26 (1983) 215–55.

6 *Compendium vitae* Allen I 49:58–9 / CWE 4 406:65–6

7 *Compendium vitae* Allen I 48:36–40 / CWE 4 404:42–405:47; and Allen I 2:20–7 / CWE Ep 1341A:31–8. See also Beatus Rhenanus' letter to Charles V, Allen I 57:11–32. For an admirable survey of the development of Netherlandish humanism see Jozef IJsewijn 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries' in *Itinerarium Italicum* ed Heiko A. Oberman and Thomas A. Brady jr (Leiden 1975) 193–301.

8 *Compendium vitae* Allen I 49:46–51 / CWE 4 405:52–7

9 Richard L. DeMolen *The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam* (Nieuwkoop 1987) accepts at face value the self-serving stories of the letter to Grunnius (Ep 447) and the *Compendium vitae*. The 'premise' of his book is that Erasmus was born in 1469 and entered the monastery at Steyn as a postulant at age sixteen, in 1485–6. But DeMolen's reasoning is not borne out by historical evidence. Erasmus was born in 1466; see Vredeveld 'Ages.' He was twenty years old when he entered the monastery as a postulant in mid-1487 and twenty-two when he took his vows in late 1488.

10 Allen Ep 447:317–18 / CWE Ep 447:347; *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 80:92–120 / CWE 66 170–1. For the traditional image of the monastery as a 'garden of delights' see R. Bultot 'Erasme, Epicure et le "De contemptu mundi"' *Scrinium* II 220–5.

11 For an idea of the range of authors in the Steyn monastery library see Allen Ep 447:315 / CWE Ep 447:344; *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 80:96–108 / CWE 66 170–1. A good many of the authors mentioned in Allen Ep 20:97–101 / CWE Ep 20:97–9 and Ep 23 must also have been at Steyn. See also Hyma *Youth* 164–6.

12 See Allen Ep 447:346–9 / CWE Ep 447:378–81; Allen I 70:540–1.

13 Allen Ep 447:352–4 / CWE Ep 447:385–7

14 Erasmus identifies him in Allen Ep 296:14–15 / CWE Ep 296:15–16.

15 See Allen Ep 4:5–14 / CWE Ep 4:6–15. J.K. Sowards 'The Youth of Erasmus: Some Reconsiderations' ERSY 9 (1989) 18 n76 reminds us that we know nothing about the house rules at Steyn. But such a rule was in effect 'at Sion near Delft, the head of the congregation of which Steyn was a priory' (CWE Ep 3 headnote). At Sion the monks were allowed to converse only on Sundays and feast-days; see Eelko Ypma *Het Generaal Kapittel van Sion* (Nijmegen 1949) 100.

16 Allen Ep 23:5 / CWE Ep 23:6–7

17 Allen Ep 447:320–1 / CWE Ep 447:350–1

18 Allen Ep 23:40–1 / CWE Ep 23:42–3

19 See for example Allen Epp 12:7–9, 14:2–4, 20:61–73, and 23:1–46 / CWE Epp 12:8–9, 14:3–5, 20:61–73, and 23:2–48.

20 Allen Ep 3:33–5 / CWE Ep 3:37–40

21 See Epp 13 and 15.

22 *De ratione studii* ASD I-2 139:5–9 and 142:7–12 / CWE 24 683:25–685:2 and 686:26–34
23 Allen Ep 23:69–70 / CWE Ep 23:71–2
24 ASD I-1 38:9–39:2 / CWE 23 19:13n
25 Allen Ep 49:21–3 / CWE Ep 49:26–8
26 Allen I 57:32–8
27 See Allen Epp 19:6 and 23:111–13 / CWE Epp 19:5–6 and 23:117–18. Part of the heading was written in Greek characters.
28 Cf Allen Ep 22:1–3 / CWE Ep 22:2–4, referring to the *Apologia*: 'My sweet Cornelis, I am eternally grateful to you for your kindness, for I see you are so attached to me that you have taken great care to furnish me with a dart, as you put it, to transfix those who scoff at me.'
29 For the authorship of the *Conflictus* see the headnote on poem 128.
30 Allen Ep 16:31–2 / CWE Ep 16:33–4
31 Reasons for the redating of Ep 28 are given in the headnote on poem 50.
32 Allen Ep 28:8–17 / CWE Ep 28:8–16
33 Allen I 3:30–4:2 / CWE Ep 1341A:81–91
34 For the date of composition of the dialogue see C.G. van Leijenhorst 'A Note on the Date of the "Antibarbari"' *Erasmus in English* 11 (1981–2) 7.
35 Allen Ep 39:135–6 / CWE Ep 39:148–9
36 Allen Ep 93:101–2 / CWE Ep 93:112–13
37 Allen Ep 95:20–1 / CWE Ep 95:23–4
38 See the headnote on poem 110.
39 On Erasmus' development from *poeta* and *declamator* into a philologist-theologian see Jozef IJsewijn 'Erasmus ex poeta theologus sive de litterarum instauratarum apud Hollandos incunabulis' in *Scrinium* I 375–84 and Erika Rummel *Erasmus' "Annotations" on the New Testament: From Philologist to Theologian* (Toronto 1986) 3–18. Cf Allen Epp 138:44–8 and 181:24–6 / CWE Epp 138:49–54 and 181:29–31, dated 11 December 1500 and c December 1504 respectively, where Erasmus tells first Jacob Batt and then John Colet that only a shortage of cash prevents him from devoting himself wholly to sacred literature, as he hopes to do shortly. The shifting of Erasmus' priorities was obviously constrained by financial worries. He had to secure a living first through his secular writings.
40 Allen Ep 176:6: *quid enim molestius quam alieno scribere stomacho?* In CWE Ep 176:8 this phrase is translated as 'using one's pen to express other men's anger'; but there is no question here of 'other men's anger.' Erasmus says it is tiresome business 'to write against one's own inclinations.' Cf Jerome, preface to Origen's homilies on Luke (PL 26 229–30): *molestam rem et tormento similem alieno, ut ait Tullius, stomacho et non suo scribere.* In Allen Ep 181:52–3 Erasmus uses the same phrase *alieno scripsi stomacho*; here CWE Ep 181:60 translates: 'I wrote them almost against the grain.'
41 Allen I 44:25–7 / CWE Ep 1341A:1747–9
42 See Nicolaas van der Blom '*Remitte exemplar epistole ad Copum*: On Allen, Epistle 2509' ERSY 5 (1985) 62.
43 See *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 258:256–63, in particular 258:260–3: *Siquidem vera poesis nihil aliud est quam ex omnium disciplinarum delitiis ac medullis condita placenta aut, ut melius dicam, ex electissimis quibusque flosculis compositum*

mellificium. The first of these two images was later used in Thomas Nashe *The Anatomie of Absurditie* in Ronald B. McKerrow ed *The Works of Thomas Nashe* (Oxford 1904; repr 1958) I 26: '... neither is there almost any poeticall fygment, wherein there is not some thing comprehended, taken out either of Histories, or out of the Phisicks or Ethicks; wher vpon *Erasmus Roterdamus* very wittilie termes Poetry, a daintie dish seasoned with delights of euery kind of discipline.'

44 On the ancient theory of *furor poeticus*, the poet's divine frenzy, see the commentary on poem 6.4 below. The Platonic doctrine was revived in the Italian Renaissance. See Marsilio Ficino *De divino furore* in *Opera omnia* (Basel 1576; repr Turin 1962) I 612–15; Angelo Poliziano *Sylvae* 4.146–69.

45 See the commentary on poem 2.97–8 below.

46 Cf Erasmus' commentary on this passage in *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 625:16–20 / CWE 28 367–8.

47 See G.W. Pigman 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance' *Renaissance Quarterly* 23 (1980) 1–32; Thomas M. Greene *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven 1982) 1–53; and Arthur F. Kinney *Continental Humanist Poetics* (Amherst 1989) 3–45.

48 *Epistolae* book 7 in *Omnia opera Angeli Politiani* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio 1498) sig i6^v

49 *De copia* ASD I-6 34:168–76 / CWE 24 303:17–27; Quintilian 10.5.2–11. See also Erasmus *De ratione studii* ASD I-2 131:5–132:15 / CWE 24 679:7–25.

50 Cf *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 625:30–2 / CWE 28 368: 'If we want to be successful in our imitation of Cicero, the first thing must be to conceal our imitation of Cicero.'

51 See *Selections from the Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser* ed S.K. Heninger jr (Boston 1970) 8.

52 Erasmus uses the metre, with similar intent, also in poem 122, on the concord between Charles V and Henry VIII.

53 See the commentary on poem 4.57–8 and 4.63 below.

54 See D.F.S. Thomson 'The Latinity of Erasmus' in *Erasmus* ed T.A. Dorey (London 1970) 115–37. Cf Erasmus' self-characterization in *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 681:14–16 / CWE 28 425: 'He doesn't even set out to write in Ciceronian style, being quite prepared to use words invented by theologians, and sometimes even words of very low origins.'

55 *De copia* ASD I-6 34:179–81 / CWE 24 303:30–3; see also *De ratione studii* ASD I-2 116:18–119:8 / CWE 24 669:31–672:2.

56 ASD I-2 703:27–9 / CWE 28 440

57 Allen Ep 2611:17–20

58 Allen Ep 47:77–81 / CWE Ep 47:84–8, the dedicatory epistle to *De casa natalitia Iesu*. Erasmus always felt that the ideal style for his temperament and purpose was a kind of middle flight between the colloquial-unlearned style and the majestic-learned – the style of Horace, not just of the *Odes* but also of the *Satires* and *Epistles*. See for instance Allen Ep 283:92–5 / CWE Ep 283:108–12: 'Some would have it that a poem is not a poem unless you summon up all the gods in turn from sky, sea, and land, and cram hundreds of legendary tales into it. I myself have always liked verse that was not far removed from prose, albeit prose of the first order.' See also *De*

conscribendis epistolis ASD I-2 221:9–11 / CWE 25 18, where he advocates 'learned simplicity of speech, which in my view frequently has more artistry than the most elaborate syntax.'

59 LB V 594D

60 As Eckart Schäfer suggests in 'Erasmus und Horaz' *Antike und Abendland* 16 (1970) 54–5. Chomarat I 402–3 makes the same suggestion.

61 See *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 648–9, critical apparatus to lines 19–20 / CWE 28 397–8; also *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 92:9 / CWE 23 69:21–2: 'Who ever disagreed with giving Virgil the palm among the poets?' See further: Jean-Claude Margolin 'Erasme, lecteur et exégète de Virgile' in *Présence de Virgile: Actes du Colloque des 9, 11 et 12 décembre 1976 (Paris E.N.S., Tours)* ed R. Chevallier (Paris 1978) 289–304; repr in Margolin *Erasme: le prix des mots et de l'homme* (London 1986) article 1.

62 See Maria Cytowska 'Homer bei Erasmus' *Philologus* 118 (1974) 143–57; also the commentary note on poem 2.135 below.

63 Allen Ep 20:97–100 / CWE Ep 20:97–8

64 ASD I-2 116:3–4 / CWE 24 669:14

65 ASD I-2 624:4–6 and 658:21–2 / CWE 28 366 and 410

66 Allen Ep 49:85–90 / CWE Ep 49:100–4

67 Allen Ep 49:92–6 / CWE Ep 49:107–11. In CWE 1 the phrase *vernaculis opibus splendescere* is understood to mean 'treated brilliantly in vernacular works.' Erasmus, however, is not referring to works written in the vernacular (= *vernaculis operibus*) but to native, Egyptian, pagan treasures. As he does explicitly in the next sentence, he is already here alluding to the topos of *spoliatio Aegyptiorum* 'despoiling the Egyptians.' For the phrase *vernaculis opibus* in this context, cf *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 117:5–6 and *Enchiridion* LB V 25F: *Aegyptias opes; Antibarbari* ASD I-1 129:18: *ethnicis opibus; Enchiridion* LB V 66B: *exoticis opibus*. See also the commentary on poem 93.174 below.

68 *De ratione studii* ASD I-2 124:3–4 / CWE 24 675:5–6. See also Allen Ep 1885:127–9; *Virginis et martyris comparatio* LB V 594D; *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 701:7–8 / CWE 28 437; *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 176:183–4; *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 268:465–6; and *In Prudentium*. Erasmus borrows most frequently from the lyrics in *Cathemerinon*, less frequently from his *Psychomachia, Apotheosis*, and *Amartigenia*.

69 See Allen Ep 49:96–104 / CWE Ep 49:111–20; cf *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 700:27–9 / CWE 28 437.

70 In Allen Ep 145:10–11 / CWE Ep 145:14–15 he mentions the poem in the same breath with Mantuanus' *Parthenice Mariana*.

71 Erasmus speaks highly of both Agricola and Hegius in Allen Ep 23:56–63 / CWE Ep 23:57–65 and quotes from a poem by 'our Hegius' in *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 66:714–15 / CWE 66 158. He again praises both of them in *Adagia* I iv 39 and *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 682:8–683:11 / CWE 28 425–6; see also *Adagia* II ii 81, quoting from Hegius. He does minimize his debts to these men in his bitter work *Spongia* ASD IX-1 196:786–8, but insists nevertheless that he has been unstinting in praising them.

72 ASD I-2 681:16–18 / CWE 28 425

73 See poem 54 and headnote.

74 Allen Ep 27:42–5 / CWE Ep 27:44–7

75 *De copia* ASD I-6 50:487–8 / CWE 24 318:17–18; Allen Ep 1581:87–8

76 See Vredeveld 'Traces.'

77 See the commentary on poem 42.

78 See the commentary on poem 4.33–4 and 4.37–41.

79 Melanchthon is reported to have read the poem with great delight and urged young people to commit it to memory. See Jacobus Monaw, introduction to his edition of the poem (Görlitz 1595, sig A2^r): *Audivi praeterea ab amicis sanctissimi viri Philippi Melanchtonis, eum saepenumero solitum iisdem [versibus] sese oblectare, quin etiam adolescentibus ad eos legendos et memoriae mandandos hortatorem fuisse.*

80 See the commentary on poem 2.45, 2.57, and 2.95. For his praise of the 'Poem on the troubles of old age' see *Elegiae* 3.18.29–32:

Quin et Erasmiacae carmen quoque lene senectae
  Exhibuit, Flaccus quale sonare solet,
Quale sua natum cupiant et in urbe Quirites,
  Quale canit tremulo gutture blandus olor.

81 Allen Ep 283:98–100 / CWE Ep 283:116–18

82 Allen Ep 27:32–45 / CWE Ep 27:33–47

83 See Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 270:851 / CWE 24 648:15–16. For a compendium of classical rhetorical theory see Lausberg. For an introduction to the history and importance of rhetoric in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance see Curtius ELLM; R.R. Bolgar *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries from the Carolingian Age to the End of the Renaissance* (New York 1964) 28–40, 210–15, 266–75; Gert Ueding and Bernd Steinbrink *Grundriß der Rhetorik: Geschichte. Technik. Methode* 2nd ed (Stuttgart 1986); Brian Vickers *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford 1988). The place of rhetoric in Erasmus' works is discussed authoritatively in Chomarat *Grammaire.*

84 *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 311:6–8 / CWE 25 71

85 *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 311:1–3 / CWE 25 71

86 *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 311:3–6 / CWE 25 71. For an account of demonstrative theory and poetry during the Renaissance see Hardison *Monument;* and A. Leigh DeNeef 'Epideictic Rhetoric and the Renaissance Lyric' *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1973) 203–31. See further John W. O'Malley *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1521* (Durham 1979). The demonstrative class was the most encompassing; whatever did not clearly fit into the other two classes tended to be put here; see O'Malley *Praise and Blame* 39.

87 See Lausberg 243–7 and, for example, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.6.10–3.8.15.

88 For *ethos* and *pathos* as rhetorical terms in the sense used here see Quintilian 6.2.8–20; cf Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 276:7–12 / CWE 24 654:7–13; *Vita Hieronymi* Ferguson *Opuscula* 186:1404–5 / CWE 61 57–8.

89 Allen Ep 999:264–5 / CWE Ep 999:287–9. See also, for instance, Allen Ep 1211:44–50 / CWE Ep 1211:49–56, of John Colet.

90 *De ratione studii* ASD I-2 116:18–119:8 / CWE 24 669:31–672:2; *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 71:8–13 / CWE 26 339–40; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2

496:6–498:15 / CWE 25 194–5; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 647–9; and *Ecclesiastes* LB V 955C–956B. For a thorough history of mnemonics see Frances A. Yates *The Art of Memory* (1966; 3rd impression Chicago 1974); for Erasmus' views see Jean-Claude Margolin 'Erasme et Mnémosyne' *Recherches Erasmiennes* (Geneva 1969) 70–84.

91 On this sort of opening, which gives a summary of the theme, see Erasmus *In Nucem Ovidii commentarius* ASD I-1 147:11–150:3 / CWE 29 129–33. He cites Ovid *Amores* 1.9.1–2 as an example of a *propositio* that is subsequently amplified rhetorically in the poem itself: 'Every lover is a soldier, and Cupid commands an army of his own; Atticus, believe me, every lover is a soldier.'

92 *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 343:12–13 / CWE 25 90

93 Cf *Ecclesiastes* LB V 991D–F.

94 See *De copia* ASD I-6 250:306 / CWE 24 627:26.

95 In *De copia* ASD I-6 252:334–5 / CWE 24 628:29–629:2 Erasmus quotes Virgil *Aeneid* 4.2 *et caeco carpitur igni* as an example of a half-hidden adage expressed in full as *tectus magis aestuat ignis* (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.64).

96 *De copia* ASD I-6 252:344–5 / CWE 24 629:12–14

97 Reedijk 122

98 Reedijk 146

99 ASD V-4 440:804–6

100 Cf *Apologia adversus Petrum Sutorem* LB IX 747A, where the figure is explained as 'killing Goliath with his own sword.' See *Adagia* I i 51; and for example Allen Ep 39:57–8 / CWE Ep 39:63–4 and *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 105:21–2 / CWE 23 84:32–3. The same rhetorical figure underlies the much-discussed passage of *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 73:926–76:17 / CWE 66 165–8, in which monastic life is praised because it best fulfils Epicurus' doctrine that we should pursue pleasure: not the false pleasures of the flesh, but the true pleasures of mind and soul. Cf R. Bultot 'Erasme, Epicure et le "De contemptu mundi"' in *Scrinium* II 205–38.

101 See Alcuin *Carmina* 80; Enea Silvio *Letters* 37 in Rudolf Wolkan ed *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini* Fontes rerum Austriacarum 2nd ser 61 (Vienna 1909) I-1 112–14. The argument was proverbial; see Walther 5837, 5853, 5872–9a.

102 Allen Ep 15:60–3 / CWE Ep 15:63–7. For *adstrue formae* in Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.119 Erasmus read *instrue formam*; in this he follows a different manuscript tradition.

103 Allen Ep 16:27–35 / CWE Ep 16:29–37

104 Allen Ep 56:63–5 / CWE Ep 56:74–6. For other instances of the inverted *carpe diem* argument see *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 239:11–240:16 / CWE 25 29–30; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 358:465–7.

105 *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 74:27–75:3 / CWE 26 343

106 See the headnote on poem 2.

107 See n79 above.

108 See Ernst-Wilhelm Kohls 'Petrarca und Erasmus' in *Reformation und Humanismus: Robert Stupperich zum 65. Geburtstag* ed M. Greschat and J.F.G. Goeters (Witten 1969) 229–32, 'Meditatio mortis chez Pétrarque et Erasme' in

Colloquia Erasmiana Turonensia 2 vols (Toronto 1972) I 306–7, and *Theologie* I 23 and II 42.

109 Reedijk 122

110 See 94.93–6, where Erasmus writes: 'What is the reason that the ears of stupid mortals are blocked? I have puzzled it out; now my eyes see it clearly. It is this: they hold out for themselves the idea that they can deceive cruel death; they hope that the days of their lives can go on forever.'

111 Karl August Meissinger *Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Berlin 1948) 115 omits the introductory six and a half lines in his paraphrasing translation of the poem.

112 ASD I-2 433:24–6 / CWE 25 149

113 See ASD V-4 332:146–54. That Erasmus, like Boethius, sets out by wearing a mask in this poem ought to be self-evident. As a man about to take his doctorate in theology, as author of *De contemptu mundi, Enchiridion,* and numerous inverted *carpe diem* exhortations in prose and verse, he certainly had not wallowed in lethargy or failed to meditate on old age and death. See Ernst-Wilhelm Kohls '"Ubi sunt qui ante nos in mundo fuere?" Zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte eines Vergänglichkeits-Topos und zu seinem Gebrauch bei Erasmus von Rotterdam' in *Reformatio und Confessio: Festschrift für D. Wilhelm Maurer* ed F.W. Kantzenbach and G. Müller (Berlin 1965) 30–2. Also see the commentary on poem 2.211–30.

114 In Allen Ep 337:86–120 / CWE Ep 337:93–128 Erasmus tells Maarten van Dorp that his purpose in *The Praise of Folly* is to cure fools of their delusions by insinuating himself into their minds through the paradoxical persona of Folly. The book's underlying purpose, he explains, is the same as that of the *Enchiridion.* The two works differ only in the persona, not in the message. In other words, the *Enchiridion* is to *The Praise of Folly* as the hortatory elegies 94–6 are to the 'Poem on the troubles of old age.'

115 Cf Chomarat II 797.

116 Virgil *Georgics* 3.284–5

117 The second main part of the poem will in its turn try to raise the readers' hopes in order to stimulate them to change their ways. For the use of the polar emotions fear and hope in exhortations see *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 326:1–19 / CWE 25 80–1; *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 328:21–329:59.

118 Since Erasmus' aim is to dissuade people from thinking that youth can be eternal or that old age is a harbour, he heaps up the *incommoda* of old age and ignores all its *commoda;* see *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 429:5 / CWE 25 145: 'In dissuasion we shall gather together all the disadvantages [*incommoda*]'; *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 314:669–315:672. Erasmus, in fact, neglects everything positive that can be and has been said about ageing and old age: the experience, authority, and wisdom of old age, the leisure to pursue philosophy, the freedom from carnal temptations. Such praises of old age are an established rhetorical genre; see for example Plato *Republic* 329A–D, Cicero *De senectute,* and Seneca *Epistulae morales* 30. See also for instance Prov 16:31 and 20:29. In Christianity old age was prized for its wisdom and virtue as well as its nearness to death and heaven; see Christian Gnilka 'Altersklage und Jenseitssehnsucht' *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 14 (1971) 5–23; Burrow *Ages* 150–1. Erasmus was, of course, no

stranger to the positive aspects of old age and could praise this season of life when rhetorically appropriate; see for instance *Apophthegmata* LB IV 154E–F. But in this context Erasmus obviously cannot present a balanced picture of old age. The poet's aim is to gain the readers' attention by shocking them out of their lethargy, so as to wake them up to the brevity of life and the consequences of wasting time. For the tradition of vituperating old age, which is also at the heart of the *carpe diem* tradition, see the commentary on poem 2.7–22 below.

119 Some of the phrasing in this summary of the *Praefatio* has been taken from the translation by H.J. Thomson in the Loeb Classical Library (London 1949; repr 1969) I 3–5.

120 See the commentary on poem 2.43–53.

121 Huizinga *Erasmus* 61

122 See *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 40:117–46:221. For the proverbial saying 'speech is the mirror of the mind' see *Adagia* I vi 50; *Moria* ASD IV-3 74:68 / CWE 27 87; Allen Ep 531:323–4 / CWE Ep 531:359–60; *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 703:19–21 / CWE 28 440; *Lingua* ASD IV-1A 93:219–20 / CWE 29 326; *Apophthegmata* LB IV 162D; cf poem 44.10–16n.

123 See Richard L. DeMolen '*Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi*: Rungs on the Ladder to the *Philosophia Christi*' in *Essays* 1–50; reprinted in his *The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam* (Nieuwkoop 1987) 69–124.

124 He had earlier said this also in poem 36.5–6 – the liminary epigram for his *Lucubratiunculae aliquot* (Antwerp 1503), containing among other small works the *Enchiridion*.

125 ASD I-2 709:25–7 / CWE 28 447

126 See Allen I 38:19–41:3 / CWE 24 694–6 and Ep 1341A:1507–95. The revision of 1530 (Allen Ep 2283:41–149 / CWE 24 697–700) makes no change in the disposition of the poems.

127 On the great Basel and Leiden editions of Erasmus' collected works see Cornelis Reedijk *Tandem bona causa triumphat: Zur Geschichte des Gesamtwerkes des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Basel 1980).

128 See his letter to Johann von Botzheim, Allen I 3:20–1 / CWE Ep 1341A:70–2.

129 See Vredeveld 'Edition.'

130 Reedijk ix

131 Allen Ep 360:21n / CWE Ep 360:23n

132 See in particular Allen Epp 584:15–17, 597:43–6, 628:58–9, 634:1–7, 635 (preface to More's *Utopia* and *Epigrammata*), 733:19–20, 726:11–12, and 732:13–29 / CWE Epp 584:18–20, 597:48–52, 628:68–9, 634:2–9, 635 (preface to More's *Utopia* and *Epigrammata*), 704A:22–4, 726:13–15, and 732:15–32.

133 For a description of the March 1518 edition of More's *Utopia* and the two collections of poems see R.W. Gibson *St. Thomas More: A Preliminary Bibliography of his Works and of Moreana to the Year 1750* (New Haven 1961) 7–9, no 3. The November–December 1518 edition is described on pages 10–12, no 4.

134 Allen I 4:2–7 / CWE Ep 1341A:92–7

135 Erasmus uses the same device in his edition of Willem Hermans' *Sylva odarum* (Ep 49), asserting that he is publishing his friend's poems on his own initiative, against Willem's wishes. For the commonplace of 'affected mod-

esty' see Curtius ELLM 83–5; H.J. de Jonge, note on ASD IX-2 59:6–7, *instigantibus amicis.*

136 Reedijk 91 comes to the same conclusion.

137 These two poems leave a bitter-sweet taste in the mouth. The subtly ironic tone of the epigrams may well reflect Erasmus' aversion to André. After André's death Erasmus called him a 'blind flatterer' and 'a denouncer of the worst kind'; see Allen Ep 2422:67–73.

138 See Allen I Appendix IX 609–13 and J.W.E. Klein 'New Light on the Gouda Erasmiana Manuscripts' *Quaerendo* 18 (1988) 87–95. Klein demonstrates conclusively that the copyist of Erasmus' poems (Hand A) cannot have been the physician Reyner Snoy, as Reedijk 133–4 supposed, but must have been a monk at Steyn; cf Allen I Appendix IX 612.

139 See Tilmans *Aurelius* 35 n15.

140 See A.A.J. Karthon 'Het verloren Erasmiaansch handschrift van P. Scriverius, teruggevonden in 's Hertogenbosch' *Het Boek* 5 (1916) 113–29; see also Allen IV xxiii (addendum to I 608 n17) and Reedijk 131–5.

141 Allen IV xxi (addendum to Ep 104)

142 See David Carlson 'Politicizing Tudor Court Literature: Gaguin's Embassy and Henry VII's Humanists' Response' *Studies in Philology* 85 (1988) 279–304.

143 Another manuscript of Erasmus' poems, probably containing poems 110–12 as well as some or all of the poems in MS Egerton 1651, was circulating at Oxford by October 1499; see Epp 112 and 113 and Vredeveld 'Lost Poems.'

144 See Vredeveld 'Lost Poems' and the headnotes on poems 110, 111, and 112.

145 Allen Ep 28:22n; Reedijk 59

146 For *stulti* the Venice edition of September 1508 (adage II v 76, f 155^r) prints the incomprehensible word *lari* (= *bardi*?). The reading *stulti* first appears in the Basel edition of 1515.

147 I am grateful to Erika Rummel for drawing my attention to this fragment.

148 LB V 57C / CWE 66 114. For the idea that sensual pleasure is the bait of evil, a traditional metaphor that goes back to Plato *Timaeus* 69D, see for example Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 48:231–6 / CWE 66 142; *Enchiridion* LB V 14A / CWE 66 42; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 251:9 and 431:7 / CWE 25 36, 147; and *Adagia* II v 73. For the phrase *sero sapiemus* in the fourth line of the fragment compare *Enchiridion* LB V 57F: *quam sero sapuerint*; cf also poem 2.173 (with note on lines 172–3).

149 See ASD I-2 218:2–7 / CWE 25 16. For another example of this literary game see *Colloquia* ASD I-3 601–2, with verses in many different metres disguised as prose.

Johann Froben's letter to the reader

The printer Johann Froben (c 1460–1527) was born in Hammelburg, north of Würzburg. He became a citizen of Basel in 1490 and established a printing shop. The first book that issued from his press was the *Biblia integra,* published in 1491. By 1518 Froben had printed many of Erasmus' works, including the *Adagia* (1513) and the Greek New Testament with his translation and annotations (1516). Later Erasmus was to write two epitaphs for him (nos 73 and 74). See CEBR II 60–3.

3 Beatum ... Rhenanum] Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547) was a native of Sélestat, Upper Alsace. Having received his MA from the University of Paris in 1507, he worked for the printers Henri Estienne and Matthias Schürer. From 1511 he lived in Basel, studying Greek with Johannes Cono and working with Froben and Amerbach on various editorial projects. He became a close friend of Erasmus after the latter moved to Basel in 1514. See CEBR I 104–9.

3–4 Brunonem Amorbacchium] Bruno Amerbach (1484–1519) was the eldest son of the printer Johann Amerbach, Froben's partner since 1500. He obtained his BA from Paris in 1505, his MA in 1506. From 1508 he worked at his father's press and collaborated with Erasmus in editing Jerome's collected works (1516). Erasmus composed an epitaph for him in November 1519 (no 70). See CEBR I 46.

8 abhinc sesquiannum / a year and a half ago] Erasmus had left Basel for Antwerp in the spring of 1516.

15 aliquod] The March 1518 edition prints *aliquot*. The correction is made in the December edition.

21 Momi] Momus was the Greek god who ridiculed everyone else, but produced nothing of his own; see *Adagia* I v 74.

23–4 Baptistinianicum ... Faustinum ... Marullicum] Froben is referring to several neo-Latin poets: Baptista Mantuanus (1447–1516), Fausto Andrelini (c 1462–1518), and Michael Marullus (c 1453–1500). As Froben knew, Erasmus was fond of the first two; but (like other Christian humanists, such as Beatus Rhenanus and Eobanus Hessus) he detested Marullus' paganism. See Allen Epp 385:5–6 and 1479:118–20 / CWE Ep 385:6–7; *Apologia contra Latomi dialogum* LB IX 93B; *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 666:2 / CWE 28 417.

27–8 versiculum – digitis] Cf Horace *Satires* 1.10.70–1; Erasmus *Adagia* III vi 96; Allen Ep 126:84–5 / CWE Ep 126:98–9.

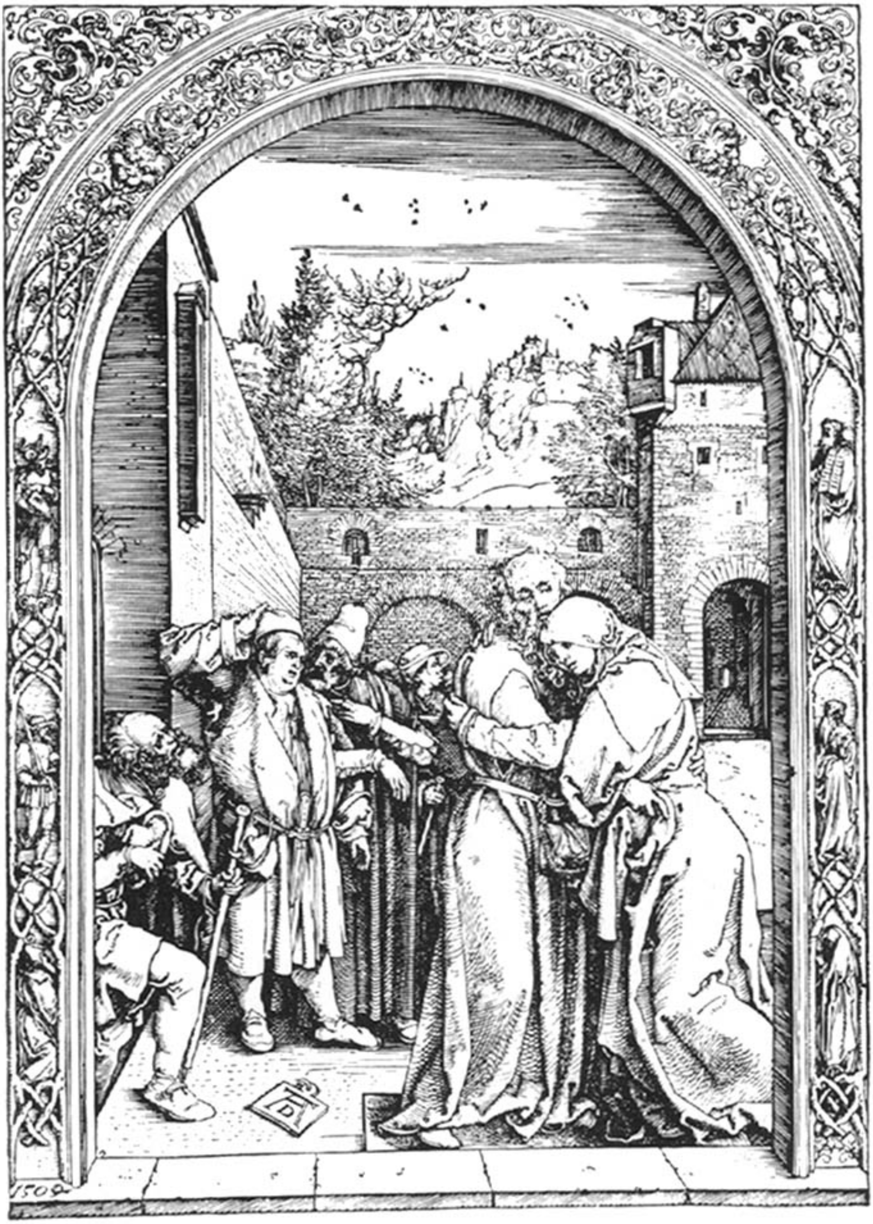
29 stans – dictat / he dictates – on one foot] Cf Horace *Satires* 1.4.9–10, who thoroughly disapproves of such facility. Erasmus, however, cheerfully agreed with Froben's description; see Allen I 4:2–5 / CWE Ep 1341A:93–4; *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 681:12 / CWE 28 425.

1 LB V 1325–6 / R 22

In Allen Ep 145:137–9 / CWE Ep 145:157–9, dated 27 January 1501, Erasmus writes Anna van Borssele: 'I am sending you a version of yourself – another *Anna* – in the shape of a poem, or rather a set of verses [*rithmos*] which I threw off when I was a mere boy [*me puero admodum*]; for ever since my earliest years I have burned with eager devotion to that saint.' Although Erasmus here states emphatically that the hymn is an early piece of work, we should nevertheless note that he composed it not as 'a mere boy,' but as a young man, perhaps shortly after he turned to sacred subjects in the winter of 1490–1. See Allen Ep 28:8–10 / CWE Ep 28:9–11, written in c March 1491 (for the redating of Ep 28 see headnote on poem 50 below). At that time he was twenty-four years old. This underestimation of his age fits Erasmus' usual pattern of understating the true age at which he wrote his juvenilia by at least three years; see Vredeveld 'Ages' section 2.

Since the appearance of Reedijk's edition some scholars have suggested that the poem might have been written in the later 1490s. In the second half of the decade there was an enormous interest in St Ann because of the controversy about the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin. The topic was discussed with particular intensity at the University of Paris during the years 1495–7, just when Erasmus was beginning his theological studies there. The faculty finally endorsed the doctrine on 3 March 1497. See *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* VII-1 (Paris 1927) 1126; Renaudet *Préréforme* 251–2. Among those vigorously defending the doctrine was the Carmelite monk Arnoldus Bostius of Ghent (1446–99). Seeking support against Vincenzo Bandello, Bostius asked his friends in c 1497–8 to sing the praises of Sts Joachim and Ann. Erasmus' hymn to St Ann might thus conceivably have been intended as a contribution to the friendly competition; see CEBR I 176; cf CWE Ep 145:158n.

This theory, while attractive at first sight, is weakened by the circumstance that Erasmus' hymn does not figure in the extant collections of the poems sent to Bostius; see MS 618, ff 486–97, and MS 1149–1150, ff 82–6 and 92–3, in Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, Paris; Tilmans *Aurelius* 26 n70. Might Erasmus, then, have written the poem for the express purpose of gaining the patronage of St Ann's namesake, Anna van Borssele, in the winter of 1498–9? That date would place the hymn in roughly the same time-frame as the prose prayers to the Virgin that Erasmus wrote for Anna van Borssele in early 1499 (LB V 1227–40) and the paean to the Virgin Mary (no 110, written in spring 1499). In the hymn's concluding lines (87–94) there is indeed a close parallel to the conclusion of *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam* and of poem 110. But this parallel occurs in a section that is not found in MS Egerton 1651 (probably copied in late 1499 or early 1500) and hence may well be a somewhat later addition. See lines 74–6n below.



Joachim and Ann meeting at the Golden Gate
Woodcut from Albrecht Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* (1504)
Courtesy Robarts Library, University of Toronto

The various pieces of evidence presented thus far seem to indicate that the shorter and presumably earlier version found in MS Egerton was revised and augmented sometime in 1500–1 for presentation to Anna van Borssele. The first version could date back either to winter 1490–1 or to 1497–9. Since Erasmus, however, states emphatically that he wrote the poem when he was still quite young and since there is no direct evidence connecting the hymn to Bostius' poetic competition, the earlier date appears the more likely one. The hymn's theme certainly fits in well with Erasmus' other poems of that time: 'On the shed where the boy Jesus was born' (42) and 'Ode in praise of Michael and all the angels,' particularly the section in praise of Gabriel (50.97–156). For parallels to these two poems see the notes on lines 13 and 53 below. Note also that the noun *stupor* 'amazement,' which is, as it were, personified in line 61 below ('joyful amazement draws tears of happiness from both of them'), is used in a similar way also in poem 93.113 (spring 1489), in one of Cornelis' sections: 'Amazement leads me to say more.'

The story of Ann and Joachim goes back to the apocryphal *Protevangelium of James* and *Evangelium de nativitate S. Mariae*; but it was also familiar, for example, from *Legenda aurea* 131 and from numerous medieval hymns. Erasmus may have been inspired originally by Rodolphus Agricola's long poem, *Anna mater*, first published at Deventer in 1484. But he would also have studied the first two books of Baptista Mantuanus' *Parthenice Mariana* (1481) which tell the story at epic length. Indeed, in his letter to Anna van Borssele Erasmus praises both Agricola's and Mantuanus' poems on St Ann; see Allen Ep 145:10–11 / CWE Ep 145:14–15. There is thus no reason to assume that Erasmus had to wait until 1497–9 to be moved to write a hymn on St Ann.

Erasmus' hymn was first published in the *Epigrammata* of March 1518 and shortly afterwards in *Enchiridion* (Basel: J. Froben, July 1518). Jakob Spiegel of Sélestat published an edition of the poem along with an extensive commentary: *In hymnum aviae Christi Annae dictum ab Erasmo Roteradamo* [sic] *scholia* (Augsburg: S. Grimm and M. Wirsung, 4 March 1519).

Metre: iambic dimeter

Heading rhythmus iambicus / rhythmical iambic hymn] The word *rhythmus* in medieval Latin generally refers to accentual, rhymed verse. That is clearly not true of this poem, which is strictly quantitative and shows no trace of rhyme. Still, as in the hymns of St Ambrose, Erasmus' lines could in many places also be read as accentuated verse. In any case, the word *rhythmus* was closely associated with the hymns of the mass and breviary.

1 Salve, parens sanctissima] Cf AH 23 188.1 and 43 119.1: *Salve, parens Anna,* 23 194.1: *Salve, parens matris Christi;* Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 2.63 (to Mary) and AH 52 106.1 (to St Ann): *Salve, sancta parens;* Virgil *Aeneid* 5.80: *salve, sancte parens.*

2–4 beata – sacratissimo] Cf AH 52 111.3 (to St Ann): *Tali beata pignore, / Nepote sed beatior.*

9–10 maritum ... facit patrem] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 1.75, mentioned as Erasmus' model in Spiegel's commentary, sig b1^{v}.

11 virgo foeta] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 11.98

13 Gener pudicus] Cf 42.50 below.

20 Rebeccae] See Gen 25:20–1.

20 Sarae] See Gen 11:30, 16:1, 17:15–21, 18:10–15, and 21:1–7.

21–6 Vel – sobria / or the one – too much wine] For the story of Samuel's mother, Hannah, see 1 Sam 1:1–20; Allen Ep 145:3–6 / CWE Ep 145:6–9.

21–2 quae te refert – vocabulo] Cf 4.70n and 4.106 below.

24 aestus pectoris] Seneca *Hercules Oetaeus* 275–6

30 Procax sacerdos / the arrogant priest] Reuben, according to *Protevangelium of James,* or Isachar, according to *Evangelium de nativitate S. Mariae*

49 Largis ... fletibus] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.271

53 Caelum penetrarunt preces] Cf Sir 35:21 (Vulg): *Oratio humiliantis se nubes penetrabit;* poems 136.1–3 below (and headnote): *coelum ... penetrat ... oratio* and 50.249n.

62–3 lachrymas Excussit] Plautus *Captivi* 419; Terence *Heauton timorumenos* 167; Allen Ep 58:11

69–71 Tanto – parens] Cf *Evangelium de nativitate S. Mariae* 3.2: *crede dilatos diu conceptus et steriles partus mirabiliores esse solere;* Rodolphus Agricola *Anna mater* page 298: *Quod venit ex facili, faciles segnesque tenemus; / Quod spe quodque metu torsit, habere iuvat;* Cornelis Gerard *Marias* 1 f 9^{v}, on the birth of Mary: *Quod datur e facili sic assolet ora rogantis / Claudere, ut acceptum nil putet esse datum. / Verum inopinatum plus ornat gratia votum, / Et remorata salus dulcior esse solet.*

74–6 Eademque – filium] In MS Egerton 1651 the poem concludes at this point (omitting line 75): ... *Eademque virgo gigneret* [*gignere* in the manuscript] / *Summi parentis filium.* The verses after line 76 first appear in the 1518 *Epigrammata* but were probably already in the version presented to Anna van Borssele in January 1501. Note the parallels to poem 110 (spring 1499) cited in the notes on lines 79–81, 87–94, and 90 below and the close parallel to *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam,* written in early 1499 for Anna's son Adolph of Burgundy, cited in the note on lines 87–94.

79–81 necis – mortuis] Cf 11.9–10 (written in July 1498?) and 110.209n below.

83–4 O terque – beata] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 1.94; Horace *Odes* 1.13.17; Prudentius *Peristefanon* 2.529–30; Erasmus *Adagia* II ix 5; poems 6.58, 88.29–30n, and 110.14 below.

84 nam potes] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.117; Horace *Epodes* 17.45

87–94 Nam – filium / for under your – loves his Son] The thought is closely paralleled in *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam* LB V 1235E: Christ loves his mother so much that he will grant her whatever she wishes; God loves Christ so much that he will grant him whatever he desires; cf poem 110.373–6 (with note on lines 373–4).

88–91 modo – noverit] Cf Rodolphus Agricola *Anna mater* page 302: *Nil tibi nata negat, nil et negat ille parenti; / Ille colit matrem, te quoque nata colit.*

90–1 Nec – noverit] Cf Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 473:84–5, criticizing this attitude: *neque quicquam ausit negare petenti.*

90 pusio] See 110.318n below.

2 LB IV 755–8 / R 83

Erasmus wrote this, the best known of his poems, in August 1506, when he was nearing his fortieth birthday. Its genesis is described in Allen I 4:8–27 / CWE Ep 1341A:97–119. He was riding on horseback through the Alps on his way to Italy. Annoyed by the quarrelling of his companions, he drew back and began to meditate on the need to use time wisely in the face of approaching old age. When he reached the inn, he worked out the notes he had jotted down on the ride. Hence Erasmus also referred to the work as his 'equestrian or rather Alpine poem.'

The verses were first published at the end of *Luciani viri quam disertissimi compluria opuscula longe festivissima ab Erasmo Roterodamo et Thoma Moro interpretibus optimis in Latinorum linguam traducta* (Paris: J. Bade, 13 November 1506) sigs ii4^r–ii6^v (= ff 51^r–53^v). There they are entitled: *Ad Gulielmum Copum medicorum eruditissimum Erasmi Roterodami, sacrae theologiae professoris, de senectute subrepente deque reliquo vitae Christo, cui totum debebatur, dicando carmen* 'Poem to Guillaume Cop, most learned of physicians, by Erasmus of Rotterdam, doctor of sacred theology, on the stealthy approach of old age and on the need to dedicate the remaining time of life to Christ, to whom we owe everything.' In the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507 the poem bears the title: *Ad Gulielmum Copum Basiliensem artis medicae principem ... Carmen de fuga vitae humanae* 'To Guillaume Cop of Basel, prince of medicine ... Poem on the flight of human life.'

Twentieth-century critics have tended to read this poem in the light of its autobiographical elements. They suspect that its melancholy tone at the flight of youth might be the result of some kind of mid-life crisis, an outpouring of deep-seated fears of old age. Seeking confirmation for this view, Reedijk and Margolin point to Erasmus' letter to Johann von Botzheim (Allen I 4:15 / CWE Ep 1341A:105–6) in which the humanist confides that 1506 was for him a most unpleasant year (*nullum enim annum vixi insuavius*). But the context of this phrase speaks only of 'misfortune,' and the word *insuave* cannot possibly suggest psychological depression or crisis. Erasmus' letters of 1506 do, however, give us a pretty clear idea why he remembered that year as most unpleasant. The crossing of the English Channel at the beginning of June took four days and was so rough that he contracted a painful illness; see Allen Epp 194:1–8 and 196:8–11 / CWE Epp 194:3–10 and 196:10–12. In Italy he was distressed to learn of the death of his patron, Archduke Philip the Handsome (Ep 205); and his studies there were interrupted by war; see Allen Epp 200:1–7, 203, and 205:35–9 / CWE Epp 200:2–8, 203, and 205:38–43.

In part following Huizinga *Erasmus* 59–61, Reedijk and Margolin also adduce Ep 189 (1 April 1506) as evidence of an emotional crisis. In that letter Erasmus tells his prior at Steyn, Servatius Rogerus, that he is conscious of the flight of human life, feels himself frail and weakened, and is therefore planning to devote his remaining years to the contemplation of death – once he has completed his studies of Greek:

> For myself, I am deeply preoccupied with pondering how I can wholly devote to religion and to Christ whatever life remains to me. How much this may be, I do not know. I am conscious how fleeting and insubstantial is the life of man, even the longest; and I can see also that my own health is frail, and has been further weakened to a considerable degree by my laborious studies, and to some extent also by misfortune. I can see that those studies have no end, and every day I seem to begin all over again. Therefore I have made up my mind to be content with my present undistinguished fortune, especially when I have acquired as much Greek as I need, and to pay attention to the contemplation of my death and the state of my soul. I should have done this long ago; I ought to have been sparing with my years, the most precious possession of all, when that possession was at its best. But, though 'too late to spare when the bottom is bare,' still I must husband it all the more carefully now that it is shorter and poorer.

This paragraph does indeed closely parallel the 'Poem on the troubles of old age,' but contains no evidence of a 'mid-life crisis.' It is preceded by an introductory paragraph that chides Servatius for his lethargy in not replying to Erasmus' letters: 'I have sent you several letters already, and am most surprised at your failure even to set pen to paper in reply.' The introduction then speaks of Erasmus' own success and prospects. The greatest men and finest scholars in all England, he says, hold him in high regard; the king has promised him a benefice, though this idea has been shelved for the time being. Moreover – a fact too readily overlooked in arguments of this kind – the letter is directed to a specific person and serves a specific end. Erasmus wants his prior to know that there is no need to recall him to the monastery. He has enjoyed wonderful success in England, certainly, but these triumphs have not turned his head. He remains humble, convinced of the vanity of this world. In short, the letter serves a rhetorical purpose. That is why its language is not personal but echoes the commonplaces of antiquity and the Christian church: the brevity of life and the vanity of human achievement, the meditation on old age and death as the beginning of wisdom. It is, in fact, the same inverted *carpe diem* argument that he had earlier employed in Ep 15, when he reproached Servatius for his failure to write and exhorted him to shape his mind, before fleeting youth gave way to old age.

For representative examples of the autobiographical-aesthetic, non-rhetorical approach to Erasmus' 'Poem on the troubles of old age' see Georg Ellinger *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* I (Berlin 1929) 419; Huizinga *Erasmus* 60–1; Karl August Meissinger *Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Berlin 1948) 112–15, with a paraphrasing translation of the poem on pages 115–19; Ferdinand Weckerle 'Carmen alpestre: Ein Gespräch selbdritt um den alternden Erasmus' in *Festschrift Eugen Stollreither* ed Fritz Redenbacher (Erlangen 1950) 367–81, which is based not on Erasmus' Latin text but on Meissinger's romanticizing paraphrase; Reedijk 121–3 and 281; Margolin 37–48 and 69–71; Thomson 204–10; George Faludy *Erasmus of Rotterdam* (London 1970) 106–7; James D. Tracy *Erasmus: The Growth of a Mind* (Geneva 1972) 114–15; Schmidt-Dengler xxxi and xxxv; Clarence H. Miller, introduction to More CW III-2 48–9. Anthologizers help to perpetuate this kind of interpretation by selecting only the autobiographical passages and leaving out the rhetorical-hortatory elements; see Harry C. Schnur *Lateinische Gedichte deutscher Humanisten* (Stuttgart 1967) 112–21; Pierre Laurens *Musae reduces: Anthologie de la poésie latine dans l'Europe de la Renaissance* II (Leiden 1975) 112–19; Alessandro Perosa and John Sparrow *Renaissance Latin Verse: An Anthology* (London 1979) 472–6. Roland H. Bainton *Erasmus of Christendom* (New York 1969) 79 takes the same tack in his condensed verse translation.

For an analysis of the poem in the light of its rhetorical structure and literary models see the introduction, CWE 85 xlii–xlix.

Metre: hexameter alternating with an iambic dimeter catalectic. This combination, unique in Latin literature, is a variation on the first Pythiambic strophe (a hexameter followed by an iambic dimeter acatalectic, as in Horace *Epodes* 14 and 15 and in poems 42, 43, 103, and

117 below). Thomson 210 suggests that Erasmus used this pattern here to combine the sacred and the profane (cf line 103n below): the profane, because the combination of metres recalls Horace's fourteenth and fifteenth epodes; the sacred, because his use of the iambic dimeter catalectic recalls Prudentius' Christian hymn before sleep (*Cathemerinon* 6). Thomson's suggestion, intriguing as it is, is undermined somewhat by several circumstances. First, Erasmus uses the first Pythiambic strophe not only for profane-Horatian poetry, as in the friendship poem 103 below, but also for sacred poetry, as in nos 42 and 43. Second, he cannot have associated the iambic dimeter catalectic solely with Prudentius' sacred poetry, since he uses this metre also in *Euripidis Hecuba* (ASD I-1 261:1146–262:1169), a lament in which catalectic and acatalectic iambic dimeters alternate. He furthermore employs it a number of times in *Euripidis Iphigenia in Aulide* (ASD I-1, especially 302:751–78). And in his discussion of the adage *Non est curae Hippoclidi* 'Hippocleides doesn't care' (*Adagia* I x 12), Erasmus quotes and then translates a Greek example in this very metre: *Haud* [later: *Non*] *curat Hippoclides*. This adage, we should note, also occurs in lines 233–4 below.

The rising and falling pattern of the couplets in any case admirably suggests both the rapid flight of time (in the swiftly moving dactylic hexameters) and the idea of youth abruptly cut off by old age and death (in the halting catalectic iambic dimeters, themselves cut short, so to speak, before their time).

Heading Guilielmum Copum] Guillaume Cop of Basel (c 1463–1532) earned his MA from the University of Basel in 1483 and his doctorate in medicine from the University of Paris on 17 May 1496. By 1497 he was a regent of the university. From 1497 to 1512 he was physician to the German nation and from 1512 personal physician to King Louis XII. He later served as physician at the court of King Francis I. See CEBR I 336–7. Cop's excellent command of both Latin and Greek is evident in his translations of Paul of Aegina (Paris: H. Estienne 1511), Galen (Paris: H. Estienne 1513), and Hippocrates (Paris: H. Estienne 1511–12). In January 1497 and again in early 1500 Cop treated Erasmus during attacks of the quartan fever. The first occasion is described in poem 88; cf Ep 50. The second is referred to in Ep 124. Erasmus also praises Cop in Allen Epp 305:202–5, 326:28–37, and 529:22–4 / CWE Epp 305:208–9, 326:33–43, and 529:28–30; *Apologia adversus Petrum Sutorem* LB IX 788D; and poem 88.91–7 below.

1–7 Unica – tuo / Cop – gives way and flees] The *captatio benevolentiae* praising Cop as physician is intended to lend weight to the following description of the ravages of old age. Just as Cop in the votive poem to Ste Geneviève (88) is invoked as witness for Erasmus' miraculous cure, so he vouches here for the accuracy of Erasmus' account of the ageing process. The poem, which begins wholly in the physiological, natural sphere to prove that old age is both inevitable and incurable, will lead us to the same conclusion as that reached in the votive poem to Ste Geneviève, that we need a physician greater than Cop: Christ. Cf Allen Ep 867:232–3 / CWE Ep 867:250–1.

2–3 artem ... fidem ... curam / skill ... trustworthiness ... careful treatment] Erasmus often mentions these and similar virtues in a physician; see Allen Epp 124:16–17, 132:24–5 and 40–2 / CWE Epp 124:18–19, 132:29–32 and 49–52, and Allen Ep 1381:46–7; *Encomium medicinae* ASD I-4 166:36 and 172:183 / CWE 29 37 and 41; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 290:16–17 / CWE 25 58; *Adagia* LB II 55C / CWE 31 115:85–7; *Institutio principis christiani* ASD IV-1 172:189–93 / CWE 27 242–3.

4–5 Vel – honores] Cf 93.165n and 110.145–6 below.

6–9 Cedit – medelis / Faced – monstrous disease] Cf *De copia* ASD I-6 128:535–6 / CWE 24 431:20–2: 'skill brings succour for all diseases; only for old age is there no remedy available.'

6–7 Cedit – tuo] Cf Rodolphus Agricola *Anna mater* page 303: *Te cuncti fugiunt morbi.*

6–7 morbi ... genus omne] Cf Juvenal 10.219 (in old age): *morborum omne genus*; poem 95.77 below.

7–22 Teterrima – lepores / But then – wit, charm] Erasmus relentlessly catalogues the ills of old age, not because he succumbs to a 'sudden panic' (Reedijk 122), but because he knows that such a catalogue has the rhetorical merit of arousing fear and hence of awakening those who have never given a thought to the flight of time and the need to use time wisely.

Catalogues of the ravages of old age are a literary tradition with both biblical and classical roots. See for example Eccles 12:1–5; Pliny *Naturalis historia* 7.51.168, cited in *Adagia* II iii 48 (LB II 500D / CWE 33 156–7); Juvenal 10.188–245; Maximianus *Elegies* 1. Because of their power to arouse fear and disgust, detailed lists of the horrors of decrepitude were a favourite argument in Christian *contemptus mundi* and wisdom literature; see Christian Gnilka 'Altersklage und Jenseitssehnsucht' *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 14 (1971) 5–23, with patristic examples; Pseudo-Neckam (Roger de Caen) *De vita monachorum* Wright II 183–4; and Innocent III *De miseria condicionis humane* 1.9 'On the Discomforts of Old Age.' They naturally also figure in medieval medical treatises; see for instance Roger Bacon *De retardatione accidentium senectutis* 2, particularly page 18; and Arnaldus de Villanova *Speculum introductionum medicinalium* 28A–B.

Erasmus took his place in this tradition early in his career, long before he wrote the present poem. His earlier depictions of old age, full of colours borrowed from Juvenal's tenth satire, always occur, as here, in a strongly rhetorical context; see 95.55–68, 101.1–7, and 104.15–22 below; *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 54:377–81 / CWE 66 147; *Enchiridion* LB V 58D and 59B / CWE 66 116 and 117. For later examples see *Adagia* I v 36 and II iii 48; *Moria* ASD IV-3 82:215–84:231 / CWE 27 92; and especially *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 215:645–51, amplifying the signs of decrepitude after age eighty: 'For who can still regard that as life, when the whole body trembles, the eyes are dimmed, the ears grow deaf, the tongue stammers, the voice fails, the teeth fall out, the feet stagger, and no part of the body performs its service; when even the powers of the mind fail, intellect is paralysed, reason is benumbed, memory retains nothing ... Is that not rather a long death than life?'

7–12 Teterrima – Hebetet] Quoted in *Adagia* II vi 37

8 Senecta, morbus / old age, that ... disease] Proverbial; see Otto 1623; Walther 28004d and 28006; Erasmus *Adagia* II vi 37. That old age is an *incurable* disease is stated by Seneca *Epistulae morales* 108.28 and is often repeated by Erasmus; see *De copia* ASD I-6 128:536 / CWE 24 431:20–2; *Adagia* LB II 958B; *Epistola consolatoria* LB V 610C; Allen Epp 1381:124–5 and 3000:16–17; and *Epistola contra pseudevangelicos* ASD IX-1 284:23–5. The frequency with which Erasmus uses adages in this poem underscores its rhetorical, hortatory nature. Cf Clarence H. Miller 'The Logic and Rhetoric of Proverbs in Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*' in DeMolen *Essays* 83–98.

10 derepente oborta / rises up suddenly] The onset of old age was proverbially rapid. See Walther 697: *Evo repente venit, ecce, senecta repente;* also lines 56–9 and 110–11n below and poems 95.52, 61, 65 and 104.16. However, it is shockingly sudden only for those who imagined that old age could be safely put out of mind and now find that old age has stolen upon them unawares; cf Cicero *De senectute* 2.4; Seneca *De brevitate vitae* 9.4; Jerome *Letters* 140.9; Prudentius *Praefatio* 23.

11–12 Corporis – Hebetet] Imitated by Eobanus Hessus in *Bonae valetudinis conservandae rationes aliquot* 145, of drunkenness: *Corporis exhaurit succos, animique vigorem / Opprimit.* Cf Erasmus *Adagia* ASD II-5 32:254–5, of boredom; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 431:7–8, of sensual pleasures.

11 Corporis epotet succos / drink up – the body] Cf *Adagia* ASD II-4 194:953: *invalidum et flaccidum esse senile corpus exhausto succo; De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 251:11–12 / CWE 25 36: bodily pleasures 'drain the sap of life, hasten old age.'

11–12 animique vigorem Hebetet] Cf Erasmus' paraphrase on 1 Cor 7:5 (LB VII 879B), of sexual intercourse.

12–13 trecentis ... stipata malis / surrounded ... by a host of afflictions] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 3.67–8 (expounded in Seneca *Epistulae morales* 108.24–9); Horace *Ars poetica* 169; Juvenal 10.190–1; Ps 90:10; Walther 708 and 28007a1; Erasmus *Adagia* II vi 37; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 380:184–5, 727:251 and 255; see also poems 95.55–8 and 104.17 below.

12–13 trecentis ... malis / a host of afflictions] Literally 'three hundred afflictions.' The number *trecentis* here stands for 'very many,' as it often does; cf Erasmus *Adagia* II ix 5. It is an ancient thought that the number of diseases is legion; see for example Horace *Odes* 1.3.30–1; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 95.23; Pliny *Naturalis historia* 7.52.172; Juvenal 10.218–26.

13–15 quibus – aetas / through which – brought with it] Cf Horace *Ars poetica* 175–6. Like Horace, Erasmus describes the physical signs of senescence as the loss of the blessings enjoyed in youth.

16–18 Formam – alacritatem / beauty – enthusiasm] Cf *Moria* ASD IV-3 82:195–7 / CWE 27 91: 'as soon as the young grow up ... the bloom of youthful beauty begins to fade at once, enthusiasm wanes, gaiety cools down, and energy slackens.'

16 Formam / beauty] The brevity of youthful beauty was proverbial; see Otto 688; cf poems 95.63, 99.14, and 104.15 below.

16 statum / posture] Cf for example Maximianus *Elegies* 1.217–18; Innocent III *De miseria condicionis humane* 1.9: *statura curvatur;* Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 54:378 / CWE 66 147: *senio incurvi* 'backs bent by age'; poem 95.56n below.

16 colorem] Cf for instance Horace *Odes* 4.10.4–5 and 4.13.17; *Epodes* 17.21; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.74; Maximianus *Elegies* 1.133–4, 211; poem 104.21–2 below.

17 Partem – memorem / the part – remembers] The loss of memory is a traditional complaint against old age. See for instance Cicero *De senectute* 7.21; Virgil *Eclogues* 9.51: *Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque* 'Old age takes everything away, even our mind,' which Servius glosses with the phrase 'even our memory'; Juvenal 10.233–6; Maximianus *Elegies* 1.123–4. The thought is amplified in lines 46–51 below. Erasmus is evidently adopting an essentially two-part division of the mental powers into memory and intellect or understanding; cf *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 105:8–9 / CWE 23 84:14: 'intellect, understanding, memory, and other gifts of the mind'; *Lingua* ASD IV-1A 30:154–6 / CWE 29 266. Elsewhere he adds the power of the will; see *Moria* ASD IV-3 191:195 / CWE 27 151; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 460:260–1.

17 pectore / understanding] Literally the breast. The seat of the intellect was traditionally thought to be the heart, though others argued for the brain. Cf *Adagia* I x 80; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 247:7; *Lingua* ASD IV-1A 30:145–7 / CWE 29 266; and poem 24.4 below.

17 somnos] Horace *Odes* 2.11.8; Ovid *Tristia* 3.8.27; Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 380:186

18 Vires] Cicero *De senectute* 9.27; Lucretius 2.1131 and 3.451–2; Ovid *Tristia* 4.6.41, 4.8.23; and often; see also poems 95.63 and 104.15 below.

19–20 Autorem – liquorem / She pinches – nourishes it] These lines provide a concise summary of contemporary medical thinking concerning the causes of ageing in man. According to ancient and medieval physiology, the body's radical moisture is the fuel that nourishes the innate heat. As we age, more and more of this 'fuel' is consumed, so that the body becomes progressively drier and cooler and the spirits and powers of the soul weaken. The process was frequently compared to the way a burning lamp consumes oil. See Peter H. Niebyl 'Old Age, Fever, and the Lamp Metaphor' *Journal of the History of Medicine* 26 (1971) 351–68; Burrow *Ages* 21. The metaphor remained popular in the Renaissance; see for example Marsilio Ficino *De vita* 2.3; More CW III-2 poem 75.8–9; Erasmus *Adagia* ASD II-4 136:130–2. On the concept of 'radical moisture' see Thomas S. Hall 'Life, Death and the Radical Moisture' *Clio Medica* 6 (1971) 3–23; and Michael McVaugh 'The "Humidum Radicale" in Thirteenth-century Medicine' *Traditio* 30 (1974) 259–83; Allen Ep 2493:40–3. In the ascending arc of life (childhood and youth, up to age thirty-five or forty) the flame of life burns hot because the body still has plenty of fuel. But in the descending arc of manhood and old age the flame burns cooler and cooler as the body's vital moisture is gradually depleted. The symptoms of this process of cooling and desiccation are the 'discomforts' of old age.

19 Autorem vitae] Cf line 243n below.

19 igniculum] In *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 243:5 / CWE 25 32 Erasmus

uses the word for 'that tiny heavenly fire' that Prometheus instilled in man's clay body.

21 Vitaleis ... flatus / the vital spirits] Literally 'the vital breath'; cf *De copia* ASD I-6 85:383: *flatus vivificus*. The vital spirit was one of the body's three spirits, along with the natural and animal spirits. It was believed to be produced in the left ventricle of the heart through mixing of inhaled air and vaporization of the humours in the blood and was thought essential for maintaining the natural heat. See Rudolph E. Siegel *Galen's System of Physiology and Medicine* (Basel 1968) 155 and 185–8; E. Ruth Harvey *The Inward Wits* (London 1975) 4–7; James J. Bono 'Medical Spirits and the Medieval Language of Life' *Traditio* 40 (1984) 91–130.

21–2 cum sanguine – lepores / of blood – charm] Together with choler (yellow bile), black bile, and phlegm, blood was considered one of the four 'humours.' Blood was dominant in the spring of life. It was thought to produce the 'sanguine' temperament, also known as 'jovial' because influenced by the planet Jupiter. Hence, as blood is diminished with respect to the other humours, we lose our joviality and find it replaced at mid-life first by melancholy autumn and later by the phlegmatic winter of decrepit old age.

22 Risus – lepores] Cf Horace *Epistles* 2.2.55–6; also line 223n and poem 56.10 below.

23 totum – ipsi] Cf Pseudo-Neckam (Roger de Caen) *De vita monachorum* Wright II 184, concluding a catalogue of the ravages of old age: *Sic igitur se quisque senex miserabilis, ipsum / Cotidie perdit subtrahiturque sibi.*

23 totum hominem / the whole man] That is, 'body and soul'; see for example Prudentius *Apotheosis* 779; Petrarch *Secretum* 2 (page 124): *corpus atque animam et breviter totum hominem;* Erasmus *Encomium medicinae* ASD I-4 168:119–170:120 and 170:132 / CWE 29 39 and 40; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 251:13 / CWE 25 36; and Allen Ep 1381:189.

25 nomen – inanem / leaves behind – empty inscription] Cf Propertius 2.1.72: *breve in exiguo marmore nomen ero* 'I shall be a short name on a little marble tablet'; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 2 metrum 7.18; Pseudo-Neckam (Roger de Caen) *De vita monachorum* Wright II 193, of Aristotle: *nunc / Philosophus cinis est, nomen inane manet* 'now the philosopher has become ashes; only an empty name remains'; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 51:319–20 / CWE 66 145: 'What is left of such grandeur and majesty? Nothing but feeble stories [*inanem ... fabulam*] told by men'; poem 10.1–2. Janus Secundus *Funera* 7.20 asks: what is left of us after death? – 'bones, ashes, dust, an empty name, nothing.' The thought is central to meditations on the theme 'Where are they now, the great men of the past?' For the topos see *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 51:313–20 / CWE 66 145; E.-W. Kohls '"Ubi sunt qui ante nos in mundo fuere?" Zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte eines Vergänglichkeits-Topos und zu seinem Gebrauch bei Erasmus von Rotterdam' in *Reformatio und Confessio: Festschrift für D. Wilhelm Maurer* ed F.W. Kantzenbach and G. Müller (Berlin 1965) 23–36.

28–9 Utrum – dicenda est / I ask you – long drawn out] Erasmus brings his enumeration of the ravages of old age to a climax with a *correctio* (Lausberg 784–6) couched in the form of a *dubitatio* (Lausberg 776–8). Cf *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 215:650–1, at the end of a catalogue of the horrors of decrepitude:

'Is this not a long death rather than life?'; Galen *De temperamentis* 2.2 (Kühn I 582): 'And what, I ask you, is old age other than the road to death?'; Jerome *Tractatus in librum Psalmorum* 89:10 (CCSL 78 122): 'If we live more [than fourscore years], that is no longer life, but death.'

29 mors lenta / death long drawn out] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.236 (time and old age destroy all in a slow death). Ovid's phrase is borrowed for example in Seneca *Hercules furens* 420; Lucan 3.578; Statius *Silvae* 2.1.154; Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 538:40; paraphrase on Mark 2:12 (LB VII 172C); *Institutio christiani matrimonii* LB V 668A; *De vidua christiana* LB V 724E; and Allen Ep 2615:319, of his own old age: *non est vita sed lenta mors*. The thought that old age is a living death is proverbial; see Walther 15144a; Maximianus *Elegies* 1.117–18 and 264–6, 6.12; Vincent de Beauvais *Speculum doctrinale* 5.102: *[senectus est] spirans mors*; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 56:452 / CWE 66 149: 'for each man his old age is death'; *De immensa Dei misericordia* LB V 582A: *corpus senio praemortuum*; poem 95.61 below: *Corpora ... moribunda* (in old age).

29–35 Invida – filo / The Fates – headlong speed] In ancient mythology the three Fates or Parcae were thought to spin the thread of life (Clotho), measure it (Lachesis), and cut it off (Atropos). Cf line 127, poems 4.64 and 149–50n, 7.17–20, 84.6, and 93.219–20 below; *Adagia* I vi 67.

29 Invida fata = Pseudo-Virgil *Lydia* 61; cf Statius *Thebaid* 10.384.

31 labantis ... vitae] Statius *Thebaid* 11.565

32–3 Pernicitate – alis] Cf Otto 530; Walther 10790a: *tempus rapidis volat irreparabile pennis*. Cf lines 76–8n below.

36–9 illius – senserimus / before we are really aware – alive] Cf *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 449:2–3 / CWE 25 159 'the first part of life, which is thought to be best, is unconscious of itself' and ASD I-2 450:3–4 / CWE 25 160: 'Another perishes in the very flower of his age, when he has hardly grasped the meaning of life.'

41–2 cervi – vigentque / the swift stag – with full vigour] The longevity of stags and crows was proverbial. Hesiod, in a fragment quoted by Plutarch in *Moralia* 415C *De defectu oraculorum*, says that a crow lives nine times longer than a man, a stag four times longer than a crow. This is also cited by Pliny *Naturalis historia* 7.49.153; Erasmus *Adagia* I vi 64; cf *De copia* ASD I-6 108:964–5 / CWE 24 393:9; and *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 216:711. The longevity of these animals was frequently contrasted with the brevity of human life; see Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 3.28.69 (paraphrased in Erasmus *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 92:3–5 / CWE 23 69:15–17); *Elegiae in Maecenatem* 1.115–18; Seneca *De brevitate vitae* 1.2; Ausonius *Eclogae* 22.1–6; Baptista Mantuanus *Epigrammata ad Falconem* in *Opera* II f 142^{r}: *Saecula tot cervus, tot vivit saecula cornix. / Ast hominum paucis vita diebus abit*; Fausto Andrelini *Elegiae* 1 sig b6^{r}: *Longaque producat vivax cum secula cornix, / Solus ab angusto tempore clausus homo est.* Cf poem 132.4 below.

41 cervi volucres] Silius Italicus 3.297; Statius *Achilleid* 2.111

41 cornix garrula] Ovid *Amores* 3.5.21–2; *Metamorphoses* 2.547–8

43–53 Uni – Aristoteli / but man alone – esteemed Aristotle] See Aristotle *Rhetoric* 2.14.4 and *Politics* 7.14.11. Both texts are mentioned in *Adagia* II iii 48 (LB II 500B / CWE 33 156); cf *Adagia* I v 36 and *Institutio christiani matrimonii* LB V

709C. Aristotle says that bodily prime occurs at about age thirty-five (five times seven), mental prime at about age forty-nine (the 'perfect' age, seven times seven). He does not suggest that 'withered old age' deprives us of bodily strength at mid-life. Where did Erasmus get that idea? While Aristotle bases his terms on a scheme that divides life into ten periods lasting seven years each, Erasmus here contaminates Aristotle's system with the one very commonly used in medical and poetic literature since ancient times: the four seasons of life. This system, adopted for example in Horace *Ars poetica* 158–78 and Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.199–213, was in fact Erasmus' customary way of dividing the ages of man. That he is thinking of the four seasons of life in the present poem is clear from his use of the terms 'spring' (line 169; cf line 67), 'summer' (line 165), 'autumn' (line 205), and 'winter' (lines 69, 167, 209–10).

In the traditional terminology of the four ages of man the autumn of life is called *aetas virilis* 'manhood,' beginning at either age thirty-five or age forty – half the traditional span of life lasting 'threescore and ten' or 'fourscore' years (Ps 90:10). The winter of life was called *senectus* 'old age' and was thought to set in at age fifty-five or sixty. Erasmus himself almost always adopts this terminology. See for example *Precationes* LB V 1201F; *Moria* ASD IV-3 82:186–99, with the sidenotes; *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 216:682–3; and *De immensa Dei misericordia* LB V 569C–D, where he comments that few even reach old age. Quite rarely he follows patristic usage in calling the autumn of life *iuventus* 'youth,' 'prime'; see *Psalmi* 4 ASD V-2 251:874–6. On the ancient and patristic terms for the four ages of man see E. Eyben 'Die Einteilung des menschlichen Lebens im römischen Altertum' *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* n s 116 (1973) 156–8.

Where then did Erasmus get the idea of calling the autumn of life 'old age'? The term does not reflect private, subjective feelings. At almost age forty Erasmus is not feeling old; he *is* old. In the medical terminology of the later Middle Ages old age or *senectus* was thought to start at age thirty-five or forty, decrepitude or *senium* at age fifty-five or sixty. This system was widely accepted in the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It was popularized by the standard medical textbook, Johannicius' *Isagoge ad Techne Galieni*. This originally Arabic summary of Galenic medicine was translated into Latin in the eleventh century and printed at Padua in 1476, at Venice in 1487 and 1491. See Gregor Maurach 'Johannicius *Isagoge ad Techne Galieni*' *Sudhoffs Archiv* 62 (1978) 149. On page 155 of Maurach's edition, paragraph 18, we read the following about the 'ages of man': 'There are four ages, namely adolescence [*adolescentia*], youth [*iuventus*], old age [*senectus*], and decrepitude [*senium*]. Adolescence ... [lasts] until age twenty-five or thirty. It is followed by youth ... which ends at either age thirty-five or forty. Youth is succeeded by old age ... in which to be sure the body begins to grow smaller and decrease, but its strength does not fail until age fifty-five or sixty. Old age is succeeded by decrepitude ... in which a decrease of strength occurs and which ends at death.' That this terminology was well known in the Renaissance may be demonstrated by a passage in Sir Thomas Elyot *The Castel of Helth* (London: Thomas Berthelet 1539) ff 10^v–11^r. Elyot lists the ages of man as follows: 'Adolescencye to .xxv. yeres ... Iuventute unto .xl. yeres ... Senectute, unto .lx. yeres ... wherin the body begynneth to decreace. Age decrepite, untyll the laste tyme of lyfe ... wherin the powers and strength of the body be more and more mynished.' See further Sears *Ages* 28–31, 100, 105, and 115.

It is important to note that Erasmus draws on this medical terminology only in the present poem, where it underscores his rhetorical point and where he can make himself, at almost age forty, the exemplum of fleeting youth.

43–4 post septima ... peracta lustra / after three and a half decades] Literally 'after completing the seventh lustrum.' A *lustrum* is a five-year period.

45 cariosa senecta = Erasmus *Luciani dialogi* ASD I-1 593:1, translating Homer *Iliad* 8.103. The phrase comes from Ovid *Amores* 1.12.29.

45 senecta fatigat = Janus Secundus *Funera* 21.29: *homines, quos aegra senecta fatigat*

49 Immortalem hominis ... partem / the immortal part of a man] Plato calls the mind or rational soul (*spiritus, animus*) the immortal part of man; see for instance *Timaeus* 41C and *Laws* 967D. The rational soul itself, according to Platonic and Neoplatonic thought, is immortal and hence not subject to ageing; but its corporeal instruments, such as the brain and animal spirits, do age; see Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 461:289–91; *De copia* ASD I-6 94:680–1 / CWE 24 372:5–7.

49 ductam ... ex aethere partem / the part descended from the heavens] For the phrasing cf Statius *Thebaid* 9.445; for the thought cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 6.33–5; Erasmus *Enchiridion* LB V 11F–14E / CWE 66 41–3; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 243:8–9 / CWE 25 32: 'some ... have sought the origins of the mind in the stars,' ASD I-2 246:8 / CWE 25 33: 'the mind of man, which has a heavenly origin,' ASD I-2 453:15 / CWE 25 162: 'the mind with its heavenly origin'; *Adagia* LB II 1177B; poem 53.31 below.

52–3 Sua si fides ... constat Aristoteli / if we give credence to ... Aristotle] Cf *Institutio christiani matrimonii* LB V 711A and *Colloquia* ASD I-3 731:406: *si quid Aristoteli credimus; Colloquia* ASD I-3 461:286: *si credimus Aristoteli; Adagia* ASD II-6 403:170: *siquidem Aristoteli credimus; De copia* ASD I-6 132:622–3 / CWE 24 438:8 (among the formulae for citing authorities): *si Terentio credimus* 'if we accept what Terence says.' The expression is not ironic, as Thomson 206 suggests, since Erasmus himself subscribed to these views; see lines 43–53n above. Erasmus considered Aristotle to be Plato's equal in philosophy and regularly quotes from his works. See for example *De ratione studii* ASD I-2 120:12–13 / CWE 24 673:5–6: 'Plato, Aristotle, and his pupil Theophrastus will serve as the best teachers of philosophy'; *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 236:924; *De praeparatione* ASD V-1 384:122; Allen Ep 2432:1–2.

55 fidem ... facit] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.566; Baptista Mantuanus *Eclogues* 4.150: *His facient exempla fidem.*

55 facit experientia = Baptista Mantuanus *Eclogues* 9.195: *facit experientia cautos.* Appealing to experience is an old rhetorical device for demonstrating a point; cf Otto 615.

56 Quam nuper / How short a time ago] Cop had last seen Erasmus in the winter of 1504–5, when Erasmus was giving him Greek lessons. See Huizinga *Erasmus* 49 and George Faludy *Erasmus of Rotterdam* (London 1970) 98.

57 media viridem florere iuventa] These words were later borrowed by Janus Secundus in *Epigrammata* 2.6.3.

57 media ... iuventa = Statius *Silvae* 3.3.126

58 repente versus] See line 10n above.

59 urgentis senii] Cf Cicero *De senectute* 1.2: *urgentis ... senectutis*. Erasmus uses Cicero's phrase again in Allen Ep 596:2–3, also with reference to himself; but by that time he was fifty years old; cf line 47 and note on lines 43–53 above. Cf also Allen Ep 2329:60, of Udalricus Zasius at around age seventy: *urget senectus*.

60–1 alius – sui / He is getting – different from himself] It is a commonplace that the ravages of time ceaselessly change us, so that we eventually become another person. See for example Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.214–16; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 58.22–3 and 104.12; Jerome *Letters* 140.9; Alcuin *Carmina* 9.114–15: *Nec cognoscit homo propria membra senex. / Quod fuit, alter erit, iam nec erit ipse, quod ipse*; Walther 18521 (in part following Horace *Odes* 4.1.3 and Ovid *Tristia* 3.11.25); poem 95.68 below.

61 Dissimilisque sui = Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.314; cf Juvenal 10.192, of one's appearance in old age: *dissimilemque sui*; Allen Ep 1139:61–2: *senex ... sui dissimilis*; poem 95.51, 68 below.

61–4 nec adhuc – Novembreis / and the circle – November] Erasmus was born in the night of 27–8 October and celebrated his birthday on the twenty-eighth. The year in which he was born has been the subject of much controversy. The most probable date now appears to be 1466 (not 1467 or 1469); see Vredeveld 'Ages.' He was thus nearly forty years old when he wrote these lines. By contemporary reckoning he could consider himself on the threshold of decline or old age (lines 43–53n above). The winter of life (decrepitude), beginning at age fifty-five or sixty, is still only approaching from afar (lines 195–210 below). In *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* LB VI 904F Erasmus recalls that in early 1506 he 'was already getting on in years and declining downward toward age forty [*ad quadragesimum devergenti annum*].' And in his *Compendium vitae* (Allen I 51:123–4 / CWE 4 409:137–8) he says that when he lived at Bologna in 1506–7 he was entering the decline of his age (*vergente aetate*), 'for he was now about forty.' Cf Allen Ep 3032:203–4, 506–7, where Erasmus asserts that he was going on forty when he travelled to Italy in the summer of 1506.

63 Natalem lucem] Ovid *Ibis* 215

65 raris – canis] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.568. The half-line *sparguntur tempora canis* was borrowed by Murmellius *Elegiae morales* 1.2.47; cf poems 95.59 and 104.19–20 below.

67–9 praeteritis – senectam / reminds me – presses upon me] Here Erasmus draws on the familiar comparison of the ages of man with the four seasons. See Burrow *Ages* 12–36; Sears *Ages* 9–37.

67 vernantibus] For this metaphorical sense see Propertius 4.5.59; Prudentius *Contra Symmachum* 2.7; Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 64:783: *vernat aetas*; poem 95.20 below.

68–9 monet ... instare senectam] Cf Marullus *Epigrammata* 1.21.3: *Lilia, ut instantis monearis virgo senectae*; Horace *Odes* 4.7.7.

70 Eheu ... ohe] *Euripidis Hecuba* ASD I-1 261:1146

70 Eheu fugacis] Cf Horace *Odes* 2.14.1: *Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume, / Labuntur anni.*

71 Pars – aevi / O better part – away faster] Erasmus often remarks that the first part of life is the best and happiest; see for example *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 53:21 / CWE 23 30:17; *Moria* ASD IV-3 82:186–93 and 116:857 / CWE 27 91 and 110; *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 75:4 and 78:8 / CWE 26 343 and 345; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 449:2–3 / CWE 25 159; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 640:109 and 117; 641:151–2. In *Adagia* ASD II-5 330:37–8 he says that we foolishly waste the first part of life, even though it is the best. The lament that the best part of life is also the quickest to leave us is a commonplace; see for instance Virgil *Georgics* 3.66–7, quoted in Erasmus *Adagia* II iii 49; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 108.25; *De brevitate vitae* 9.4; Erasmus *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 53:27–8 / CWE 23 30:25; *Enchiridion* LB V 59A / CWE 66 117: 'those best and truly golden years, which flee the quickest [*pernicissime*], never to return'; *De copia* ASD I-6 94:690–1 / CWE 24 372:28–9; *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 75:8–9 / CWE 26 343; Allen Epp 1798:5 and 1826:25.

72–3 saeculi caduci Flos ... brevis] Cf Marullus *Epigrammata* 4.34.43: *caduci ... flos aevi brevis.*

73 Flos nimium brevis] Horace *Odes* 2.3.13–14; cf poem 95.32n below.

73 nulla reparabilis arte = Ovid *Heroides* 5.103; cf Virgil *Georgics* 3.284.

74 Tenerae ... iuventae] See 95.17n below.

75 felicia tempora = Juvenal 2.38. Instead of *o felicia tempora* (which is also the reading of the first edition of 13 November 1506) the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507 prints *proh aurea tempora* 'Alas, golden years.'

76–8 Ut clanculum – avolastis / how secretly – slipped away] For the commonplace that time, especially the time of youth, flies in deceptive silence see for instance Ovid *Amores* 1.8.49 and *Metamorphoses* 10.519; Erasmus *Adagia* II i 4 (citing Ovid *Fasti* 6.771 and Columella 10.159–60); *Parabolae* ASD I-5 290:118–20 / CWE 23 255:36–40. Cf lines 110–11n below.

79–80 Haud – ripas / Not so rapidly – behind them] Time's swift flow is commonly compared to that of streams or torrents; see for example Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.62; *Metamorphoses* 15.179–84; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 53:369–70 / CWE 66 147: 'like a rapid stream we roll headlong towards our decline'; *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 216:702–3; poem 95.26 below.

79 properant ... cursu] Seneca *Hercules furens* 178: *properat cursu / vita citato*

81–2 Impete – Euris / Not so forcibly – winds of the east] Cf Silius Italicus 15.713–14; Horace *Odes* 2.16.23–4. The swift lapse of youth and life is traditionally compared to the wind; see for example Walther 5314, 17055, 22259, 32399, 33876, and 33876a; poem 95.25 below.

81 cava nubila = Virgil *Aeneid* 9.671; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.623 and 9.271

82 Euris / winds of the east] The east wind, being a storm wind, was proverbial for rapidity; see Otto 1867; Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 74:7 / CWE 24 344:16; also poems 95.25 and 105.8 below.

83–4 Sic – somno / Just so – sleep flies away] Cf Job 20:8 (of the hypocrite): 'He will fly away like a dream [*Velut somnium avolans*], and not be found; he will be chased away like a vision of the night'; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 51:312–13 / CWE 66 145: 'the whole mirage of exalted offices disappears like dreams gone with your sleep [*insomniorum more, quae una cum sopore avolant*].' The image is traditional; cf for example Jerome *Letters* 140.9, expounding Ps 90:5–6; Walther 26677 and 26683; poem 95.101–2 below.

83 Sic sic = 95.53 and 104.13 below, in similar context. For the rhetorical doubling of the adverb, intended to arouse pathos (Lausberg 612–18), see for example Virgil *Aeneid* 4.660 and Seneca *Hercules furens* 1218; Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 360:26; poems 25.3 and 112.183 below; Janus Secundus *Odes* 2.13: *Sic, sic praetereunt tempora.*

83 tacitae ... somnia noctis] Baptista Mantuanus *Dionysius Areopagites* 3 in *Opera* I f 212^r: *tacitae ... insomnia noctis.* For the phrase *tacitae ... noctis* see for instance Tibullus 1.6.6; Ovid *Heroides* 17(18).78; *Fasti* 2.552; poem 102.2 below.

83 vaga somnia = Statius *Thebaid* 10.112

85 desyderium curas et / longing and empty anxiety] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.14.18: *desiderium curaque.* Both *desiderium* and *cura* are often used in the language of love; cf for example Marullus *Epigrammata* 2.32.90: *O desideriis unica cura meis;* Fausto Andrelini *Livia* 1.4.2: *O desyderii maxima cura mei;* Allen Ep 6:8 / CWE Ep 6:8–9: 'every person who is at leisure is caught up in love's longings [*in desideriis*].' We should nevertheless be wary of interpreting the phrase in a romantic-psychological way, as if it were 'one of the few glimpses we have of Erasmus's suppressed sensuous consciousness' (Thomson 207; cf Chomarat 402 together with n29). We are dealing here with a traditional theme: dreams fill the soul with seductive vanities that pollute body and soul and hence cause much anguish. See Plato *Republic* 571C–D; Sir 34:1–7; Innocent III *De miseria condicionis humane* 1.23. Therefore Christians pray that they may not be tempted in their dreams by the devil and may instead wake up to the vanity of earthly life; see for instance Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 1.89–96 and 6.137–52; AH 51 18.3–4, 51 33.2, and 51 46.3–4.

87–8 Sic – Haustro / Just so a rose – from the south] The rose in its pre-modern form bloomed in the morning and wilted in the evening and so became a proverbial symbol of fleeting youth. See for example Propertius 4.5.61–2; Ausonius *De rosis nascentibus* 43–6; Alain de Lille *De vanitate mundi rhythmus* 7–24; Walther 2946, 14900b, 32539c, and 32540; Erasmus *Adagia* LB II 501D / CWE 33 158; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 358:466–7.

87 murice tincta] For the image cf 4.100 below; for the expression see 4.101n.

89–114 Atque ita – iuventae / And just so – already slipped by] The theme and structure of this long sentence, with its series of *dum*-clauses capped with the reminder that old age was all the while stealing upon him, varies and amplifies Juvenal 9.128–9: 'While we are drinking, while we desire wreaths, ointments, girls, old age steals upon us unawares.' For the hortatory counterpart to these retrospective *dum*-clauses see lines 195–200 below.
If the basic structure and theme of lines 89–114 come from Juvenal's ninth satire, the idea of filling the series of *dum*-clauses with autobiographical material derives from Prudentius *Praefatio* 7–27. See the introduction, CWE 85 xlvii. Cf also Seneca *Epistulae morales* 49.2.

89 nucibus / with nuts] For a description of games with nuts see *De nuce* ASD I-1 163:27–165:17 / CWE 29 151–4; cf also *Colloquia* ASD I-3 562:48–9 and

622:64–5; *De recta pronuntiatione* ASD I-4 41:922 / CWE 26 400. They were proverbially children's games, abandoned when we grow up: Otto 1257; Erasmus *Adagia* I v 35 and *Colloquia* ASD I-3 182:1867–71.

90–1 literas ... Ardeo / I was passionately – writing] Cf Allen Ep 23:37–9 / CWE Ep 23:39–42.

91 pugnas ... sophorum / the controversies ... of the philosophers] See *Querela pacis* ASD IV-2 66:150–6 / CWE 27 297, concerning the battles among scholars, rhetoricians, logicians, and theologians, particularly the wars between Scotists and Thomists, Nominalists and Realists, Platonists and Peripatetics.

91 viasque sophorum / the schools of the philosophers] The word *vias* (literally 'ways') shows that Erasmus is thinking of the scholastic theologians. They were divided into various schools belonging to the *via antiqua* 'the old way,' represented by Thomas Aquinas and other philosophical realists, and *via moderna* 'the new way,' represented by William of Occam and other nominalists. Cf *Moria* ASD IV-3 148:417 / CWE 27 127: 'all the different lines [*viae*] of scholastic argument.' For the meaning of *sophorum* here cf line 225n below.

92 colores / figures] The figures of speech taught by the rhetoricians. They are essential to good poetry, Erasmus says in Allen Ep 27:35 / CWE Ep 27:35–6. Cf line 228n below.

93 mellifluae ... poesis] Allen Ep 22:14; cf Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 5 metrum 2.3: *melliflui ... oris Homerus.*

93 deamo figmenta poesis / I was madly in love with the ... fictions of ... poetry] Cf Allen Epp 1110:35 and 1581:524–5. The phrase *figmenta poesis* 'fictions of poetry' is a variation on the stock phrase *figmenta poetarum* 'fictions of the poets'; see for example *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 333:4; *De copia* ASD I-6 236:944–5; *Adagia* LB II 230E. It was frequently used by Christian writers in a pejorative sense, especially of heathen poetry. But others employed it in a much more positive way, arguing that works like the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* were in fact allegories – a view that Erasmus shared; see 93.58–60n below. See Ludwig Gompf 'Figmenta poetarum' in *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter* (Darmstadt 1973) 53–62.

94 Dum necto syllogismos / while I wove together syllogisms] A reference to the study of dialectics. The phrase *necto syllogismos* also occurs in *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 99:9 / CWE 23 77:23 and *Colloquia* ASD I-3 609:203 (of theologians). Cf Allen Ep 64:36 / CWE Ep 64:39–40; *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 125:23 / CWE 23 106:18.

95 Pingere] Erasmus often uses this verb ('to draw,' 'paint') in the sense of tracing geometrical and mathematical figures; see for instance *Adagia* LB II 1075A–B; *Moria* ASD IV-3 164:605–6; *Ex Plutarcho versa* ASD IV-2 128:180–1; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 259:884; *In Nucem Ovidii commentarius* ASD I-1 165:5: *E creta pingitur ampla figura triangula.* The once widely accepted belief that Erasmus painted as a youth has been discredited; see Jacques Chomarat 'A propos d'Erasme et de la peinture: une légende?' *Latomus* 32 (1973) 868–72.

95 tenueis sine corpore formas / abstract and incorporeal diagrams] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.292–3: *tenuis sine corpore vitas / ... volitare cava sub imagine formae.* Virgil means the insubstantial shades of the dead; Erasmus is speaking of the abstract figures of mathematics and geometry. Cf for example *Hyperas-*

pistes LB X 1329D: *Mathematici [disputant] de formis abstractis a materia* 'mathematicians argue about abstract diagrams'; see further Vredeveld 'Puzzles' 600–4. Janus Secundus *Odes* 3.15–16 employs Virgil's phrase (via Erasmus) to praise Aegidius Busleyden jr as a painter: *[solers] facili manu / Tabellae sine corpore / Tenues indere formas*. One should not, however, infer from this borrowing that Erasmus too must be referring to painting (Dekker *Janus Secundus* 73 n52). Just as Erasmus borrows Virgil's phrasing and uses it in an entirely different context to refer to the drawing of geometrical figures, so Janus Secundus borrows Erasmus' phrase and applies it to the painting of human figures.

96–7 per omne – genus] Cf *Adagia* LB II 16E: *hominem inexplebili legendi aviditate per omne genus auctorum circumvolitantem*.

97–8 undique – Matinae / everywhere drawing – Mount Matinus] Cf Horace *Odes* 4.2.27–9. Horace employs the simile to describe the process of poetic imitation. For this familiar image see Jürgen von Stackelberg 'Das Bienengleichnis: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen *Imitatio*' *Romanische Forschungen* 68 (1956) 271–93; G.W. Pigman 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance' *Renaissance Quarterly* 23 (1980) 4–7; Erasmus *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 625:16–20 / CWE 28 367–8. In the present passage, however, Erasmus is not using the image primarily in the sense of literary imitation, *pace* Eckart Schäfer 'Erasmus und Horaz' *Antike und Abendland* 16 (1970) 59; nor is he still regarding his education purely 'as the formation of a *poet*' (Thomson 207). The emphasis here is on the selective acquisition of wide-ranging knowledge in all sorts of fields as the essential foundation of a career as scholar and writer; cf Seneca *Epistulae morales* 84.3–5. For the humanist this sort of reading naturally includes studies both sacred and profane (see line 103 below). Those who object to this linking are invited to recall St Basil's argument in his celebrated booklet *Ad adolescentes*: Christians may read the pagan authors provided they follow the example of the honey-bee by selecting from their reading what is good and rejecting what is unwholesome. (For Erasmus' use of St Basil's work see Schucan *Nachleben* 176–80.) Baptista Mantuanus uses the image that way in *Parthenice Mariana* 1.653–5 to describe the Virgin's studies of sacred and pagan literature; and Erasmus himself elaborates on it in *Enchiridion* LB V 9D / CWE 66 36. See also for example *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 395:14–18 / CWE 25 126; *Parabolae* ASD I-5 296:207–12 / CWE 23 260:4–10. In *De copia* ASD I-6 262:613–17 / CWE 24 639:1–3 and Allen Ep 173:61–3 / CWE Ep 173:73–5 he uses the image in much the same way as in the present passage, to describe how a writer acquires encyclopaedic learning. Jerome's wide-ranging learning, he remarks in Allen Ep 396:199–204 / CWE Ep 396:215–20, was drawn from innumerable sources: 'There is no class of author anywhere and no kind of literature which he does not use whenever he likes ... Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Chaldaean, sacred and profane, old and new, everything! Like a bee that flies from flower to flower, he collected the best of everything to make the honey stored in his works.'

98 Matinae] Matinus is a mountain in Apulia.

99 Paedias ... absolvere cyclum / complete the ... circle of learning] Cf *De virtute amplectenda* LB V 71B / CWE 29 11: 'that encyclopaedic learning of his [*cyclo-*

paediam], which ranges unrestricted over every discipline'; *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 76:2 / CWE 26 344; *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 223:974; *Adagia* ASD II-4 78:411–12 (where see note on line 411); Allen Ep 118:22. The phrase *Paedias ... cyclum* refers to the 'cyclopaedia' of knowledge or *orbis doctrinae*; see Quintilian 1.10.1 and Pliny *Naturalis historia* preface 14, where it is based on the Greek ideal of the well-rounded education necessary before one specializes in a given field. Erasmus describes this circle of learning at some length in *De copia* ASD I-6 198:29–46 / CWE 24 572:35–573:16 and refers to it often elsewhere. Encyclopaedic erudition was to remain Erasmus' ideal so long as it was sought for the sake of Christ and did not become an end in itself; see *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 223:960–82. He considered St Jerome the embodiment of the ideal; see Allen Ep 396:123–37, 199–213, and 329–30 / CWE Ep 396:135–48, 215–31, and 354–5. In the present passage the 'cyclopaedia' is summed up by means of representative examples. First comes the trivium: grammar, that is, the study of Latin language and literature (90); rhetoric (92); and dialectics (94). Next are two subjects from the quadrivium: mathematics and geometry (95); music and astronomy are omitted. To these subjects Erasmus adds philosophy and theology (91), as well as advanced studies in Greek and Latin language and literature, both pagan and Christian (103–4).

100–1 gestienti ... amore / enthusiasm and love] Literally 'exultant love.' The first edition of 13 November 1506 reads *concitanti ... amore* 'ardent love.'

101 Singula – amore] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 3.284–5, lamenting the irreparable flight of time: *Sed fugit interea, fugit inreparabile tempus, / singula dum capti circumvectamur amore.*

102 Dum – relinqui] Cf *Adagia* LB II 161D: *nihil ... intentatum relinque.*

103 prophana sacris ... iungere / to combine secular with sacred studies] Cf *Adagia* I iii 82: *Miscebis sacra profanis* 'You will mix sacred and profane,' said disapprovingly of people who stop at nothing. In the present passage, however, Erasmus is not speaking of mixing the sacred and the profane in an impious way, but rather of combining them. He admired this very achievement in St Jerome; see Allen Ep 396:129–30, 201–2 / CWE Ep 396:141, 218; and lines 97–8n above. See also *Enchiridion* LB V 66B / CWE 66 127, where Erasmus explains that he acquired his knowledge of Greek and Latin literature not out of some worldly desire for fame, but to adorn the Lord's temple; cf 45.6–8 below.

103 Graeca Latinis = Horace *Satires* 1.10.20 (in a pejorative sense, of intermingling Greek and Latin). Cf Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 221:19 and *De copia* ASD I-6 50:460, 477–8 (approvingly, of using Greek in Latin texts).

105–6 terraque marique Volitare / flitted about over land and sea] Cf Allen Ep 197:2 / CWE Ep 197:4; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 380:168 and 386:384. Erasmus commonly applies the phrase to the merchant seeking temporal profit; see *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 335:14–15 and 362:22 / CWE 25 87 and 105; *Moria* ASD IV-3 136:210 / CWE 27 121: *per omnia maria volitat* 'this one scours the seas'; poem 96.5–14 below; also *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 64:697 / CWE 66 157 (last line); *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 92:1–3 / CWE 23 69:12–15: 'Solon and Herodotus ... wandering to all the corners of the earth ... like busy merchants of wisdom'; paraphrase on James 4:15 (LB VII 1137B). For the thought cf Horace *Epistles* 1.1.45–6: the trader rushes to the Indies in order to flee poverty through sea, rock, and flame.

105 terraque marique] Cf Otto 1762; Erasmus *Adagia* I iv 25.

108–9 Dulceis – doctis / while I strove – learned men] The desire to make friends and gain renown and honour are characteristic of the third age of man's life (*aetas virilis*), according to Horace *Ars poetica* 166–7. For an account of Erasmus' aspirations at this time see L.-E. Halkin 'Erasme en Italie' in *Colloquia Erasmiana Turonensia* (Toronto 1972) I 37–53.

108 Dulceis ... amicos] See 104.13n below.

110–11 Furtim – senium / all the while – imperceptibly over me] Cf Prudentius *Praefatio* 22–3, following a summary of his activities in youth and manhood: *Haec dum vita volans agit, / inrepsit subito canities seni.* The thought that old age steals upon the unwary is a commonplace; see for example Cicero *De senectute* 2.4; Tibullus 1.1.71; Juvenal 9.129; Walther 28018a; Erasmus *Psalmi* 4 ASD V-2 251:876; *De praeparatione* ASD V-1 354:315. Cf lines 76–8n above.

110 pigrum] A conventional epithet of old age; see for instance Tibullus 1.10.40; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.396; Erasmus *Ecclesiastes* LB V 999A.

111 subito] Cf line 10n above.

111 vireis / my strength] The first edition of 13 November 1506 and the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507 here read *corpus* 'my body.'

113–14 Vixque – iuventae] Cf lines 199–200 below.

113–14 spatium ... iuventae] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.225, of the transition from youth to the autumn of middle age and the winter of old age

113–14 valentis ... iuventae] Catullus 61.227–8

115–85 Quur – vitae / Why do mortals – such trifles, alas] For the commonplace that people foolishly hold wealth in higher regard than time cf Seneca *Epistulae morales* 1.3; Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 245:178–246:202 / CWE 24 622:14–623:6; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 639:85–7 and 640:117–641:152; *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 74:26–75:3 / CWE 26 343; *Psalmi* 4 ASD V-2 249:815–17; *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 144:277–9.

117 aetas aurea / golden age] Cf Otto 208.

118–19 Preciosior lapillis Et ... auro / so much more precious – any gold] Proverbial; see Otto 217; *Nachträge* 138–9; Walther 31299a; Prov 8:19 and 16:16; Isa 13:12; 1 Pet 1:7; and poem 87.11 below.

119 auro ... ostro = Statius *Thebaid* 6.62; cf Horace *Ars poetica* 228; Virgil *Aeneid* 4.134.

123 Adde – perdita / Then too – can be replaced] Cf Seneca *Epistulae morales* 1.3; Jean Gerson *In Dominica Septuagesimae* in *Oeuvres complètes* V 365 (on the flight of human life): *Adde quod aliarum rerum perditioni utcumque succurritur; temporis iactura irreparabilis est* 'Add to this, that the loss of other things can be remedied in one way or another; the loss of time is irreparable.' The thought was proverbial; see Walther 2838 and 25485a.

123–5 Crassos – Irus] Marcus Licinius Crassus Dives, the triumvir, and Croesus, the last king of Lydia in Asia Minor, were proverbial examples of rich men; see Otto 457 and 468; Erasmus *Adagia* I vi 74; *De copia* ASD I-6 106:952 / CWE 24 391:4–5. Codrus and Irus were proverbially poor men. See Otto 875;

Erasmus *Adagia* I vi 76; *De copia* ASD I-6 76:76–7, 104:943, and 106:952 / CWE 24 347:34, 390:2, and 391:5. See also poems 42.14, 96.105–8n, 96.121, and 105.19 below.

123–5 Crassos – Croesos] The model is Jerome *Contra Rufinum* 1.17 (CCSL 79 16): *Quamvis Croesos quis spiret et Darios* ... This is cited in Erasmus *Adagia* I vi 74 as: *Croesos licet spires, et Darios* 'You may give yourself the airs of Croesuses and Dariuses ...' Cf *Adagia* LB II 136A–B / CWE 31 286:25–8; *Moria* ASD IV-3 118:899–900 / CWE 27 112: 'some wretched humbly born pauper ... imagines he's Croesus, king of Lydia.' Instead of *spires* in lines 124–5, all the early editions read *speres;* but in view of the parallels cited above, this must be an error.

127 fusis ... devolverit] Virgil *Georgics* 4.348–9

127 Clotho] The Fate who spun the thread of life; see lines 29–35n above.

128–39 Id – undas / not by the potions – Chios across the waves] In *Moria* ASD IV-3 84:257–86:261 / CWE 27 93 Folly notes that foolish mortals seek to restore their youth with the aid of 'a Medea, Circe, Venus, and Aurora.' Folly goes on to assert that only she possesses 'the magic philtre with which Memnon's daughter prolonged the youth of her grandfather Tithonus' and that she is 'the Venus by whose favour Phaon became young again to be loved so much by Sappho.' In *Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum* LB V 1213A Erasmus says that Christ is that gracious enchanter and wizard who not only can restore the body's youth but can also give immortal life to the soul, not with Thessalian or Colchian (that is, Medea's) potions, but through his victory over death.

128–41 venena – herbas] Cf Tibullus 2.4.55–6, mentioning Circe's and Medea's potions and Thessaly's herbs.

128 Circes] In restoring their human shape, Circe made Odysseus' men younger than before; see Homer *Odyssey* 10.388–99.

129 magicum ... sceptrum / the magical sceptre] Mercury's magic wand, which Erasmus identified with his herald's staff (*caduceus*); see *Adagia* I i 97; *Paraclesis* LB V 137E; and poem 27.2 below. Magic wands like this had the power of rejuvenation. In *Adagia* I i 97 Erasmus cites as examples Homer *Odyssey* 13.429, 16.172, and 16.455–6, where Odysseus is transformed by Athene's magic wand into a young man and vice versa.

129 Maia nati / the son of Maia] Horace *Satires* 2.6.5. Mercury was the son of Maia and Jupiter.

130–1 dira – precamina / the dire incantations – the Thessalians] Medea, the Colchian sorceress, rejuvenated Jason's father Aeson with magic formulas and potions; see Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.251–93. The Thessalians were reputed to be masters of magic and witchcraft; see for example Ovid *Amores* 3.7.27; Lucan 6.434–568; Seneca *Phaedra* 791: *Thessalicis carminibus;* Allen Ep 143:198–9 / CWE Ep 143:217–18.

131 succis] Ovid uses this word of Medea's magic rejuvenating drug in *Metamorphoses* 7.215 and 287; cf Erasmus *Moria* ASD IV-3 86:259.

131 precamina] The word is late Latin. It is used in similar context in *Moria* ASD IV-3 86:262. For the meaning of the word ('magic incantations') see also for example *Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum* LB V 1212E; *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam* LB V 1236B; Allen Epp 143:196 and 145:139–40; *Enchiridion* LB V 9B;

Luciani dialogi ASD I-1 533:20; *Adagia* LB II 83E. The word is used in a Christian sense in poem 9.32 below.

132–3 divum ... pater] Virgil *Aeneid* 1.65, 2.648, and 10.2, 743

133 Nectare ... ambrosioque liquore / nectar and ambrosial draughts] Nectar and ambrosia were the gods' food and drink, served to them by Hebe 'Youth.' Occasionally nectar and ambrosia were also given to men (Homer *Iliad* 19.352–4). While Homer does not specifically assert that they can maintain mortal men's youth, he does mention that Ganymede, Zeus' cupbearer, enjoyed eternal youth. The goddess Calypso gave Odysseus food (nectar and ambrosia, presumably), promising him eternal youth (*Odyssey* 5.135–6). When he was about to leave, however, she offered him such food as mortals eat, while she herself partook of the customary nectar and ambrosia (*Odyssey* 5.196–9).

133 ambrosio ... liquore] Statius *Thebaid* 9.731; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.23 and *Peristefanon* 13.12

135 nugator Homerus / Homer, that teller of tall tales] Cf *Luciani dialogi* ASD I-1 475:17, of Homer: *nugatorem illum poetam.* In *Moria* ASD IV-3 112:783 / CWE 27 108 Erasmus calls Homer *nugarum pater* 'the father of fables.' So Aristotle, whom Erasmus ranks with Plato as the greatest of philosophers, is an unlearned, foolish *nugator* in comparison with those who, like John the Baptist, are inspired by the wisdom of God; see *Adagia* ASD II-5 165:109–11. Elsewhere, where there is no rhetorical need to belittle Homer's fables, Erasmus praises Homer as the prince of poets, the father of all poetry, learning, and philosophy; see for example *Adagia* LB II 556F; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 336:14–337:3 / CWE 25 87; *De virtute amplectenda* LB V 67F / CWE 29 5; *Lingua* ASD IV-1A 72:506 / CWE 29 304. That view is based on the traditional idea that Homer's fables are in fact to be understood as allegories conveying a deeper wisdom; see Maria Cytowska 'Homer bei Erasmus' *Philologus* 118 (1974) 143–57; also poem 93.58–60n below.

136–7 Non si – coniunx / not if the saffron – invigorating dew] See *Adagia* I vi 65, where it is explained that Aurora prolonged her husband Tithonus' life for many years with her life-giving elixir (*illius succo*); *Moria* ASD IV-3 86:259–60 / CWE 27 93 (with a garbled allusion; see lines 128–39n above); Listrius' commentary on the *Moria* passage in LB IV 415 n4: *Aurora succo suo iuventutem produxit in plurimos annos suo Tithono* 'With her elixir Aurora prolonged her husband Tithonus' youth for many years.' Erasmus' (and Listrius') version is not classical. According to Homer *Hymn* 5.218–38 it was Zeus who gave Tithonus immortality at Aurora's request; but since she forgot to ask Zeus also for eternal youth, her husband wasted away in his old age. He thus became a byword for a very old man; see Otto 1789; poem 4.68 and notes below.

137 lutea / saffron] A conventional epithet of Aurora; see for example Virgil *Aeneid* 7.26 and Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.703.

139 Phaon – undas / like Phaon – across the waves] Venus rejuvenated the old ferryman Phaon, who had taken her across the straits of Chios for free; see *Luciani dialogi* ASD I-1 582:14–16.

139 per Chias ... undas] Here the first edition of 13 November 1506 reads *per Siculas ... undas; Varia epigrammata* of January 1507 has *aequoreas ... undas.*

140 Chiron] A centaur famed as physician and as tutor of Achilles, Asclepius, and others

142–53 Nec anulus – sistant / No ring – what is now passing onward] Cf *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 74:27–75:3 / CWE 26 343: 'Once our years have flown by – and how swiftly they fly! – they cannot be recalled by any magic spell. Poets talk nonsense when they speak of a fountain from which the aged can draw, as it were, a second youth, and doctors practise deception when they promise a renewed vitality to the old through some mysterious quintessence. There is no remedy to restore wasted years; we must husband them, therefore, with the utmost care.'

142 anulus / ring] On the magic power of rings see *Adagia* I i 96.

143 annos ... eunteis] Horace *Epistles* 2.2.55

144–9 Atqui – quadrigas / But they say – fixed in their tracks] Stopping rivers or reversing their flow and staying the heavenly bodies in their course were conventional feats of the ancient magicians; see for example Virgil *Aeneid* 4.489; Tibullus 1.2.43–4; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.199–209. Cf Josh 10:12–13.

144–5 magorum ... cantu] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.195

145 sisti ... flumina cantu] Fausto Andrelini *Elegiae* 1 sig b1^r, of Orpheus' song: *Concita Threiicio qui sistere flumina cantu [potuit]*

145 torrentia flumina = Virgil *Eclogues* 7.52

147 verso in contraria] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12.179 and *Tristia* 1.3.75

148–9 Cynthiae ... quadrigas / team of Cynthia] Literally 'the four-horse team of Cynthia.' Unlike the sun-god, the moon-goddess traditionally rides a two-horse chariot; see for example Seneca *Phaedra* 312 and *Agamemnon* 819; Lucan 1.77–8; Statius *Thebaid* 12.297. Stylistic and metrical constraints prevent Erasmus from following this convention here.

148–9 volucres ... sisti ... quadrigas] Cf Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c4^r, referring to Josh 10:12–13: *volucres Phoebi potuit ... sistere currus.*

148–9 volucres ... quadrigas] Claudian *Panegyricus Manlii Theodori* 283; Erasmus *Euripidis Iphigenia in Aulide* ASD I-1 286:315–16

149 rapidas ... quadrigas] Prudentius *Contra Symmachum* 1.344 (of the sun's car); Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 4.293

149 Phoebi ... quadrigas] Cf 110.45–6 below.

151 non speres] An echo of Horace *Odes* 4.7.7; see lines 154–71n below.

152–3 vitae Saecla] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.444 and 15.395

154–71 Sol – finem / The sun sinks – greatest of afflictions] The passage is inspired primarily by Horace *Odes* 4.7.7–16; cf Erasmus *Adagia* LB II 1121E and *Parabolae* ASD I-5 262:688–91 / CWE 23 239:17–22.

155 ore serenus = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 4.10.17, 4.16.15, 4.21.7

161 Zephyris redeuntibus / as the western winds return] This phrase, which is also the reading in the first edition of 13 November 1506, is changed in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507 to *Zephyris spirantibus* 'when the western winds blow'; cf poem 64.28 below. The warm west wind (zephyr) conventionally heralds the coming of spring; see for example Horace *Odes* 4.7.9; *Epistles* 1.7.13 (recalled in Allen Epp 2846:174 and 2860:21–2), mentioning both the zephyr and the swallow; Ovid *Tristia* 3.12.1. See also poems 64.28 and 104.7 below.

163 Ver ... reducit hirundo / the ... swallow brings back the ... spring = Walther

33034: *Ver ... non una reducit hirundo* 'one swallow does not bring back the spring.' Like the zephyr, the swallow was a traditional harbinger of spring; see for instance Horace *Epistles* 1.7.13; Erasmus *Adagia* LB II 23A / CWE 31 45:395–6, I vi 59, and I vii 94; *De copia* ASD I-6 171:580 / CWE 24 519:28–9.

163 reversa ... hirundo = Calpurnius 5.17

165 Fervida ... aestas] Lucan 1.214; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 5:16 and 4 metrum 6.27; cf poem 95.88 below. The epithet *fervidus* is used to describe hot-blooded youth in Horace *Odes* 4.13.26; *Ars poetica* 116; and Silius Italicus 17.413.

165 saeclis labentibus aestas] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 1.283.

166–7 tristis ... hyems / gloomy winter] Virgil *Georgics* 4.135; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.409; *Tristia* 3.10.9; and often; also poems 64.24 and 106.1, 78, 82 below; cf 104.12n. The epithet *tristis* 'gloomy,' 'melancholy' is traditionally applied to old age; see lines 195–6n below.

167–8 tempora ... canuere] Cf Ovid *Fasti* 2.109–10; Virgil *Aeneid* 5.416.

168 Nive / snowfall] Horace *Odes* 4.13.12; Quintilian 8.6.17; Prudentius *Praefatio* 27; Erasmus *Enchiridion* LB V 59B / CWE 66 117: 'the grey hairs and snow on your head.'

170–1 malis – finem / our afflictions – greatest of afflictions] Cf Fausto Andrelini *Eclogues* 1.67–8, in a prayer to God: *finemque supremum / His impone malis.* The thought that death ends all our afflictions is proverbial; see for example Cicero *In Catilinam* 4.4; Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux *Liber de modo bene vivendi* 70.164 (PL 184 1303): *Mors ponit finem omnibus malis in hac vita;* Walther 15118, 15152, 15156, and 15173; Erasmus *Luciani dialogi* ASD I-1 512:28; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 453:14 / CWE 25 162; *Adagia* LB II 974E: *mors finem doloribus imponere videatur; Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 212:527–8 and 214:598–9; *De praeparatione* ASD V-1 370:751–2. For the idea that death is itself the greatest of all afflictions cf Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.6.6, quoted in Erasmus *De praeparatione* ASD V-1 339:3 and alluded to in *De vidua christiana* LB V 723F / CWE 66 184; cf also *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 51:312 / CWE 66 145: 'death – the most bitter fate of all'; *Euripidis Iphigenia in Aulide* ASD I-1 348:2021; *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 239:599: *mors ... res omnium tristium tristissima* 'death ... the saddest of all sad things.'

171 mors una = Statius *Thebaid* 1.109; cf *Thebaid* 9.280; Lucan 3.689; Walther 9356 and 14866: *Mille modis miseros mors rapit una homines,* 14865.

172–3 More – sapere / In such circumstances – when it is too late] For the proverb 'The Trojans learn wisdom too late' see Otto 1410; Erasmus *Adagia* I i 28. For the thought cf *Adagia* LB II 574B, in a fragment from a now-lost epigram of Erasmus: 'Even at this late hour I will learn wisdom [*Vel sero sapiemus*]'; *Enchiridion* LB V 57F / CWE 66 115: 'how late they showed good sense [*quam sero sapuerint*], how late they began to hate their fatal pleasures'; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 227:18 / CWE 25 22: 'he began too late to be wise.'

173 dispendia vitae] Cf 43.56 below.

177–9 quae vehementer – felle / what formerly seemed sweet – bitter gall] Honey-covered gall or poison is a proverbial image for the pleasures of this world, sweet on the outside, but bitter and poisonous within: cf Otto 1083 and 1085; *Nachträge* 279–80; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 48:235–6 / CWE 66 142; *De puero Iesu* LB V 607E / CWE 29 68; *Colloquia* ASD I-3

732:465–733:466; also poems 30.3, 43.43, and 105.40 below. For the dialectic of inversion cf poem 108.7–10n.

179 tristi ... felle] Tibullus 2.4.12; Fausto Andrelini *Livia* 1.9.88: *tristi gaudia felle madent*

179 pectora felle = Silius Italicus 11.548: *undantia pectora felle*

182 collocare] Cf *Apologia contra Latomi dialogum* LB IX 79B: *Quo minus mihi superest aetatis ... hoc parcius uti et circumspectius collocare decreveram.*

184–213 At nunc – sequamur / But now – pursue a better course] The same thought is expressed, albeit in an ironically inverted form, in *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 131:4–8 / CWE 23 114:16–20, spoken by a lazy theologian who, instead of spending his youth, the best time of life, in studying and writing, prefers to wait for the Holy Spirit to inspire him: 'Let us mend our ways [*Resipiscamus*] – even though rather late – and "try for better things [*meliora sequamur*] ..." ... Let us take care of our skins, and "be generous with wine and sleep," as Horace puts it, while we wait for celestial inspiration to descend on us between yawns [*oscitantibus nobis*].'

184–9 mihi – mente / how large a part – mind totally alert] The idea that people who live for momentary pleasures are 'slumbering' and should be roused from their dreams is ancient and biblical. See for example Seneca *Epistulae morales* 108.24; Matt 25:1–13; Mark 13:33–7; Luke 12:35–48; Rom 13:11; 1 Thess 5:2–6; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 1; Petrarch *De remediis utriusque fortunae* 1.1 (page 610): *Expergiscimini, consopiti.* Erasmus returns to this thought time and again; see for instance *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 60:571–2 / CWE 66 153; *Ratio* LB V 118D–E; paraphrase on Rom 13:11 (LB VII 822A / CWE 42 76) and on Phil 2:12 (LB VII 997A); and poem 94.49–50 below.

184–5 mihi – vitae / how large a part – such trifles, alas] In *Colloquia* ASD I-3 352:277–353:291 Erasmus makes the point that those who pursue pleasures and vices waste a large part of their lives. Those who pursue frivolous trifles waste a much larger portion of life (*vitae portio*). But those who go about their tasks yawning, as it were (*oscitanter*), waste their entire lives. Cf *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 228:8 / CWE 25 22 (in similar context: people waste the better and greater part of their lives and then begin too late to be wise): 'they have already wasted the greater part of their lives in matters of no consequence [*aliis in nugis*].' In *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 144:254–73 Erasmus cites Gregory the Great, Basil, Chrysostom, and Augustine as examples of people who wasted no part (*nulla portio*) of their time, the most precious thing we have.

185 quanta ... portio vitae] Maximianus *Elegies* 1.16: *heu senibus vitae portio quanta manet*; Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 641:139, of time lost in excessive sleeping: *quantam vitae portionem sibi resecant*; cf Juvenal 9.127–8.

186–9 Satis – mente / Enough now – mind totally alert] Cf Thomas a Kempis *The Imitation of Christ* 1.22.24–6: 'Why do you want to put off your good resolution? Rise and begin at once and say: "Now is the time to do it [*Nunc tempus est faciendi*], now is the time to fight, now is the right time to change your ways."'

186 miselle] Not an (unclassical) adverb, as Thomson 205 assumes, but an adjective in the vocative case. Cf for example Allen Epp 1248:29 and 1249:12.

189 tota ... mente] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.100; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.275. Cf line 229n below.

189 resipiscere] Cf poem 94.49 below; *Psalmi* 4 ASD V-2 251:876 and 85 ASD V-3 418:419–20; *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* LB VI 17F; *Paraphrasis in Elegantias Vallae* ASD I-4 243:991.

190 Velis ... equisque / with all sails set and riding full tilt] *Adagia* I iv 17

191 pedibus manibusque / with tooth and nail] *Adagia* I iv 15

191 totis ... nervis / with every ounce of strength] *Adagia* I iv 16 and III ix 68; *De copia* ASD I-6 146:991 / CWE 24 469:15–16; poem 112.222 below

192–4 Nitendum – sarciatur] Cf *Colloquia* ASD I-3 642:183–5.

193 Temporis ... iactura] Livy 39.4.4; Walther 13016: *Iactura nulla gravior est quam temporis*, 31282g–31283a; Jean Gerson, cited in line 123n above; cf Seneca *Epistulae morales* 1.1; Erasmus *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 75:3 / CWE 26 343: 'There is no remedy to restore wasted years [*aetatis iactura*]'; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 642:185.

195 Dum licet / while we still can] The phrase ('Gather ye rose-buds *while ye may*') is part of the conventions of *carpe diem* poetry; see Tibullus 1.5.76; Horace *Odes* 2.11.16 and 4.12.26; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.61; Propertius 1.19.25; Seneca *Phaedra* 774. Cf poems 95.7 and 104.25–6 below.

195–6 tristis ... senectae / gloomy old age] Manilius 4.156; cf Virgil *Georgics* 3.67 and *Aeneid* 6.275; poems 95.55n and 99.21–2 below; also lines 166–7n above. In *Psalmi* 4 ASD V-2 236:378–90 Erasmus gives physiological reasons why youth is cheerful, old age gloomy, attributing the change to the loss of innate heat.

195–6 in limine primo ... senectae / at the very threshold of ... old age] Erasmus here means the transition from summer to autumn, which according to medieval and Renaissance thinking occurs at age thirty-five or forty. Cf *Apophthegmata* LB IV 304F, where a man about to enter the *winter* of life is said to be *in extremo senectutis limine* 'on the final threshold of old age.' The phrase *limen senectae* goes back to Homer *Iliad* 22.60, 24.487, and *Odyssey* 15.348. In *Adagia* II x 46 (as he does everywhere else) Erasmus uses the phrase to refer to the transition from the autumn of life to its winter (decrepitude), occurring at age fifty-five or sixty. See *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 30:115–16 / CWE 27 11, where people in their early fifties are said to be 'near to the threshold of old age'; and Allen Ep 2260:26–7, where Pieter Gillis at about age forty-three is said to be still far from the threshold of old age. In *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 450:4–6 / CWE 25 160 Erasmus writes that few ever reach what Homer calls 'the threshold of old age'; to him this means one's fifties or sixties: cf Allen Ep 867:270–1 / CWE Ep 867:291–2; *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 54:397–8 / CWE 66 148; *Adagia* III ix 43; and *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 24:19–20 / CWE 26 298 (few reach old age).

It is for purely rhetorical reasons, therefore, that Erasmus uses the phrase in the present passage to refer to the transition from the summer of life to its autumn. Cf Allen Ep 283:28 / CWE Ep 283:34, 'a letter written in friendly jest' (21 December 1513), where Erasmus at age forty-seven hyperbolically suggests he is enduring the 'very harsh burden' of poverty 'on the toilsome threshold of old age.' See also lines 43–53n above, where Erasmus for once adopts the late-medieval view of the ages of man in order to make himself the exemplum in his poem on old age. A few lines later Erasmus acknowledges that he is only entering the autumn of his life. Old age (decrepitude), he now says, is 'approaching from afar.'

195 in limine primo = Virgil *Aeneid* 2.485, 6.427, and 11.423

197–203 Dum nova – senectam / while this new greyness – from afar] Cf lines 65–9 above. The model for this series of 'while'-clauses is Juvenal 3.26–8: 'while my greyness is still new [*dum nova canities*], while my old age is still vigorous and erect, while Lachesis still has some more spinning to do and my feet still carry me and my right hand is not yet supported by a cane.' Cf Jerome *Letters* 58.11 (with the Christian inversion of the pagan *carpe diem* theme): 'Lay up for yourself treasures that you may spend daily and that never run out, while you are still vigorous, while your head is still only sprinkled with white hairs, "before diseases and melancholy old age arrive" [Virgil *Georgics* 3.67].'

199–200 Tempora – iuventae] Cf lines 113–14 and notes above.

203 Ferre gradum] Statius *Thebaid* 2.547. For *gradum* in the context of approaching old age see 95.56n below.

204–10 Cuiusmodi – brumae] Cf 95.35–52 and 104.1–12 below.

205 rerum facies] Arator 1.464; Rodolphus Agricola *Ad Rodolphum Langium* page 294: *Formosa rerum iam facies perit, / Nudasque sternunt arboreae comae / Terras*; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 45:141; *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 33:220, 50:762, 87:998; and elsewhere

205 autumni frigore primo = Virgil *Aeneid* 6.309; cf Ovid *Tristia* 3.8.29 (of his old age).

207 lumina florum = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.13 (in a description of spring), also imitated in poem 133.19 below; cf Erasmus *Ecclesiastes* LB V 1011E.

208–9 nitenteis Herbas] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.202 (according to one manuscript tradition): *tunc herba nitens*, referring to the spring of life

211–30 Ergo – CHRISTO / Therefore – have time only for Christ] Cf 95.107–10 and 104.25–8 below. This resolution to dedicate his life and work wholly to Christ had for some time already been central to Erasmus' thinking. See for instance 36.5–6 below; *Enchiridion* LB V 25A / CWE 66 61: 'place Christ before you as the only goal of your life, and direct to him alone all your pursuits, all your endeavours, all your leisure time and hours of occupation'; Kohls *Theologie* I 82–3; Richard L. DeMolen *The Spirituality of Erasmus of Rotterdam* (Nieuwkoop 1987) 69–124. In bidding farewell to the world's pleasures, both physical and intellectual, Erasmus is using the language of the *contemptus mundi* tradition to say that he has 'died to the world.' Cf *Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum* LB V 1213B–C: 'I shall live in you alone and for you alone, dead to myself and the world ... Take me away from myself, or rather restore me to myself, O sole author of salvation, Jesus Christ ... Let me begin to be nothing in myself, that I may be all in you.'

To reject everything he has worked for – his poetry, his rhetoric, his studies in Latin and Greek, in theology and philosophy – does not, of course, mean that he intends to give them up. 'Henceforth,' he is saying, 'I must regard these studies in the light of eternity; they are not ends in themselves, but only means by which I may adorn God's temple.' In this he is reaffirming a vow made many years before. Cf *Enchiridion* LB V 66B / CWE 66 127: 'when in my youth I embraced the finer literature of the ancients and acquired ... a reasonable knowledge of the Greek as well as the Latin language, I did not aim at vain glory or childish self-gratification, but had long ago determined to adorn the Lord's temple, badly desecrated as it has been by the ignorance and barbarism of some, with treasures from other realms, as far as in me lay.'

For the paradox of 'despising' one's most cherished studies cf *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 78:1–2 / CWE 23 54:25–8 (in a non-theological context): 'When I have mastered the whole of literature, that will be the time when I shall be right in despising it, not that I shall lose interest in it, but so as to avoid arrogance.'

213 meliora sequamur = Virgil *Aeneid* 3.188

214–15 Quicquid – volent] Cf Horace *Epistles* 1.18.108.

217–19 ut cui – gratis / who can claim it – restored it freely] Cf *Enchiridion* LB V 3B / CWE 66 26, where Erasmus is speaking of birth and baptism – the second birth: 'Christ ... to whom you twice owed your life, since he both gave it and restored it to you'; see E.-W. Kohls 'The Principal Theological Thoughts in the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*' in DeMolen *Essays* 61.

217 solidam] The noun *vitam* is understood.

218 Bis terque] Horace *Epodes* 5.33; *Ars poetica* 440; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.517

221 pars deterior] Ovid *Tristia* 4.8.34 (of the latter part of life); cf *Ex Ponto* 1.4.1: *deterior ... aetas*; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 108.25: *Meliora praetervolant, deteriora succedunt*; cf also line 71n above.

222–4 nugae – illecebrae / trifles – enticements] Cf 95.9–12 below, of the pleasures of the flesh; *Moria* ASD IV-3 114:810–12 / CWE 27 109: '[my fools are] always cheerful, playing, singing, and laughing themselves, and bring pleasure and merriment, fun and laughter [*voluptatem, iocum, lusum risumque*] to everyone else'; ASD IV-3 114:826 / CWE 27 109: 'clowns can provide the very thing the prince is looking for – jokes, laughter, merriment, and fun [*iocos, risus, cachinnos, delitias*].'

222 nugae / trifles] Cf *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 60:569 / CWE 66 153: 'Have I been so crazy ... as to enjoy this or that kind of nonsense [*nugae*]?', in similar context; *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 220:870: man's studies, which do not provide the peace of mind which only Christ can give, are mere trifles (*nugae*).

223 Fucatae ... voluptates / spurious pleasures] *Colloquia* ASD I-3 727:238, of bodily pleasures contrasted with the true goods of the mind; cf also, for instance, *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 48:228–9 / CWE 66 142, of the pleasures of the flesh: *fucata sua specie* 'their deceptive beauty'; *Enchiridion* LB V 62A / CWE 66 120: *fucata commoda* 'specious advantages'; *De puero Iesu* LB V 607E–F / CWE 29 68.

223 risusque iocique] Horace *Satires* 1.5.98; line 22n above. For the connotations of *ioci* cf 95.95 below.

225 decreta ... sophorum / dogmas of ... philosophers] The term *decreta* can apply to the doctrines of both philosophy and scholastic theology. For the association with philosophy see for example Seneca *Epistulae morales* 94.2 and

4: *decreta philosophiae;* Erasmus *Parabolae* ASD I-5 236:244–5; paraphrase on Luke 19:40 (LB VII 434C); and *Psalmi* 1 ASD V-2 54:634. For the association with scholastic theology see, for instance, Allen Epp 334:197 and 337:424, 743; *Adagia* LB II 545A: *theologorum decretis.* The word *sophorum,* as in line 91 above, does not mean 'sophists' (*sophistae*) as Margolin 64 suggests. It refers to the wise of this world whose wisdom is folly in God's eyes; cf 1 Cor 1:19–25 and 3:19. Erasmus is in effect saying that he will henceforth place his trust in the folly of the cross.

227 Pegasides ... Pithus / Muses ... the goddess Persuasion] Erasmus bids poetry and rhetoric farewell in their pagan, mythological personifications. Christ, not the ancient Greek goddesses, will henceforth be his inspiration. Cf poem 88.2–3 and notes. The *Pegasides* are the Muses, nymphs of the spring Hippocrene, which was created at the spot where Pegasus struck Mount Helicon with his hoof. Peitho is the personification of eloquence and persuasion; cf 115.11 below.

228 Pigmenta flosculique / colours and flowers] The ornaments and figures of a rhetorical style; see *De copia* ASD I-6 151:114 / CWE 24 478:33–4; cf line 92 above.

229 Pectore ... toto] Otto 1368; Erasmus *Adagia* I iv 26; cf line 189n above.

230 vacare CHRISTO / to have time only for Christ] Cf Allen Ep 74:4–5 / CWE Ep 74:5–7: 'I ... am longing for that kind of life wherein I may ... devote all my time to myself and God alone [*Deo vacare*]' and Allen Ep 75:6–7 / CWE Ep 75:7–8: 'I only ask to be given leisure to live a life entirely devoted to God alone.'

231–3 Hic mihi – solus erit / To me he alone – all things] Erasmus expresses the same thought in *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 225:56–8: 'He alone is everything to us, riches, strength, beauty, honour, wisdom, and justice, as long as we place all our hope in him'; cf Rom 8:32; poem 36.5–6 below.

231 dulces ... Camoenae] Virgil *Catalepton* 5.12, where the poet says farewell to the Muses; Horace *Epistles* 1.19.5

233 Omnia solus erit] Cf Ovid *Heroides* 12.162.

233–4 neque – Hippoclidem / like Hippocleides – at all concerned] *Adagia* I x 12. Hippocleides was the proverbially unconcerned man who, dancing on a table with his feet in the air, did not care a fig that his indecorous behaviour would cost him a marriage with a rich princess.

233 neque – quod] Reedijk 118 notes the unpleasant accumulation of *k*-sounds – a sign of hasty composition and lack of careful revision – and compares 105.133 below: *Tu quoque, quicunque es cui pax et gaudia curae.*

233 quod aiunt / as they say] Erasmus recommends the use of a phrase such as this to introduce an adage that may jar the reader in some way; see *Adagia* prolegomena xiv (LB II 13D–F / CWE 31 28:3–17). The introductory phrase thus signals both the proverbial character and the boldness of the following expression in this context and so makes a correction for it in advance.

235 moles / bulk] For the commonplace that the body is a burden for the soul see for instance Plato *Phaedo* 81C; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 24.17, 65.16, and 102.22; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10.27; Erasmus *Enchiridion* LB V 13A / CWE 66 41; *Moria* ASD IV-3 192:216 / CWE 27 151; *De concordia* ASD V-3 280:800–1.

235 compago ... corporis huius] Cf Cicero *De senectute* 21.77: *dum sumus inclusi in his compagibus corporis;* AH 51 23.6: *Compago nostri corporis.*

235 corporis huius = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.873

237 Mens ... pura] *Dicta Catonis* 1.1 (a favourite of Erasmus): *Si deus est animus ... / hic tibi praecipue sit pura mente colendus.* But the phrase is very common. See also for example Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 2.49; *Missale Romanum* I 198; Erasmus *Enchiridion* LB V 37C–D, 56C; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 728:308; *Psalmi* 4 ASD V-2 200:205 and 38 ASD V-3 185:531.

237 pura ... scelerumque ignara / pure ... and ... sinless] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.22.1: *scelerisque purus.* For the phrase *scelerum ignara* see Virgil *Aeneid* 2.106 and Lucan 5.35; for *scelus* see 110.398n below. For the sentiment cf Ps 51:10; Acts 24:16; poem 51.13–14 below.

239–42 Donec – fruetur / until the last day – perpetual springtime] The poem now shifts from a meditation on old age to a meditation on the life to come; cf Kohls *Theologie* I 23 and II 43 n70. For the thought and phrasing cf 49.30–1 below.

240 novata] The adjective in this somewhat awkward construction is a neuter accusative plural, summing up *cum corpore mentem*: both body and soul are to be renewed on the last day. For this construction cf 112.138 below and note.

241 vere perenni / a perpetual springtime = Dracontius *De laudibus Dei* 1.185, of paradise. For the thought cf 9.14 and 110.121n below.

243 vitae ... autor / O creator of our life] Acts 3:15 (Vulg); Iuvencus 3.503; and often; poems 11.9 and 43.37 below. The flame of life is also called *autor vitae* (see line 19 above), but it is merely the source of physical life.

244–6 Vitaeque – caducae] Cf *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 217:722–5.

244 restitutor / restorer] The first edition of 13 November 1506 and the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507 here read *vindicator* 'restorer,' 'liberator,' an ecclesiastical noun.

245 Quo sine nil = Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 5.13 and 27.87 (paraphrasing John 1:3); poem 135.26 below; cf 99.20.

3 LB I 1223–4 / R 97

On his way to Basel in August 1514 Erasmus stopped over in Sélestat in Upper Alsace; see Allen Ep 305:171–9 / CWE Ep 305:176–84. There he was warmly received by the town magistrates and the local humanists, among them the headmaster of the famous town school, Johann Witz (Johannes Sapidus) (1490–1561). Witz accompanied Erasmus for the rest of the journey to Basel. See CEBR III 195–6. Erasmus also praises him in his encomium of Sélestat and its scholars; see 53.23 below.

The poem was sent to Jakob Wimpfeling along with Ep 305 (21 September 1514) and nos 54 and 55 below. At the end of the letter (Allen Ep 305:252–4 / CWE Ep 305:261–4) Erasmus explains: 'Johann

Witz, since I saw that he could hardly be torn away from me, I have consoled with a quatrain; and to make the keepsake of more value to my admirer, or more truly to one who is head over heels in love with me, I have written it out with my own hand. Here it is.' The epigram was first printed in *De copia verborum* (Strasbourg: M. Schürer, December 1514), together with poems 54 and 55. It is also found in Gouda MS 1323, f 32^r^.

The idea that letter-writing is the sole thing that can make absent friends present is a commonplace; see Jerome *Letters* 8.1, quoting Turpilius; Allen Epp 9:17–19, 17:16–21, 20:70–3, and 23:6–18 / CWE Epp 9:18–21, 17:16–23, 20:70–3, and 23:7–20. Cf *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 225:7–9 / CWE 25 20; 1 Cor 5:3: 'though absent in body I am present in spirit.'

Metre: elegiac distich

1–4 Quando – amor / Now that – hearts together] The thought is closely paralleled in Allen Ep 312:7–16 / CWE Ep 312:8–17.

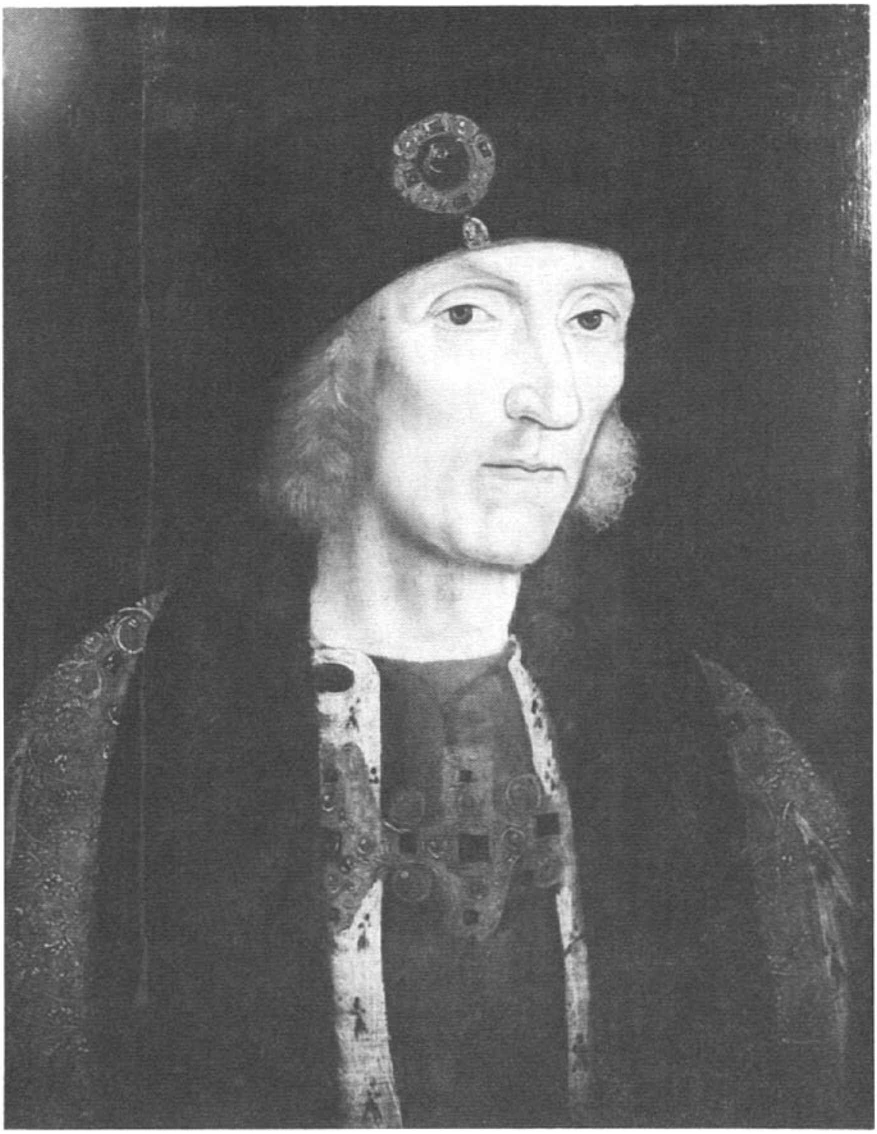
1 absens absentis / absence ... absent] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.83: *illum absens absentem auditque videtque* 'though absent, she hears and sees him in his absence,' quoted and explained in Erasmus *Adagia* II vii 84. This verse was often cited or adapted in humanist letters to friends; see Allen Ep 9:19 / CWE Ep 9:20–1; Allen Ep 222:6: *absentis absens*; Franz Römer 'Ein "Freundschaftsbrief" des Battista Guarini an Albrecht von Bonstetten' HL 36 (1987) 142.

4 pectora iungat amor] Cf 100.12n below.

4

Accompanied by Thomas More and (Richard?) Arnold, Erasmus visited the younger children of the royal family at Eltham Palace in September 1499; Prince Arthur was elsewhere at the time. When More presented the eight-year-old Prince Henry – the future Henry VIII – with some literary compliment, Erasmus was both annoyed and embarrassed, since he had not been forewarned and had come empty-handed. His embarrassment was compounded when Henry asked him at dinner to write some lines for him. Unable to compose them there and then, he spent the next three days (so he tells us) sweating out this poem in praise of Britain, King Henry VII, and his children. See Allen I 6:4–28 / CWE Ep 1341A:172–96.

Erasmus mentions the panegyric also in a letter to Johannes Sixtinus, who had complimented him on some of his 'extemporaneous' poems in various metres (probably including nos 1, 50, 110, 111, 112, and 117). With obligatory modesty Erasmus first denigrates his poetic



King Henry VII in middle age
Portrait by an unknown artist
Society of Antiquaries, London

skill and then says that he has recently awakened his muses, 'much to their indignation, from a sleep of more than ten years' length, and forced them to utter the praises of the king's children. Unwillingly, and still half asleep, they did indite a strain of a kind, a ditty so somnolent that it could lull anyone to sleep. Since the piece vastly displeased me, I had no difficulty in allowing them to slumber again'; see Allen Ep 113:148–52 / CWE Ep 113:178–83.

No doubt Erasmus regarded the writing of panegyrics as a distinctly unpleasant, if necessary, chore. But the claim that he had not written any poetry for over a decade is to be taken with a grain of salt. Poems 5 and 6, for example, were written in 1495, poems 7, 14, and 15 in 1496, and poems 9, 10, 11, 13, 38, and 116 in 1497–9. In 1499 alone Erasmus composed nos 110, 111, 112, and 115. Nevertheless Erasmus asserts in Allen I 6:7–8 / CWE Ep 1341A:175–6 that he found the writing of this panegyric difficult because he had neither read nor written any verse for several years prior to this occasion.

The poem was first printed in *Adagiorum collectanea* (Paris: J. Philippi 1500). There and in subsequent editions it is introduced by the dedicatory letter to Prince Henry.

Dedication (Ep 104)

The dedicatory letter to Prince Henry, duke of York, was probably composed shortly after the panegyric poem and later revised for publication. An earlier, somewhat shorter version of the letter, with numerous variant readings, is contained in MS Egerton 1651.

1–2 eos – aliena / that those persons – what is not their own] Cf *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 249:15–17 / CWE 25 35.

2 aliena – munera] Cf Publilius Syrus 1 (quoted in Seneca *Epistulae morales* 8.9): *Alienum est omne quicquid optando evenit;* John of Salisbury *Entheticus minor* 111: *Quod Fortuna dedit, et quod dabit, est alienum.*

4–5 donare ... quam accipere ... pulchrius / finer ... to give than to receive] Cf Acts 20:35; Allen Ep 31:7–8 / CWE Ep 31:8–9.

8–9 quae – donare / can even bring you – few indeed can bestow] The thought that poetry perpetuates the fame of those whom it celebrates is an ancient and medieval commonplace; see Curtius ELLM 476–7; cf poem 6.59–62 below.

15–16 aes ... et ... pyramidas] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.30.1–2. See also Erasmus *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 92:177–82 / CWE 27 74.

17–23 Quod – literas / The Alexander – themselves worthy of immortality] Cf Horace *Epistles* 2.1.232–44. Horace concludes from this that Alexander the Great had excellent judgment in painters and sculptors, but no literary taste whatsoever. Erasmus' point is entirely different: paintings and statues soon perish, but men celebrated in song are immortal. In this he follows Martial 7.84.

18 Cherylo] Choerilus was a mediocre poet commissioned to write an epic in praise of Alexander the Great. According to Porphyrio's commentary on Horace *Epistles* 2.1.234, Alexander paid Choerilus one *Philippus* per line.

19–20 Philippicis] *Philippi* were gold coins bearing the image of King Philip of Macedon. Since they are specifically mentioned in Horace's anecdote as well as in Porphyrio's commentary, the *Philippi* should not be considered a pun on the current Burgundian florins of St Philip (which were also known as *Philippi*); cf CWE Ep 104:24n.

20–1 Apellis ... et Lysippi] Apelles, the most famous painter of antiquity, painted a portrait of Alexander brandishing a thunderbolt. The sculptor Lysippus created several bronze statues of Alexander.

28–30 Quem – praecone / And indeed we read – sing its praises] Cicero *Pro Archia* 10.24; Allen Ep 45:102–4 / CWE Ep 45:121–4

36–7 Ineptum – laudanda / They think it is foolish – praiseworthy deeds] Cf Pliny *Letters* 3.21.3 (after stating that poets who celebrate individuals or cities are no longer being rewarded with honours or money): *Nam postquam desiimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus* 'For after we have ceased to do laudable deeds, we also consider it senseless to be praised'; Allen Ep 180:98–100 / CWE Ep 180:107–9; poem 41 below.

37–9 nec tamen – oportet / though they do not shrink – their toadies] Cf *Moria* ASD IV-3 72:34–74:43 / CWE 27 86–7. Erasmus defended the flattery in his panegyric of Archduke Philip the Handsome by saying that it was intended to instruct both him and his subjects by holding up to them the pattern of the perfect ruler and urging them to measure the actual by the ideal; see Allen Epp 179:42–6, 180:39–115, and 337:89–91 / CWE Epp 179:52–8, 180:43–125, and 337:96–8. That is why he wanted this speech placed among his 'works which contribute to the building of character' and which deal with 'moral questions'; see the catalogues of Erasmus' writings in Allen I 40:11–12 / CWE 24 695:31–2 and CWE Ep 1341A:1562–3. Erasmus' defence of excessive flattery is a traditional one; see Pliny *Panegyricus* 4.1; Hardison *Monument* 30–2; cf Curtius ELLM 163–4. Erasmus employs the argument also in *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 488:17–24 / CWE 25 189; and *Institutio principis christiani* ASD IV-1 178:403–179:406 / CWE 27 249. Thomas More does so in *De tristitia Christi* CW XIV-1 375:3–9.

37 gnatonibus / their toadies] The 'Gnathonists' or 'disciples of Gnatho' are hangers-on, parasites; see Terence *Eunuchus* 264. Gnatho, a parasite in Terence's play, became a byword for flattery; see for example Cicero *De amicitia* 25.93–4; Allen Epp 26:5 and 55–9, 44:20 / CWE Epp 26:6 and 62–7, 44:22–3; *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 55:11 and 28 / CWE 23 32:10.

39–41 Quos – eruditis / In my opinion – polished verse] Called on to judge a musical contest between Apollo and Pan, Midas ruled in favour of Pan. As a punishment for his stupidity Apollo gave him ass's ears; see Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.146–93. His stupidity was proverbial; see Otto 1111; Erasmus *Adagia* I iii 67; *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 72:21–73:2 / CWE 23 47:3–6; *De conscribendis* epistolis ASD I-2 283:21 / CWE 25 53; also poems 21.1, 22.1, and 144.2 below.

47–53 memineris – elargiri / pray remember – great gifts generously] The two anecdotes concerning King Artaxerxes II (c 436–358 BC) are told in Plutarch *Moralia* 172B and 174A *Apophthegmata regum*, the first one being used to excuse the author for dedicating so small a work to so great a man as the emperor Trajan. Since Plutarch calls Artaxerxes the king of the Persians in *Moralia* 172B, but refers to him in *Moralia* 174A as Cyrus' brother (known as Mnemon), Erasmus was at first led to believe that they were different kings of the same name. From Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 1013B–C, however, it is plain that Artaxerxes II is meant in both anecdotes. In *Apophthegmata* V *Artoxerxes Alter* 24–5 (LB IV 232B–C) Erasmus refers both stories to Artaxerxes II.

50–7 eiusdem nominis – metientes / how another king – the offerer] Cf Allen Ep 177:46–52 / CWE Ep 177:57–65.

53–7 Nonne – metientes / Indeed do not the powers – the offerer] For the commonplace that God is well pleased with the poor man's mite as long as it is sincere see for example Horace *Odes* 3.23.13–20; Mark 12:42–4; and Luke 21:2–4. It is often used to excuse the writer's trifling present to a powerful patron. See in particular Ovid *Tristia* 2.75–6 (the gods delight just as much in the poor man's little incense as in the rich man's hecatomb); cf also *Ex Ponto* 4.8.39–42; Propertius 2.10.21–4; Tibullus 4.1.14–17; Statius *Silvae* 1.4.127–31; Fausto Andrelini *Livia*, liminary poem to King Louis XII, line 10; Willem Hermans, concluding lines of his poem of thanks to his teacher Alexander Hegius (Hyma *Youth* 233); Allen Ep 384:69–75 / CWE Ep 384:72–9; and poems 35.3–8n and 37 below.

54 opibus] The first edition (1500), which Allen follows in Ep 104:56, reads *operibus* (abbreviated as *opibus*) instead of *opibus*. But *opibus* – the reading of MS Egerton 1651, the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507, and the *Epigrammata* of March 1518 – makes excellent sense in this context. For the thought cf 88.72 below.

55 rusticana mica / the peasant's pinch of salt] That is, the *mola salsa* (grains of spelt mixed with salt) that poor peasants offered to the gods instead of expensive incense; cf Horace *Odes* 3.23.20; Pliny *Naturalis historia* preface 11: *mola litant salsa qui non habent tura*, discussed as a proverbial saying in Erasmus' *Adagiorum collectanea* of 1500, sig g4^v, but dropped from the later editions.

60–2 Ad quod – tenderes / Certainly I would urge you – by sail and oar] For the device of 'toning down the encouragement' see *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 341:2–9 / CWE 25 89.

61 velis remisque / by sail and oar] *Adagia* I iv 18

62 Skeltonum] The English poet John Skelton (c 1460–1529) was Prince Henry's tutor from about 1495 to about 1502. By the time Erasmus met him in 1499, Skelton was poet laureate and had gained considerable renown as a court poet. Many of his English verses praise members of the royal family or the nobility; but he was also known for his love lyrics and his religious poems. He had written a Latin grammar as well as a comedy in Latin and had translated into English a number of Cicero's letters and Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca historica* (from Poggio's Latin version). See CEBR III 257–8. He

is also praised in 4.130 below and is lauded to the skies in the contemporaneous poem 115.

Ode LB I 1215–17 / R 45

Metre: second Pythiambic strophe, as in Horace *Epodes* 16. In that poem Horace laments the ongoing civil wars and expresses his longing for the fabled Isles of the Blessed in the western ocean. By his choice of metre Erasmus subtly associates Henry VII, who ended the Wars of the Roses, with Caesar Augustus, who ended the Roman civil wars, and identifies Britain with the Isles of the Blessed, reserved by Jupiter for the pious remnant of the golden age (cf lines 52–4 below). Erasmus uses the metre also in no 122 below, with similar intent.

Heading Britannia loquitur / Britannia speaks] The rhetorical device of having the personified country praise herself (prosopopoeia) is used again in 64.57–65 below; cf nos 8 and 125. In one section of Willem Hermans *Hollandia*, first published in 1497, Holland praises herself in much the same way as Britain praises herself here; see lines 5–26n below. Erasmus discusses prosopopoeia under the heading *conformatio* in *Ecclesiastes* LB V 997A–D.

1–4 Si – sua / If – deserves its afflictions] Since Britain is praising herself she must first defend her immodesty in doing so. Folly, in her *captatio benevolentiae*, tackles the same problem in her own, more foolish way; see *Moria* ASD IV-3 72:30–74:44 / CWE 27 86–7.

3–4 Quur – sua] Cf *Adagia* IV v 4, citing Virgil *Georgics* 2.458: *O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint*; also *Adagia* ASD II-5 193:723–6; Allen Epp 531:50, 862:1–2, 870:5–6, 2367:29–30.

5–26 Ultima – alterum / India – a second world] Erasmus' model is Willem Hermans *Hollandia*, sig b7^r–b7^v in *Sylva odarum*, where Holland speaks in praise of herself. Holland boasts that she yields to no other region on earth. She is more fertile than North Africa; no other country has more cattle. India exports ivory, Arabia Felix its myrrh; India has the golden river Hydaspes; others have a Pactolus or Tagus; Holland abounds in noble metals (*Claris haec foecunda metallis*). Other shores have gems; Holland has splendid marbles. Who does not know of the Rhine's vineyards or the saffron perfumes (*odores*) of Mount Tmolus in Lydia or the silks of China (*vellera Saerum*)? Every country, she concludes, has its blessings, but none dares claim superiority over Holland. Hermans' praise of Holland and Erasmus' praise of Britain are ultimately modelled on Virgil's praise of Italy, *Georgics* 2.136–76, especially 2.136–9.

5 Ultima ... India / India, at the very edge of the world] India traditionally represented the eastern end of the world. See for example Catullus 11.2; Horace *Epistles* 1.1.45; Erasmus *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 56:4–5, 23 / CWE 23

32:27; Allen Ep 61:240 / CWE Ep 61:255–6. Britain was the western limit; cf line 26n below.

5 lanigeris ... lucis = Silius Italicus 6.4

6 Suis – odoribus] Cf Tibullus 2.2.3–4 and 4.2.18; Propertius 2.29.17 and 3.13.8.

7 Thuriferis – harenis / wealthy Panchaia – sands] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 2.139; Tibullus 3.2.23. Panchaia was a mythical island in the Indian Ocean, famed for its myrrh (Pliny *Naturalis historia* 10.2.4; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.307–10).

8 flumen ... aureum / its golden river] The Tagus (Tejo in modern Portugal) was proverbial for its golden sands. See Otto 1737; Erasmus *Adagia* I vi 75; Allen Ep 132:54–5 / CWE Ep 132:66–7.

9 septem ostia Nili = Prudentius *Contra Symmachum* 2.607; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.800; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.324; *Amores* 3.6.39.

11 uberibus ... glebis = Cyprian *Carmina* 1.143; cf Iuvencus 2.751.

11 Africa] In antiquity North Africa was proverbial for its rich grain-harvests; see Otto 36.

13–17 At mihi – Oceanus / But I have no lack – the surrounding ocean] Isidore *Etymologiae* 14.6.2 says that Britain has many large rivers and hot springs and is rich in metals and pearls.

15 Foeta – metallis] Cf Claudian *Carmina minora* 30.54–5 (in praise of Spain): *dives equis, frugum facilis, pretiosa metallis, / principibus fecunda piis.*

15 Foeta viris] So Virgil *Georgics* 2.173–4 praises Italy as *magna parens ... virum.*

15 foecunda metallis = Willem Hermans *Hollandia* sig b7^{v} (see lines 5–26n above); cf Virgil *Aeneid* 10.174; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.220.

16–17 ambiens ... Oceanus / the surrounding ocean] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 2.158, praising Italy for the Mediterranean, which laps its eastern and western shores.

17–18 nec amicius – plaga / or of friendlier skies – other region] Similarly Virgil praises Italy's temperate climate in *Georgics* 2.149.

19 Serus – undas] Caesar *Bellum Gallicum* 5.13.4

21 laudati ... vellera Betis / the fleeces of much-praised Baetica] The province Baetica (present-day Andalusia) in the valley of the Baetis river (now Guadalquivir) was famous for its excellent, golden-hued wool; see for example Martial 5.37.7, 9.61.3, and 12.98.2.

23 tua ... miracula ... Memphi / your wonders ... Memphis] The pyramids, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. Cf Martial *De spectaculis* 1.1 (Rome's amphitheatre outdoes the pyramids of Memphis); Allen Ep 990:19 / CWE Ep 990:21; *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 234:380–1.

26 Orbem ... alterum / a second world] Britain was proverbially a world apart – a term that in ancient times carried no suggestion of praise. See Claudian *De consulatu Stilichonis* 3.149: *alio ... in orbe Britannos;* Erasmus *Adagia* I ii 97, II iv 49: 'Britain, placed by classical authors outside the limits of the world, because it is cut off by the Ocean'; Allen Ep 102:3–4 / CWE Ep 102:5–6; *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 56:937 / CWE 27 36; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 412:8 / CWE 25 135.

28 Attollo cristas / I plume myself] *Adagia* I viii 69

29 rex / my king] Henry VII (1457–1509), king since 1485. See CEBR II 177–8.

29 pulchri – regni] Cf Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 2.5.11: *pulcherrimi operis pulchra portio* and 3 metrum 9.7 (of God; cf line 51n below): *pulchrum pulcherrimus ipse / mundum mente gerens;* Petrus Carmelianus *Ad Edwardum illustrem Walliae principem* 11 (written in 1482): *Es decus ipse tui, princeps pulcherrime, regni;* cf poem 49.39 below.

31 Palladis armis] Virgil *Aeneid* 8.435; Erasmus *Enchiridion* LB V 10A

31–2 Instructus – amantior] Cf Statius *Silvae* 4.3.134; Calpurnius 7.83–4; Allen Ep 93:38–9 / CWE Ep 93:41; *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 52:857 and 70:392–80:772 / CWE 27 33 and 50–61; *De virtute amplectenda* LB V 68E / CWE 29 7.

32 pacis ... amantior / an even greater lover of peace] Willem Hermans *Sylva odarum* sig d4ᵛ, in praise of Archduke Philip the Handsome: *Quantus ... dux proavus, nomine quem refers / Nec bello inferior, sed genito pacis amantior.* In the latter part of his reign Henry VII did pursue peace; see Adams *Valor* 39–41. But Erasmus' panegyric of Henry VII, like his praise of Philip the Handsome (64), is an idealizing mirror, held up to admonish the prince rather than to reflect the reality.

33–4 Indulgens – stringit sibi / Indulgent – rein on himself] Cf *Institutio principis christiani* ASD IV-1 149:412–13 / CWE 27 218: 'The more others allow you the less you should permit yourself, and the more others indulge you the more strict you must be with yourself'; poem 40.4n below. Erasmus' lines were imitated by Andrea Ammonio *Carmina* 3.81–2, in praise of Henry VIII: *Cum quicquid libeat liceat, constringit habenas / Permittitque aliis, quod negat ipse sibi.*

37–50 Non Deciis – corpore / To the Decii – in a body like ours] For the rhetorical figure of comparing the subject of the panegyric to the famous examples of antiquity see Lausberg 404. For the closely related commonplace of 'outdoing' the ancient paragons see Curtius ELLM 162–4.

37–41 Non Deciis – regi / To the Decii – king of Pylos] The passage was imitated by Andrea Ammonio *Carmina* 2.142–5 (a pastoral praise of Henry VII): 'From his mouth drips nectar as sweet as Nestor's ... in moral rectitude he is a match for men like Cato, in religious devotion he is the equal of Numa, in piety the equal of the Decii. His fatherland is as attached to him as the Athenians were to Codrus.'

37 Deciis ... Codro] The stories about the two Publii Decii and Codrus are told by Valerius Maximus in *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 5.6.5–6 and 5.6 ext 1 as laudable exempla of patriotism; cf Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 238:997–8 / CWE 24 613:17–19; *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 254:461–2; *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 638:14–17 / CWE 28 385 (where 'Cecrops' refers to 'Codrus'). The Decii (Publius Decius Mus), father and son, were consuls who sacrificed their lives in the Samnite wars to save their country; cf Erasmus *Moria* ASD IV-3 102:543 / CWE 27 101; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 350:27–351:2 / CWE 25 95. Codrus was the last Athenian king (eleventh century BC), said to have sacrificed his life to prevent a victory by the Dorians; cf Erasmus *De ratione studii* ASD I-2 127:4–5 / CWE 24 676:24–6; *Adagia* II viii 33.

38 fatis ... mutuis] Lucan 4.556–7

39–40 Numinis – Aegeriae] Cf Martial 11.5.1–2.

39 Numinis ... tanta est reverentia] Cf Statius *Silvae* 1.2.101–2; Prudentius *Psychomachia* 394–5.

39 tanta est reverentia = Martial 9.79.5

40 Metello] The victorious general Lucius Caecilius Metellus was pontifex maximus from 243 to 221 BC. He was blinded while rescuing the sacred image of Pallas from the burning temple of Vesta in 241.

40 marito Aegeriae / the husband of Egeria] Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome. His devotion to religion was proverbial; see Livy 1.18.1; Plutarch *Numa* 63F–70F; Erasmus *Adagia* prolegomena xiii.7 (LB II 13C / CWE 31 27:173); *De copia* ASD I-6 106:951 / CWE 24 391:3. The nymph Egeria was said to have been his wife and adviser.

41 Pylio ... regi / the king of Pylos] Juvenal 10.246. Nestor's 'honeyed eloquence' was proverbial: Otto 1224; Erasmus *Adagia* I ii 56. Cf poem 92.5–6n below.

43 Mecoenati] Gaius Maecenas (c 70–8 BC), the patron of Virgil, Horace, and Propertius. For the Renaissance spelling of the name see for instance Allen Ep 145:76–7, 83, 86, and 89.

45 Veneris – cretus] Cf Ennodius *Dictio* 28 (CSEL 6 506), of Aeneas: *Veneris se semine cretum / Iactat.*

46 Scipio] Scipio Africanus was reputed to be Jupiter's son, the god being supposed to have entered the bed of Scipio's mother in the guise of a snake. See Livy 26.19.7; Silius Italicus 13.615–44, 17.653–4; Aulus Gellius 6.1.3–4. Cf Erasmus *Adagia* LB II 220A / CWE 31 469:6–9.

47 Quid si prisca] Horace *Odes* 3.9.17

51 magni mihi numinis instar / the counterpart of a mighty god = Ovid *Amores* 3.11.47 and Martial 7.12.11. For the idea that a beneficent king is the living likeness of God see Plutarch *Moralia* 780E *Ad principem ineruditum*; Allen Ep 657:30–1 / CWE Ep 657:31–2; *Institutio principis christiani* ASD IV-1 150:441–2, 162:839, and 174:237–8 / CWE 27 219, 231, and 244; *Adagia* LB II 109B / CWE 31 231:155–7; cf poem 64.32–41n below.

52–4 Meus – malas / he will be my Apollo – malicious deceit] Erasmus is alluding to Virgil *Eclogues* 4.6–10. In Virgil's text Apollo appears to be associated with Caesar Augustus, under whose rule the iron race is disappearing and the golden age is beginning afresh with the return of Astraea, the goddess of justice. Cf also Virgil *Aeneid* 6.792–3: *Augustus Caesar ... aurea condet / saecula* 'Caesar Augustus will found a golden age.' Panegyrics commonly praise the ruler or his heir for heralding or bringing back the golden age; see for instance Calpurnius 1.42–5; Fausto Andrelini *Eclogues* 4.124–9; Willem Hermans *Sylva odarum* sig d5^r (of Archduke Philip the Handsome); Erasmus *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 68:330–3 and 83:868–9 / CWE 27 48 and 64; Allen Ep 335:76–7 / CWE Ep 335:79–80; cf poem 110.315–16n below. See further Harry Levin *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance* (New York 1969) 18 and 112; Sydney Anglo 'The *British History* in early Tudor Propaganda' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 44 (1961) 29–31; and David Carlson 'King Arthur and Court Poems for the Birth of Arthur Tudor in 1486' HL 36 (1987) 158–62, 167.

52 saeculi pater aurei / the father of the golden age] Cf Allen Ep 333:57 / CWE Ep 333:60, of Henry VIII.

53 Hoc oriente / When this king rose] A sidenote in the first and later editions (including the *Epigrammata* of March 1518) explains that this refers to Hen-

ry's seizure of power. Henry VII defeated and killed Richard III at Bosworth on 22 August 1485 and was crowned king on 30 October.

54 Fraudes – malas / Astraea – malicious deceit] Another sidenote says that this refers to Henry's victory over someone who pretended to be the king's son. The line may thus be taken as an allusion to the Yorkist plots organized first around Lambert Simnel and later around Perkin Warbeck. Both impersonated the sons of Edward IV, who had been imprisoned in the Tower. Simnel was defeated in 1487; Warbeck did not surrender until 1497.

54 Fraudes ... malas] See line 114n below.

54 Astrea] The goddess of justice, the last of the gods to leave the earth at the end of the golden age; see Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.149–50; Virgil *Georgics* 2.473–4; Pseudo-Seneca *Octavia* 423–5. Her return signals the beginning of a new golden age; see Virgil *Eclogues* 4.6. For some medieval and Renaissance interpretations and uses of the Astraea myth see Frances A. Yates *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London 1975) 29–87 and 208–14.

55–6 Non secus – igneo / just as the stars – Titan flashes forth] Cf Seneca *Epistulae morales* 66.20; Erasmus *Parabolae* ASD I-5 212:847 / CWE 23 209:16: 'As the sun puts out lesser lights ...'

56 Titan emicavit / Titan flashes forth] Cf Valerius Flaccus 4.97; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 2.56; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 3.9; cf poems 42.35n and 110.317 below. For the comparison ruler-sun see 64.32–41n; for the cosmological imagery see lines 105–6n below.

57–8 Claudere – ferias] Cf Horace *Odes* 4.15.9–18, in praise of Augustus.

57 Claudere ... Ianum / to close the doors of Janus] The doors of Janus' temple in the Forum stood open in time of war but were shut in time of peace; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 1.294 and 7.601–22; Erasmus *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 78:673–8 / CWE 27 58. The doors were shut once in Numa's reign, once at the end of the First Punic War, but three times during Augustus' reign.

57–8 longas ... ferias / a long holiday] That is, a holiday from war. Cf Horace *Odes* 4.5.37, in praise of Augustus; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 57:476–7 / CWE 66 150: 'no relief [*ferias*] from the din of war'; poem 50.95 below.

59 aeternos ... annos] Ps 76:6 (Vulg); poem 98.27 below; cf 94.96, 98.28, and 114.6.

59 Iuppiter annos = Virgil *Aeneid* 8.560; Statius *Silvae* 4.1.47; Juvenal 10.188: *multos da, Iuppiter, annos*

61 Nolunt – regnis / The gods do not wish – equal to theirs] For the idea that the great and virtuous man would be immortal were it not for the envy of the gods cf Allen Ep 1137:47–9 / CWE Ep 1137:50–2.

63 Serus – arces / may it be a long time – among the stars] Once again Erasmus associates Henry VII with Augustus, this time by paraphrasing Horace's wish for the emperor in *Odes* 1.2.45: *Serus in caelum redeas* 'may a long time pass before you return to heaven.'

63 sydereas ... arces] Ovid *Amores* 3.10.21; Valerius Flaccus 1.498

64 Fatale ... stamen] Tibullus 1.7.1–2; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.453; *Tristia* 5.3.25–6

64 Atropos] Of the three Fates, Atropos ('the inflexible, rigid one') was the one who cut off the thread of life. Cf 2.29–35n above; also lines 149–50n below.

67–8 Nestoris – Tithoniam / longer than Nestor's – Tithonus] Nestor and Tithonus were proverbial examples of longevity, often mentioned together; see Otto 1223 and 1789; Erasmus *Adagia* I vi 65 and 66. Nestor was said to have lived through three lifetimes; cf 51.9 and 102.47 below. On Tithonus see 2.136–7n above.

68 senectam ... Tithoniam] Cf Statius *Silvae* 4.3.151.

70 Referet – indolem] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.328–9 and 12.348; Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 422:19 / CWE 25 140; *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 33:217–18 / CWE 27 14; Allen Ep 2202:48–9; poem 1.21–2 above; lines 106 and 132–3 below; also poem 12.4.

71 quina / five of them] The children alluded to are: Edmund (1499–1500), Mary (1496–1533), Henry (1491–1547), Margaret (1489–1541), and Arthur (1486–1502).

73 Pesti ... hortis = Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 46: *Qualis odoratis Paesti quae nascitur hortis / Est rosa confusis rutilante coloribus albo.* Paestum in southern Italy was famed for its roses, which bloomed twice a year; cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.119; Ausonius *De rosis nascentibus* 11; Allen Ep 177:55–6 / CWE Ep 177:69–70.

80 Miscere – candidis / delights in mingling the red with the white] Cf 106.84n below. Henry VII and his queen Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, united the houses of Lancaster (the red rose) and York (the white rose); cf line 147 below.

81 Plurima ... rosa] Ovid *Fasti* 4.441; line 146 below

82 Ut lacteum – ebur / like crimson stain – ivory] For the ancient practice of colouring ivory with purple dye see Homer *Iliad* 4.141–2; Virgil *Aeneid* 1.592, 12.67–8; Ovid *Amores* 2.5.39–40; *Metamorphoses* 4.332.

83–98 Omnibus – color] The passage imitates Ausonius *De rosis nascentibus* 17–34:

ros unus, color unus et unum mane duorum;
  sideris et floris nam domina una Venus.
forsan et unus odor ...
  ...
communis Paphie dea sideris et dea floris
  praecipit unius muricis esse habitum. [...]
haec viret angusto foliorum tecta galero,
  hanc tenui folio purpura rubra notat.
haec aperit primi fastigia celsa obelisci
  mucronem absolvens purpurei capitis.
vertice collectos illa exsinuabat amictus,
  iam meditans foliis se numerare suis.
nec mora, ridentis calathi patefecit honorem
  prodens inclusi semina densa croci.
haec modo, quae toto rutilaverat igne comarum,
  pallida collapsis deseritur foliis.

89–104 Haec – semina / This newborn bud – gives promise of seed] The lines allude to the king's children; see line 71n above. The boys are assigned the colour red (after their father's red rose of Lancaster); the girls appear as white (after their mother's white rose of York).

95 Illaque – amictus] Cf 13.6 below.

97 Candida ... ora rubore] Statius *Thebaid* 2.231 (in some manuscripts and editions); cf Ovid *Amores* 3.3.5–6.

97 tenui ... rubore] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.482 (in one manuscript tradition)

97 suffunditur ora rubore = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.484; cf Virgil *Georgics* 1.430.

98 syderis / from the star] The planet Venus; see Ausonius *De rosis nascentibus* 18 and 21. Venus' flower was the rose; cf also for example Martial 7.89.1–4; Maximianus *Elegies* 1.92.

99 bis seno / twelve] This is the reading of the first edition of 1500 and the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507. There Arthur's rose is said to have 'twelve petals.' The meaning is: he has completed twelve full years (he turned thirteen on 19 September 1499). This age fits the description of line 104 where Arthur is described as pubescent, the peach fuzz on his cheeks being likened to the yellow fibres at the centre of an open rose. But in the edition published together with Erasmus' translations of Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulis* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, December 1507) Arthur's rose is incongruously said to have 'eighteen (*ter seno*) petals.' Could Erasmus have remained unaware of Arthur's premature death in 1502? That is difficult to believe. Nevertheless, when the poem was 'updated' for publication in late 1507, this event was forgotten. The subsequent editions, including the *Epigrammata* of 1518, all have the reading *ter seno.*

100–1 Tyrio – marina] For the image cf 2.87 above.

100 Tyrio ... ostro / bright-red] Literally 'with Tyrian purple.' For the collocation see for instance Virgil *Georgics* 3.17 and Statius *Thebaid* 6.62. The purple produced in ancient Tyre was especially desirable and costly.

100 explicans ... comas] Claudian *In Rufinum* 1 preface 8

101 lana – marina / wool twice steeped – molluscs] Cf Horace *Odes* 2.16.35–7: *bis Afro / Murice tinctae / ... lanae.* The ancients produced the costly purple dye from the molluscs *Murex brandaris* and *Purpura haemastoma.* For the practice of double-dying wool by consecutive steeping in two different varieties of purple see Pliny *Naturalis historia* 9.38.135 and 9.39.137.

101 concha ... marina] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.264

102 Eois ... aquis] Tibullus 4.2.20; Ovid *Fasti* 6.474; and elsewhere

105–6 Arcturus – vocabulo / Arthur – that appellation] Erasmus is referring both to the star Arcturus (often, but erroneously, identified with the constellation Ursa Major), and to the prowess of the legendary King Arthur from whom Henry VII claimed descent. For the association of Arthur with the star Arcturus notice the verb *lucet* 'shines' in line 108 and the epithet *ardens* 'burning,' 'fervent,' 'ardent' in line 110. Elsewhere Prince Arthur is likened to the sun-god Phoebus (lines 102 and 127). In keeping with this cosmological imagery, his sister Margaret is said to have an affinity with the heavens and is compared with the moon (lines 121–7); Henry is said to shine forth like his father Henry VII, himself a sun (lines 132–4, 53–6); and Mary takes her name from the star that never sets (lines 135–6). Edmund, while not explicitly associated with a celestial object, is linked to the baby in Virgil's 'messianic' eclogue and hence with Christ, the true sun; see the notes on lines 140 and 141–4 below. Erasmus' wording is so crafted, however, that one is also invited to connect the name with King Arthur. The noun *virtute* 'valour' in line 106 and the subsequent comparison with the brave and wise kings David and Solomon certainly point in that direction. The linking of Prince Arthur with both the star Arcturus and King Arthur was very common during his lifetime; see Sydney Anglo *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford 1969) 55–97 and David Carlson 'King Arthur and Court Poems for the Birth of Arthur Tudor in 1486' HL 36 (1987) 147–83. Outside the realm of panegyric Erasmus had only disdain for Arthurianism; see *Institutio principis christiani* ASD IV-1 179:427–180:430 / CWE 27 250. In *Moria* ASD IV-3 128:31–2 / CWE 27 116 Folly mocks the Tudors' claim to Arthurian ancestry.

105 nominis omine / whose name is a happy omen] Proverbial; see Otto 1235; Walther 17164: *Nomen et omen habet.*

106 Virtute – vocabulo] Cf 1.21–2 and line 70n above.

107 generosae frontis] Lucan 8.680

109–10 Praecoqua – suos / Wisdom cannot wait – outstrips his years] For the Christian ideal of the *puer senex* see Curtius ELLM 98–105; Christian Gnilka *Aetas Spiritalis: Die Überwindung der natürlichen Altersstufen als Ideal frühchristlichen Lebens* (Bonn 1972); Burrow *Ages* 95–109.

109 Praecoqua ... sapientia / Wisdom ... comes to him early] Cf Erasmus *Adagia* IV i 100: *Odi puerulos praecoci sapientia* 'I hate small children who are too wise for their years' – a proverb also quoted in *Adagia* III iii 10 and *Moria* ASD IV-3 82:212 / CWE 27 92. Here, of course, the phrase has only positive associations; cf *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 554C / CWE 29 20–1.

111–14 Talis – prodere / He is like – expose malicious deceit] While guarding his father's sheep, Jesse's son David killed a lion and a bear; see 1 Sam 17:34–7. For the judgment of Solomon see 1 Kings 3:16–28.

111 simillima proles = Virgil *Aeneid* 10.391

114 Malam ... fraudem] Horace *Odes* 1.3.28; cf line 54 above.

115–16 nymphe – unione / a maiden – from a pearl] In Latin the name Margaret (*margarita*) means 'pearl.'

116 Persici foetu maris / produced by the Persian sea] In ancient times the Persian Gulf was believed to be fabulously rich in jewels and pearls; see for instance Tibullus 2.2.15–16, 2.4.30, 3.3.17, and 4.2.19–20; Pliny *Naturalis historia* 9.35.106; also poems 28.4 and 64.3 below.

117–18 blando – lacteo / the gem pleases – modesty] Because of its luminous whiteness, the pearl was a symbol of chastity. The symbolism seemed especially apt when the lady being lauded bore the name Margaret ('Pearl'); see E. de Jongh 'Pearls of Virtue and Pearls of Vice' *Simiolus* 8 (1975–6) 84–5. Cf Erasmus *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 46:633–6 / CWE 27 27, where Erasmus praises another Margaret, the sister of Philip the Handsome: 'that precious jewel from which she takes her name and which her purity of character surpasses'; Allen Ep 364:53 / CWE Ep 391A:56–7.

119 teres ... rotundus / smooth ... round] These epithets were traditionally applied to the Stoic wiseman who is self-sufficient and remains unmoved by

the vicissitudes of fortune. See Horace *Satires* 2.7.86: *teres atque rotundus;* Ausonius *Eclogae* 20.5 (*De viro bono*), quoted in Erasmus *Adagia* II vi 86 and rephrased in II v 37; *Parabolae* ASD I-5 266:733–4 / CWE 23 241:23–5.

121–2 Est – nubilo / The gem has – sun is overcast] See Pliny *Naturalis historia* 9.35.107. The same allegory, which appears to be original with Erasmus, is developed in *Parabolae* ASD I-5 288:81–3 / CWE 23 254:22–5. Perhaps Erasmus also alludes to it in poem 53.29 below.

121 liquido ... caelo] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.23; Statius *Thebaid* 4.7

123 piis ... divis = Pseudo-Virgil *Ciris* 219

126 tela torquentem manu / shooting shafts with his ... hand] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12.99 (where the meaning of the Latin *tela* is 'spear'). Here arrows are meant (as in Virgil *Aeneid* 5.520 and 12.858) since they are the weapons of Phoebus Apollo; see line 127 below; *Moria* ASD IV-3 132:151–2 / CWE 27 119: 'Phoebus [can] shoot ... with his arrows [*iaculis*].'

127 Aureus ... Phoebus] Cf 110.61n below.

130 Skeltono] On John Skelton see the dedicatory letter to this poem, line 62n. In the edition published together with Erasmus' translations of Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulis* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, December 1507), but not in the earlier or later editions, the name Skelton is replaced with the laudatory paraphrase *laurigero* 'laureate.' This change should not be interpreted to indicate disaffection with Skelton. Certainly no reader in England could have failed to recognize Skelton from the title 'laureate' – a title that had been conferred on him by three universities, Oxford (c 1488), Louvain (c 1492), and Cambridge (1493). See headnote on no 115 below.

131 Palladias ... arteis] Propertius 3.9.42; Martial 6.13.2

131 teneris ... ab unguibus / from his tenderest years] Literally 'since the time his nails were soft.' The phrase was proverbial; see Otto 1826; Erasmus *Adagia* I vii 52.

132–3 Quam – parentis] Cf line 70n above.

136 Nunquam – cognomine / name taken – never sets under the sea] According to a well-known medieval explanation, the Virgin Mary's name means *stella maris* 'star of the sea,' a corruption of *stilla maris* 'drop of the sea.' Cf for example Cornelis Gerard *Marias* 1 f 12^r: *Mariam ... / De maris excelso deductum sidere nomen.* By adding the phrase *nunquam occidentis* 'that never sets' Erasmus implies that Mary is the polestar by which mariners on the sea of life should set their course – a familiar image in medieval literature; see Salzer *Sinnbilder* 400–18; Erasmus *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam* LB V 1233E–1236A and 1240A; poem 110.381–8 below; O'Rourke Boyle 81. Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 12.18 (of Christ, the true polestar): *haec stella numquam mergitur.*

137 quo carmine dicam] Virgil *Georgics* 2.95

138 Adeste ... huc] See 110.1n below.

138 plectris ... aureis] Horace *Odes* 2.13.26–7; cf poem 110.2n below.

138 sorores / Sisters] The Muses, as in 115.9 below

139 placidos ... somnos = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.153; *Fasti* 2.635

139 accersite somnos] Statius *Silvae* 5.5.85

140 fesceninis ... versibus / lullabies] The Latin phrase is not to be confused with the ribald, apotropaic wedding songs known as 'Fescennine verses.' In

the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance, cradle-songs (*fescenini*) – especially those in praise of a baby – were believed to ward off evil (*fascinum*). The word was particularly associated with the angels' song at the birth of Christ; see Vredeveld 'Notes' 608; also AH 7 10.3 (53 11.4), 46 46.4: *Pro Fescenninis gloria / Ab angelis concinitur* 'as lullabies the angels sang "Glory [to God in the highest]"'; Cornelis Gerard *Marias* 7 f 80ᵛ: *Pro fescenninis ... carmina grata dedere* 'as lullabies [the angels] offered pleasing songs.' Erasmus recommended Prudentius' hymns for Christmas and Epiphany as lullabies (*pro fesceninis*) for Margaret Roper's child; see Allen Ep 1404:12–16.

141–4 Muneribus – amaracum / Sprinkle the cradle – marjoram] In *Eclogues* 4.18–25 Virgil says that the earth will lavish her gifts (*munuscula*) on the baby: ivy, foxgloves, Egyptian lilies, acanthus. The cradle itself will spring into lovely blossoms (*blandos flores*), and Assyrian cardamom (*Assyrium amomum*) will grow everywhere.

142 odori graminis] Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 18.137; Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 1.445

143 Ambrosiam / tansy] Thomas Elyot *Bibliotheca Eliotae* sig E2ʳ says that *ambrosia* is 'an herbe of the kynd of Mugwort. it is proprely tansy.'

143 casiam] Perhaps Cneorum, mezereon, or lavender. Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 2.49; *Georgics* 2.213; Tibullus 1.3.61; Pliny *Naturalis historia* 21.41.70.

144 Syra amoma / Assyrian cardamom] The phrase also occurs in 110.351–2 below; cf Virgil *Eclogues* 4.25; *Ciris* 512. Amomum is an eastern spice-plant.

144 nec insuavem amaracum] Cf Catullus 61.7.

145 mille colores = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.65; *Remedia amoris* 353

146 plurima ... rosa] See line 81n above.

149–50 date – pollice / give the boy – over your thumb] Cf *Adagia* LB II 501E / CWE 33 158. The white wool that the Fates are to spin into the thread of his life indicates good fortune and long life; see Catullus 64.311–19; Statius *Silvae* 1.2.24–5. The Fates' sable threads were associated with bad luck and death: see Horace *Odes* 2.3.15–16; Ovid *Tristia* 4.1.64 and 5.13.24; *Ibis* 242; Martial 4.73.4 and 6.58.7–8. Cf poems 2.29–35n above and 64.2, 92–4 below.

150 Eatque – pollice] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.453; Martial 6.3.5.

150 molle stamen] Cf 7.19 below.

5 LB I 1217 / R 38

This is a poem of introduction to the distinguished French humanist Robert Gaguin (1433–1501), general of the Trinitarian order since 1473; see CEBR II 69–70. It was probably sent shortly after Erasmus' arrival in Paris in c September 1495, along with a lengthy complimentary letter, now lost, and other verses. Ep 43 is Gaguin's response. He soon became Erasmus' friend and patron. See also nos 6 and 7 below.

The poem was first published in *De casa natalitia Iesu* (Paris: A. Denidel [January 1496?]). It also appears in MS Egerton 1651.

Metre: hendecasyllable

4 Parmeno ... Terentianus / Terence's Parmeno] The servant Parmeno in Terence *Hecyra* 803–5 is sent out on a fool's errand to look for someone he has never seen before. He then spends all day asking passers-by where they come from, who they are, or if they have a friend named Pamphilus. Cf Allen Ep 3032:37–9.

5 Causas nectitis] Virgil *Aeneid* 9.219

7 scripta diserta / learned writings] Among his Latin works published before 1495 we may cite *De arte metrificandi* (1473) as well as a poem (1488) and a treatise (1492) on the immaculate conception. He had also written French poems and made translations of Caesar (1485) and the third decade of Livy (1493).

12–13 Magna – pudere / It is very boorish – to have too much] Cf Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* 2.7.14 and 4.9.1–8; Allen Ep 1663:1–20.

15 Personam tragicam / A stuffed shirt] Allen Epp 2500:25 and 2720:37; *Adagia* ASD II-5 166:128. Literally 'a tragic mask,' 'a mask worn by a tragic actor.' The phrase occurs in Phaedrus *Fables* 1.7, where it is applied to those who have great fame but no common sense. Phaedrus' original text, to be sure, was not published until 1596, but the Middle Ages knew his work in various prose versions. Erasmus especially often alludes to Phaedrus' fable 3.12 about the cock and the pearl; see headnote on no 128, page 715 below.

19–20 Sunt – sororum / The untrammelled Graces – Heliconian sisters] In *De copia* ASD I-6 210:362–3 / CWE 24 585:16–17 Erasmus says that the Graces and Muses are characterized as follows: 'the Muses wholesome and winning [*blandiores*], the Graces holding hands with robes flowing free [*zonis solutis*].' See also *Adagia* II vii 50; Horace *Odes* 1.30.5–6.
In line 19 Erasmus plays on several senses of the word *solutis*. Applied to a writer like Gaguin, the epithet means that his style is untrammelled and pellucid; cf Servius on Virgil *Aeneid* 1.720; Seneca *De beneficiis* 1.3.5; Allen Epp 15:27–9 and 1342:348–9 / CWE Epp 15:29–31 and 1342:384–5. The second use of the word *solutis* may be illustrated with the phrase *verba soluta* (cf 6.22 below): 'words or speech unfettered by the constraints of metre.' The meaning of these lines, accordingly, is that writers of graceful, lucid prose (*verba soluta*) can get along well with winsome poets.

6 LB I 1217–18 / R 39

Through Robert Gaguin Erasmus met the Italian poet Fausto Andrelini (c 1462–1518) in the autumn of 1495. Andrelini had been teaching poetry in Paris on and off since 1489. Already at Steyn monastery Erasmus had read his *Livia* (Paris: G. Marchant, 1 October 1490); see headnote on nos 94–7 below. See also CEBR I 53–6.

The central device of this poem, the dream-vision, has a long history in ancient and medieval poetry. See Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 256:466–75 / CWE 24 634:1–12, concluding with an allusion to some youthful work of Erasmus (perhaps the present poem or Ep 61): 'In my young days I too toyed with something on these lines.'

The poem was first published in *De casa natalitia Iesu* (Paris: A. Denidel [January 1496?]). It also appears in MS Egerton 1651.

Metre: first Archilochian strophe

Heading Annales Gaguini et Eglogas Faustinas / on the *Annals* of Gaguin and the *Eclogues* of Fausto] The *Annales* are Gaguin's history of France, *De origine et gestis Francorum compendium* (Paris: P. Le Dru, 30 September 1495), a work for which Erasmus had already written a complimentary letter (Ep 45). The *Eglogae* are Fausto Andrelini's allegorical pastorals. Andrelini had been working on them for some time, but did not publish them until 3 March 1501. They have been edited by Wilfred P. Mustard *The Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Ioannes Arnolletus* (Baltimore 1918). For the spelling *Eglogas* see the note on the postscript of poem 102 below.

Heading ruri scriptum / written in the countryside] Cf Allen Ep 47:75–7 / CWE Ep 47:83–4, referring to the verses in *De casa natalitia Iesu*: 'a couple of my poems, which I threw off on holiday, when we were walking by a country stream.' According to the postscript of Ep 47, this letter was also written 'in the country.'

1 viridis ... margine ripae] Cf Fausto Andrelini *Eclogues* 5.2: *Sederunt viridi fluvialis margine ripae.*

1 in margine ripae = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.729

2 Irrigua ... herba] Plautus *Trinummus* 31

3 tacitae – silentia = Virgil *Aeneid* 2.255

3 per ... silentia sylvae = Claudian *De consulatu Stilichonis* 1.228: *Hercyniae per vasta silentia silvae*

4 Dulci ... furore / a sweet rapture] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.4.5–6: *amabilis / Insania.* The poet's divine frenzy (*furor poeticus*) was an ancient and medieval commonplace; see Curtius ELLM 474–5; Cicero *De divinatione* 1.31.66; *De oratore* 2.46.194; Statius *Silvae* 2.7.76; Fausto Andrelini *Livia* 4.7.61; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 68:792–5 / CWE 66 161: the poets' divine frenzy (*divinus ille furor*) occurs in the solitude of nature, far from the crowd; Allen Ep 948:50–5 / CWE Ep 948:52–7; poem 120.15 below.

5–6 Iam – peroso] Cf Horace *Epistles* 2.2.77.

6 fumida tecta / the smoky houses] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.405. Cf Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 68:769 / CWE 66 160 (arguing for withdrawing from the hubbub of the world): 'manna rained from heaven, not on the inhabitants of smoky houses [*fumantia tecta*], but on the dwellers in the flourishing wilderness'; *De ratione studii* ASD I-2 127:8 / CWE 24 676:29–30: 'the Muses take special delight in springs and groves and shun the smoky cities'; also *Colloquia* ASD I-3 221:3–4 (231:3–4) where the 'smoky cities' are contrasted with the beauty of spring in the fields.

7–8 Cumque Marone – Sisti / And like my dear Virgil – Haemus mountains] An allusion to Virgil *Georgics* 2.488–9: *o qui me gelidis in vallibus* [modern editions: *gelidis convallibus*] *Haemi / sistat. Haemus* is a mountain range in northern Thrace.

10 Thalia] She is among other things the Muse of pastoral and lyric poetry and of amatory verse.

24–6 Iam – alter] Cf 115.27–9 below.

28 nigris invidet umbris / begrudge his name – the underworld] Cf Horace *Odes* 4.2.22–4 (of Pindar); poem 120.14 below. The meaning is: 'with what literary monument is Fausto making himself immortal?'

29–30 alterna – arva] Cf *Parabolae* ASD I-5 312:487–314:489 / CWE 23 270:7–10; poem 57.1–4n below.

29 alterna ... quiete] Ovid *Heroides* 4.89 (quoted in Allen Ep 2431:264); cf poem 109.22 below.

31–4 Ille – negoci / He is indeed enjoying – full of noble activity] According to Cicero *De republica* 1.17.27 and *De officiis* 3.1.1, Scipio Africanus used to say that he was 'never less at leisure than when he was at leisure and never less alone than when he was alone.' Erasmus alludes to the *bon mot* as early as Allen Ep 6:6–8 / CWE Ep 6:7–8 and *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 42:8–9 and 27–8 / CWE 23 22:1; he paraphrases it in *Institutio principis christiani* ASD IV-1 210:349–51 / CWE 27 279 and *Apophthegmata* V *Scipio Maior* 1 (LB IV 257A). See further Karl Gross 'Numquam minus otiosus, quam cum otiosus: Das Weiterleben eines antiken Sprichwortes im Abendland' *Antike und Abendland* 26 (1980) 122–37.

37 gaudentes rure Camoenae = Horace *Satires* 1.10.45, alluding to Virgil's pastoral poems

39 Musis dignum Phoeboque] Silius Italicus 14.28, of the Sicilian poets, including Theocritus

40–3 Agresti – musam] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 1.1–2. Tityrus was traditionally identified with Virgil himself.

44–8 Quale – manes / a poem which draws to itself – shades in the underworld] Andrelini is a second Orpheus; cf 93.90–120 and 115.14–20 below.

45 rigidas – ornos] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 6.71 (of Hesiod).

46 Sistere flumina / stop rivers] Andrelini's song can halt rivers. In this he rivals Orpheus; see for example Propertius 3.2.3–4 and Horace *Odes* 1.12.9–10.

46 flectere saxa / move stones] *Euripidis Iphigenia in Aulide* ASD I-1 338:1715 (of Orpheus' song); also poems 38.18 and 115.20 below. That Orpheus made stones follow him is mentioned for example in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.2.

47 Reddere – tigres] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.510 (of Orpheus).

50 Livia] She was Andrelini's mistress in his book of love poems, *Amores sive Livia* (Paris: G. Marchant 1490).

50 Columba] Is a specific girlfriend meant here? The dove (*columba*) was the bird sacred to Venus and was often used as a term of endearment.

51 formosum – Alexin / no Corydon – Alexis] An allusion to Virgil *Eclogues* 2.1

52 Phyllis] The name of several shepherd girls in Virgil's eclogues; cf Ovid *Tristia* 2.537. The first edition has *Cipria* 'Venus' instead of 'Phyllis.'

54 Catones / Cato] The censors at the Sorbonne are as severe as Cato the Censor (second century BC). Cato was proverbial for his rigid sense of morality; see Otto 358; cf Erasmus *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 76:29 and 105:24 / CWE 23 51:18 and 84:36; also poem 58.3 below.

55 tenerae ... iuventae] See 95.17n below.

56 Plagoso / full of the sound of whippings] Horace *Epistles* 2.1.70, of the teacher Orbilius, who was always flogging his pupils; Allen Ep 277:41; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 259:16–17. The flogging schoolmaster is an old commonplace; see also for example Quintilian 1.3.14; Prudentius *Praefatio* 7–8; Erasmus *Moria* ASD IV-3 138:250–1 / CWE 27 122; *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 54:24–62:2 / CWE 26 325–32.

56 antro / that den of his] Cf *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 259:16–18 / CWE 25 41: 'You may see this whip-cracking and untaught breed of elementary schoolmasters in power everywhere nowadays, and the caverns where they babble away reverberate on all sides with piteous howling'; *Institutio christiani matrimonii* LB V 713D.

57 Hippolytum] Hippolytus was the proverbially chaste son of Theseus; see Otto 810.

58 Felicem ter et amplius] Horace *Odes* 1.13.17; cf poems 1.83–4n above and 110.291n below.

59–60 Gallus ... Varus ... Pollio] These are the friends and patrons of Virgil whom he honoured in *Eclogues* 10, 6, and 4, respectively. Andrelini's pastorals will likewise immortalize his friends and patrons. For the thought see poem 4 dedicatory letter 8–9n above.

59 Gallus] An untranslatable pun. At first sight, the name in the Latin text seems to mean 'Frenchman'; it is not until line 60 that we realize that it is the ancient poet Gallus who is being referred to. In the first edition of 1496 the wording is much more straightforward: *Varus / Vel Gallus ...*

62 Quadrifido cantabitur orbe / sung forever to the four corners of the earth] Cf Ovid *Amores* 1.15.13. In the first edition this line is followed by two further verses: *Hec ait ac me plura volentem dicere linquens / In tenues evanuit auras* 'These words she spoke; but as I was about to say more, she left me and disappeared into thin air.' For these verses cf Virgil *Aeneid* 2.790–1, 4.276–8, 5.740, and 9.656–8; Ovid *Fasti* 2.509.

7 LB I 1218–19 / R 40

According to its title, the poem was composed during a prolonged illness. This may well have been the illness that afflicted Erasmus in the spring of 1496, after he had spent a few months at the Collège de Montaigu (cf *Compendium vitae* Allen I 50:103–5 / CWE 4 408:116–18), and forced him to leave Paris for the summer. It was first published in Willem Hermans *Sylva odarum* (Paris: G. Marchant, 20 January 1497), edited by Erasmus.

The poem also appears in MS Egerton 1651; there it has the curiously abbreviated heading: *Ad Gaguinum de suis etc.*

Although almost all of Erasmus' 'lamentation' deals with the poet's troubles, whether caused by the stars, or fate, or fortune, or some malefic god, or some evil genius, it is not primarily concerned with Erasmus' 'low spirits' (Reedijk), real as they no doubt were. Nor does it bear witness to Erasmus' Stoic resignation to the ills brought on by the planets or fate, as Eugene F. Rice argues in 'Erasmus and the Religious Tradition, 1495–1499' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 11 (1950) 389–90. Richard J. Schoeck *Erasmus of Europe: The Making of a Humanist 1467–1500* (Edinburgh 1990) 31 comes closer to the truth: 'poetry of this kind is operating through a *persona*, whose relationship with the poet himself may not be simple or unequivocal, and the tone of the poem ultimately suggests that the poet is playing with the nexus of feelings and ideas revolving around a concept of fate. At the very least, it cannot be read as purely autobiographical.'

The poem indeed is an elaborate tribute to Gaguin, whose friendship and patronage (line 3n below) make all the troubles of his life bearable, whatever their ultimate cause may have been. Precisely the same pattern is to be found both in the earlier poem 109 and in the original version of no 93, an ode to Cornelis Gerard written in 1489 (see headnote there). For this pattern cf Shakespeare *Sonnets* 29 ('When in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes') and *Sonnets* 30, which ends: 'But if the while I think on thee, dear friend, / All losses are restored and sorrows end.'

Erasmus' verses are on the first level an inversion of Horace *Odes* 4.3. Erasmus alludes to this poem not only by borrowing Horace's metre, but also by pointedly playing on the ode's opening lines. Whereas the fortunate poet Horace could hail the Muse Melpomene who looked upon him at his birth with kindly eye (*Quem tu, Melpomene, semel / Nascentem placido lumine videris*), the unfortunate poet Erasmus can only conclude that the stars looked upon him at his birth with unkindly light (*Miror, quae mihi sydera / Nascenti implacido lumine fulserint*). And while Melpomene has given Horace a peaceful life and elevated him to the rank of Rome's greatest lyric poet, Erasmus' god-given genius (lines 11–13n) has not kept him from suffering one disaster after another – an unbearable life, had not his friend and patron Gaguin stepped in and become in some measure his Melpomene.

On another level of allusion, Erasmus' 'Lamentation about his fate' inverts a compliment to Gaguin published about a decade earlier by

Girolamo Balbi in his *Epigrammata* (1486–7). Erasmus had become acquainted with at least some of these poems at Steyn; see Allen Ep 23:47–51 / CWE Ep 23:49–54. Among them is a praise of Gaguin's poetic genius, *Carmina* 77. In lines 3–6 of this poem of friendship Balbi exclaims:

> O dilecta Deis, o felicissima tellus,
>   In qua tu fausto sidere progenitus.
> Tunc Venus, et fulvis volucer Tegeaticus alis
>   Fulsit, et ignivomi stella benigna Iovis.
>
> O most happy land, dear to the gods, in which you were born under a lucky star! Then shone Venus and swift Mercury with his golden wings and the benign star of fire-vomiting Jupiter.

Erasmus was especially familiar with these verses since they – as indeed almost all of Balbi's poem – reappear in Bartholomäus Zehender's homage to the Frisian scholar Theodorich Ulsenius; see Zehender *Silva carminum* (Deventer: 16 February 1491) sigs [b3^{v}–b4^{r}]. That Erasmus knew Zehender's collection of poems is apparent from Allen Epp 23:66–8 and 28:20–2 / CWE Epp 23:68–9 and 28:20–1.

Balbi's verses are turned topsy-turvy in the first part of Erasmus' poem. Unlike Gaguin, Erasmus did not have the benign planets Jupiter, Venus, or Mercury shining down upon him at birth. Mercury, to be sure, had granted him the gifts of eloquence and scholarship – as indeed he had also to Gaguin; but their enjoyment was spoiled by the malefic planets Mars and Saturn who bring war (Holland's civil wars, just ended; see headnote on no 50) as well as melancholy and fever (see line 14n below). At the end of the poem, however, Erasmus recalls Balbi's compliment to Gaguin, for in line 48 he writes: *O fatis genite prosperioribus* 'O born to a happier fate.'

Metre: fourth Asclepiadean strophe

1–16 Miror – sene / I am amazed – the cold old man] Erasmus' chief model is Ovid *Ibis* 207–14. This passage may be summed up as follows: There were no favouring stars in the sky at your birth. Venus and Jupiter were absent; moon and sun were not propitious; Mercury did not give you his gifts. But Mars and Saturn weighed heavily on you. Cf Fausto Andrelini *Livia* 2.5.17–18: *In me tota ruit nascentem regia coeli; / Falcifero Mavors cum sene iunctus erat.* Astrology regarded Jupiter and Venus as beneficent planets; see Erasmus *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 97:4–5 / CWE 23 75:10–11; and poem 122 below. Mars and Saturn were considered malefic planets. Mercury was ambivalent ('mercurial'), being attracted now to the one side, now to the other.

1–2 quae – fulserint / whatever stars – such harsh light] Cf 53.4, 101.8–10, and

109.25–8 below. In Allen Ep 31:5–6 / CWE Ep 31:6–8 Erasmus speaks of 'all the troubles that have from boyhood beset me, whether of God's command or by the influence of my birth-star.' Cf Allen Ep 181:26–7 / CWE Ep 181:31–2; also Allen Ep 1437:119–21, where Erasmus calls the story of his life 'an Iliad of woes.'

2 Nascenti – fulserint] Cf Horace *Odes* 4.3.2 (quoted in the headnote).

3 O ... meum decus / O ... my glory] Horace *Odes* 1.1.2; cf *Odes* 2.17.4; Virgil *Georgics* 2.40; Allen Ep 45:138 (to Gaguin): *decus litterarum et meum.* Since both Horace and Virgil use the word *decus* to refer to their patron Maecenas, Erasmus is in effect praising Gaguin as his Maecenas; cf line 49n below. In Allen Ep 93:93 Erasmus uses Horace *Odes* 1.1.2 to describe Adolph of Burgundy as a future patron of the arts; see also Allen Epp 208:28, 781:1–2, 1861:1 (all of William Warham), and 154:11–12 (of Hendrik van Bergen); poem 86.4 below (of Antonius Clava).

4–23 Nam seu – miser / For if the fires – me in my misery] These lines are an adaptation and amplification of Ovid *Tristia* 5.3.13–14: *sive mihi casus* [fortune] *sive hoc dedit ira deorum* [gods], / *nubila nascenti seu mihi Parca fuit* [fate]; cf Allen Ep 58:138–9 / CWE Ep 58:152: 'What an unjust fate! Unkind stars, and unpropitious gods!'

5 Ignes aetherei] Ovid *Fasti* 1.473 (different sense); cf poem 98.1–2n below.

10 aureis / golden] Venus conventionally received the epithet 'golden'; see for example Virgil *Aeneid* 10.16; Ovid *Heroides* 15(16).35, 291; *Metamorphoses* 10.277.

11–13 Tantum – munera / Only swift Mercury – his gifts into me] Mercury was, among other things, the patron of merchants and material riches. Cf Allen Ep 225:16 / CWE Ep 225:18, in a letter in which Erasmus complains of his poverty: 'I ... have had Mercury against me from birth,' and Allen Ep 1862:5–8. It is in this sense that Reedijk understands these lines: 'Perhaps an allusion to the loss of his inheritance, due to the machinations of his guardians' a decade earlier. But the primary and obvious allusion here is to Mercury as the god of cultural life, eloquence, philology, poetry. See Ptolemy *Tetrabiblos* 4.4.178; Firmicus Maternus *Mathesis* 3.7.4 (of the planet Mercury): *facit philologos aut laboriosarum litterarum peritos* 'he makes philologists or those who are skilled in interpreting difficult literature'; Isidore *Etymologiae* 5.30.8: Mercury is supposed to grant intelligence and eloquence; Erasmus *Adagia* II x 10; *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 86:957–8 / CWE 27 67; *Moria* ASD IV-3 132:148 / CWE 27 119; Vredeveld 'Notes' 604.

11 Mercurius celer / swift Mercury] Horace *Odes* 2.7.13; cf Lucan 1.662, where Mars is said to be in the ascendant and the benign planets Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury are remote.

14 falcifer / with his sickle] The sickle is Saturn's attribute. For the epithet *falcifer* see Ovid *Fasti* 1.234; 5.627; *Ibis* 214; Martial 11.6.1. Saturn was thought to bring on melancholy and cause fevers and diseases; see Ptolemy *Tetrabiblos* 2.8.83; Firmicus Maternus *Mathesis* 3.2.4, 8, and 26. Sebastian Brant *Varia carmina* sig g8^{v} refers to Saturn as *morbifer ille* 'that bringer of disease'; on sig D1^{v} he calls the planet 'death-dealing': *Astra Saturni moribunda.*

15–16 Vulcani ... Rivalis / rival of Vulcan] Mars seduced Vulcan's wife Venus; see Homer *Odyssey* 8.267–366.

16 calidus cum gelido sene / the hot-blooded god – cold old man] Reading *sene* as in the Basel *Opera* and LB instead of *senex*. Cf Fausto Andrelini *De influentia syderum* (first published at Paris on 10 May 1496) sig a3^v: *calidi fervens Martis ... astrum / Cum rigida gelidi frigiditate senis* 'the burning star of hot-blooded Mars together with the rigid frigidity of the cold old man.' Saturn was traditionally portrayed as a frigid old man. Mars was associated with the hot and dry humour choler (yellow bile) and with fiery youth.

18 triplici numine / threefold divinity] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 5.163 (of the Trinity); cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.654 (of the Fates): *triplices ... deae* and 8.481 (of the Furies).

19 durissima stamina / a very cruel thread of life] Cf 4.149–50n above.

20 Volucrem ... deam / the winged goddess] Fortuna was commonly depicted as winged because she is fleeting. See Horace *Odes* 3.29.53–4; cf *Odes* 1.34.15; W.H. Roscher *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* I-2 (Leipzig 1886–90) 1507:33–54; Howard R. Patch *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (1927; repr New York 1967) 45; Erasmus *Adagia* ASD II-4 49:728–9, of Rhamnusia (here, as often in the Renaissance, identified with Fortuna).

21 Versare omnia / whirls everything around] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 9.5: *fors omnia versat*; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 44.4 (of pedigree): *Omnia ... sursum deorsum fortuna versavit*; Silius Italicus 10.574–5: *nostros Fortuna labores / versat*; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 5.28–9: *cur tantas lubrica versat / Fortuna vices?*; Otto 698. The thought that inconstant Fortuna rules the world is proverbial: Otto 699; Walther 9847b and 9869a; see further Jerold C. Frakes *The Fate of Fortune in the Early Middle Ages: The Boethian Tradition* (Leiden 1988) 15–20, 28–33; Howard R. Patch *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (1927; repr New York 1967) 57–80. Erasmus *Adagia* ASD II-4 49:726, freely citing Ammianus Marcellinus 14.11.26, says that Nemesis or Rhamnusia (identified with Fortuna) is 'the queen and ruler of all affairs.' Cf also *Moria* ASD IV-3 176:861–2 / CWE 27 141: 'the goddess of Rhamnus ... who directs the fortunes of mankind.'

24 Felicis ... Polycratis] Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos from 532–522 BC, was celebrated for his good fortune and called *felix* 'the fortunate'; see Cicero *De finibus* 5.30.92; Allen Ep 858:19 / CWE Ep 858:26; *De copia* ASD I-6 106:950 / CWE 24 391:2; *De immensa Dei misericordia* LB V 567B; *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 37:367–8 / CWE 27 19. But in the end his good fortune deserted him, for he was lured to the mainland by the satrap Oroetes and killed in 522 BC. See Herodotus 3.120–5; Erasmus *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 56:967–9 / CWE 27 37.

25 Scyllae / Sulla] The Roman general and dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138–78 BC). He assumed the name *Felix* to celebrate and perpetuate his good fortune; Pliny *Naturalis historia* 7.44.137 and 22.6.12; Seneca *De beneficiis* 5.16.2; cf Erasmus *Adagia* LB II 229E; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 330:17 and 447:2 / CWE 25 84 and 158; *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 54:898–900 and 56:972–3 / CWE 27 35 and 37; *Lingua* ASD IV-1A 112:816–17 / CWE 29 343. The spelling *Scylla* is a medievalism for *Sylla* or *Sulla*; see for example Willem Hermans *Sylva odarum* sig d1^v: *fortunatum Marium Scyllamque beatum*.

26–9 Arpinas – vitiaverit / The Arpinate – touch of displeasure] For this judgment cf Plutarch *Marius* 432F–433B. Gaius Marius (c 157–86 BC), born near Arpinum, was consul seven times.

28–9 paululo Fermento vitiaverit / soured ... with a little touch of displeasure] Literally 'soured ... with a little fermentation,' as if the sweetness of the wine were being turned to vinegar by fermentation; cf *Moria* ASD IV-3 96:441–2 / CWE 27 98: 'youth ... soured and spoiled by the misery of advancing age'; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 251:18–252:1 / CWE 25 37: 'pure [delights], unspoiled by fermentation'; *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 70:730–1; *Spongia* ASD IX-1 171:124–5; Allen Epp 531:171–3, 1225:253–4, and 1238:119–20 / CWE Epp 531:190–2, 1225:275–6, and 1238:132.

30–1 foro ... utier / take the market as he finds it] Proverbial; see *Adagia* I i 92; *Paraphrasis in Elegantias Vallae* ASD I-4 332:444–5: 'To take the market as one finds it means to adapt oneself to the place, time, circumstances, and people. You do not know how to take the market as you find it [*Nescis uti foro*]'; *Moria* ASD IV-3 106:614 / CWE 27 103: *foroque nolit uti* 'has no eye for the main chance.'

32 Alternas – vices / the vicissitudes of lady Fortune] *Adagia* I vii 63, III ix 72; cf poem 109.19n below.

32 dominae] Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 2.1.18 and 2.2.6 calls Fortuna *domina*, as does Erasmus in poem 105.117 below.

37 matris ab ubere] Horace *Odes* 4.4.14

38–9 Fati persequitur ... tenor] Cf Ovid *Heroides* 7.112; Statius *Silvae* 5.1.165.

40–1 In me ... proruit ... tota] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.19.9: *In me tota ruens Venus*; Fausto Andrelini *Livia* 2.5.17: *In me tota ruit nascentem regia coeli.*

40–1 improbi ... Promethei / the wicked Prometheus] Prometheus' crime was to steal fire from heaven. As punishment Zeus created a woman, Pandora 'All gifts,' and sent her with a storage jar full of all kinds of diseases and afflictions to Prometheus' brother Epimetheus 'After-thinker.' In spite of Prometheus' warning, Epimetheus married Pandora, whereupon she opened the jar and released all the evils in it. Only Elpis 'Hope' remained shut within, lest mankind should fall utterly into despair. See Hesiod *Works and Days* 42–105; Horace *Odes* 1.3.27–33.

41 Pixis ... Promethei / box of ... Prometheus] The famous 'Pandora's box.' This is the first time that Erasmus mentions the 'box' (*pixis* or *pyxis*) of Pandora; it is, indeed, the first known instance of the modern misconception. The ancients always spoke of 'the large storage jar' (πίθος) of Pandora. The notion of Pandora's 'box' may well have originated with Erasmus. For later instances see Allen Ep 55:5 / CWE Ep 55:6; *Enchiridion* LB V 26B / CWE 66 63; *Adagia* LB II 39B–C / CWE 31 79:26 and 80:30, also LB II 125A / CWE 31 263:6–7; *Lingua* ASD IV-1A 26:36–7 / CWE 29 263. In their book *Pandora's Box* (2nd ed New York 1962) ch 2, Dora and Erwin Panofsky suggest that it was Erasmus who first 'mistranslated' the Greek by fusing (or confusing) the Pandora myth with the similar Psyche story in Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 6.16, 19–21. Psyche too cannot resist temptation and opens a box (*pyxis*), to her own detriment. The Panofskys identify the *Adagia* passage as the source of the modern conception of the 'box.' Dieter Wuttke, in 'Erasmus und die Büchse der Pandora' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 37 (1974) 157–9, later pointed out that Erasmus was using *pyxis* already in the present poem, in

1496 when he still had very little Greek. Wuttke infers from this that Erasmus drew on some hitherto unidentified medieval or early Renaissance source. (The Hesiod translation of Niccolò della Valle, first published in 1471 and reprinted about twenty-five times in the next fifty years, renders the word πίθος in *Works and Days* 94 correctly as *urna* 'a large vessel' or 'storing jar'; the word recurs in lines 97 and 98 of Hesiod's poem but is not translated in the neo-Latin version.)

42–3 quicquid – Tartari] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.273–81; Seneca *Oedipus* 586–94; Silius Italicus 13.579–94, especially 13.579–80: *Quanta cohors, omni stabulante per atria monstro, / excubat ... !* 'How great a company of terrible shapes keeps watch and has its abode in the courtyard ... !'

45 genius malus / evil genius] *Adagia* I i 72. Cf poem 53.3 below (a good genius).

46 Quae ... Iuno / what Juno] Juno pursued Hercules relentlessly throughout his life and also tried to thwart Aeneas' quest to found a new city. She thus became the type of the savage, hateful goddess. In Allen Ep 88:3–4 / CWE Ep 88:4–5 Erasmus says: 'Juno was against us: she always dislikes poets'; cf also Allen Epp 119:9–10 and 335:57–8 / CWE Epp 119:12–13 and 335:61–2. The notion that she is hostile to the Muses and poets seems to be unparalleled in ancient literature.

48 fatis genite prosperioribus] Cf Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.9.9.

48 genite] Thomson 200 feels that 'the lengthened final syllable' of *genite* 'comes off badly.' But the syllable is here lengthened before the diaeresis. This device, used occasionally by classical and late Latin poets, was much favoured by medieval poets. Erasmus makes frequent use of it in his early poetry, especially at the masculine caesura of the hexameter and the pentameter. See for example 99.19, 23; 100.15, 19, 24, 43; 101.3; 102.82; 104.14n; 105.13, 81, 106; 106.6, 29, 32, 50, 66, 88, 96. The practice occurs also in the later poetry; see for instance 112.273, 295, 318 (written in 1499).

49 Bis ... meum decus / my glory twice over] Gaguin will be Erasmus' glory twice over: first as his patron (see line 3n above), now as his friend in times of trouble.

50 amiculum] The diminutive occurs for instance in Cicero *In Verrem actio secunda* 3.34.79; Catullus 30.2; and Horace *Epistles* 1.17.3. Erasmus, always fond of diminutives, uses this one very often; see for instance *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 40:3 and 42:17; Allen Epp 76:7, 83:6, and 161:52. Froben uses it in line 7 of his prefatory letter to Erasmus' *Epigrammata*, page 2 above.

8 LB I 1219 / R 82

At the beginning of June 1506 Erasmus left London on his way to Italy. After a stormy crossing he stopped over for a while at Hammes Castle near Calais to visit its commander, his former student and now friend and patron Lord Mountjoy. The poem was probably written during the visit. It was first published in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507. The humorous idea of describing the ever-watchful geese as soldiery is also, but more briefly, developed in *Colloquia* ASD I-3 53:686–54:690.

Metre: elegiac distich

2 Arx Tarpeia / The Tarpeian citadel] According to the legend, the sacred geese of Juno awakened the defenders of the citadel on the Capitoline hill during a nocturnal attack by the Gauls in 390 BC. See Virgil *Aeneid* 8.655–6; Pliny *Naturalis historia* 10.26.51 and 29.14.57; Livy 5.47.

2 Remi] Remus, the twin brother of Romulus, is in poetry sometimes said to be the ancestor of the Romans instead of Romulus; see for example Catullus 58.5; Propertius 2.1.23, 4.1.9, and 4.6.80; Juvenal 10.73; Martial 10.76.4.

8 Lynceus] The proverbially sharp-eyed Argonaut; see Otto 1003; Erasmus *Adagia* II i 54; *De copia* ASD I-6 106:954 / CWE 24 392:2.

16 Pabulat] Since the classical deponent form *pabulatur* does not fit the metre here, Erasmus uses the active form of the verb, a medievalism.

16 nota ad symbola / at the well-known signals] When they are called to return from their feeding

17 se condidit aequore Titan = 64.32 below; cf Virgil *Georgics* 1.438; Statius *Achilleid* 1.242.

22 clarum – diem] Cf 106.44, 94 below.

23–4 annos Complures ... meret] Caesar *Bellum Gallicum* 7.17.5

9 LB V 1360 / R 29

Nos 9–11 were first printed in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507. It cannot be determined with certainty whether they were written on two separate occasions (after the mother's death and, later, the son's) or at the same time, upon a single commission. The latter possibility is inherently more likely.

Poem 9 was later printed, with a brief introduction, by F. Sweertius in the appendix of *Monumenta sepulcralia et inscriptiones publicae privataeque ducatus Brabantiae* (Antwerp: G. Beller 1613) 387–8. According to the information provided there, the epitaph had been inscribed on a tomb formerly in the church of St Gudule in Brussels. Sweertius gives the date as *M.DXVII. XIII. Maij*, but the year is manifestly misquoted. Reedijk conjectures that Erasmus wrote no 9 in Brussels, possibly in May 1494, and that he wrote nos 10 and 11 at the son's death either 'at the same moment' as no 9 or later (as late as summer 1495). He gives no reason why these poems should have been composed between May 1494 and summer 1495, rather than during Erasmus' stay in Brussels in July 1498. Possibly Reedijk reasoned that, since the son survived the mother by as much as a year, Erasmus would have had to be in or near Brussels for a considerable length of time. By such reckoning only the 1494–5 period can be made to fit.

There is, however, no compelling evidence that Erasmus stayed in Brussels for any length of time during 1494–5 (cf Epp 39–42 and Allen I Appendix V). On the other hand, we do know for certain that he spent a number of weeks in Brussels around July 1498 and that he was in great need of money (see Epp 76 and 77). It is thus conceivable that he accepted a commission to write some epitaphs for a family tomb just then being erected for a son who had died not long after his mother (see poem 11.1 below). If so, the mother died on 13 May of the preceding year, 1497. In fact, that is also the date which Sweertius gives for her death – if we transpose two of the Roman numerals and read *MXDVII* instead of the erroneous *MDXVII*. The son presumably died about a year after his mother, perhaps in June 1498. Neither Odilia nor her son has been identified.

Metre: iambic senarius

1 te salutat / greets you] That the dead person addresses the passer-by is an ancient convention in epitaphs; see Lattimore *Themes* 230–7 and 328–9. Erasmus employs the convention more or less subtly also in 10.1–2 and 11.7–20 below, as well as in nos 12, 52, 83, 85, 113, and 114; cf no 60 and headnote.

2 Quid – color] Cf 110.250n below.

3–10 Vivum – foenore / I who am alive – with a generous increase] See 62.17n below.

5 Mala vita mors est / A bad life is death] Cf 48.4 and 94.84 below; *Enchiridion* LB V 4B–5B / CWE 66 28–9; *De vidua christiana* LB V 750D, 754E–755A, and 765D / CWE 66 229–30, 237–8, and 255; *Psalmi* 33 ASD V-3 143:844–50 and 159:469–71; Rom 6:23; Eph 2:1; Col 2:13; 1 Tim 5:6.

7–19 Nam – Marcescet / For to the good – nevermore to wither] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10.120–4; poems 16 and 17 below; Lattimore *Themes* 301–11.

8 Nostri – pilus / Nothing of us perishes, not a single hair] Cf *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 453:18–20 / CWE 25 163: death 'does not destroy a single hair of man since even bodies are to be restored one day to that same immortality.' Cf Luke 21:18.

8–12 nisi – sata / unless a seed – to be harrowed] Cf John 12:24–5; 1 Cor 15:42–3; Erasmus' paraphrase on 1 Cor 15:37–44 (LB VII 909D–910E).

14 vere nostro / our springtime] Cf 2.241 above.

15 Haec – ciniscúlus] This line does not occur in the editions of the poem printed during Erasmus' lifetime, but is found in Sweertius' text.

15 ossa sicca / dry bones] Cf Ezek 37:4 (of the dry bones which are clothed in flesh, traditionally interpreted as a prophecy of the resurrection): *Ossa arida.* Cf Erasmus *Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum* LB V 1212E: *arentia ... ossa;* poems 10.3–4, 73.1, 112.291–2, and 114.27 below.

15 siccus ... ciniscnlus] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10.143: *cinisculus arens.*
17 corporum seges] Cf Ovid *Heroides* 6.11; poem 120.19 and notes below.
20 Sopita – fragmina / earth keeps – fragments] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10.125–8; poem 10.4 below.
22–3 te cominus Sentit videtque / It perceives you, it sees you from close by] Cf *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 454:3–5 / CWE 25 163: 'He is certainly alive ... and here in our presence, and hears and perceives this very conversation.'
23 triplici discrimine / in one of three ways] Heaven, hell, or purgatory
24 Vitae – praemia] Cf 113.3–5 and 137.23 below.
25 Messem – metens / and it will reap – what it sowed] Proverbial: 'As you have sown, so shall you reap.' See Otto 1104.
26 Sua – latet] Like line 15 above, this verse does not occur in the editions of the poem printed during Erasmus' lifetime, but is found in Sweertius' text.
27–30 Bona – contagio] Cf Plato *Phaedo* 81B–D.
30 terreo ... contagio / earthly contagion] For this Platonic image see also Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 1.30.72; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10.30; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 3.4.10 and 17, 3.12.1; Erasmus *De virtute amplectenda* LB V 67E / CWE 29 5: 'taint of earthly decay'; *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1230F; *Moria* ASD IV-3 190:170 / CWE 27 150; *Julius exclusus* in Ferguson *Opuscula* 121:1131 / CWE 27 195: *mundi contagiis* 'the evil influences of the world'; *Ratio* LB V 88D; Allen Ep 858:246–7 / CWE Ep 858:261; *Adagia* ASD II-5 178:389–90.
32 precamine] See 2.131n above.
33 Memor – mutuas / Remember that the same fate lies in store for you] The *memento mori* theme, so common in medieval and Renaissance epitaphs, also occurs in ancient ones; see Lattimore *Themes* 256–8; see also lines 9.39–40 below; cf poems 12.10, 83.12–14, and 85.7.
34 victimae / the victim] See 64.89n below.
36 Hoc fonte / this fountain] The water and blood flowing from Christ's side, foreshadowed by the water flowing from the rock struck by Moses. See headnote on no 11 below.
38–9 precatus – quietem / say a little prayer for light and rest] The prayer was very familiar because it was said several times in the mass for the burial of the dead: *Requiem eternam dona eis domine et lux perpetua luceat eis* 'Grant them eternal rest, O Lord, and may perpetual light shine upon them.' See *Missale Romanum* I 483 and 485–6; *Sarum Missal* 431–3. Cf Allen Ep 2466:114–15; poems 12.9 and 143.2 below.

10 LB V 1360 / R 30

Metre: elegiac distich

2 Idque – vides] See 2.25n above.
3–4 arida ... ossa / dry bones] Ezek 37:4; poem 73.1 below; cf 9.15n above.

4 Terra – suo / mother earth – dry bones] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10.125–6; poem 9.20 above. The phrase *gremio confovet* 'fondles in her lap' is a variation on the formulaic phrase *gremio fovet;* see for example Virgil *Aeneid* 1.692, 718; Statius *Silvae* 2.1.121; poems 42.61n and 88.36 below.

4 Terra parens] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.178; Juvenal 8.257

5–16 Quid – mei est / O cruel Death – orphaned and bereft of me] The passage is closely paralleled in *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 552F–553A / CWE 29 18–19. Cf poem 83.9–10 below. For the apostrophe to death in Erasmus' epitaphs see 38.15 and 25–31, 71.7–11, 83.9–12, 92.1–6 below.

5 Quid tibi ... precemur] Lucan 8.827

5 mors saeva] The phrase occurs also in 71.7–8 and 96.123 below.

8 dulci dulcius] Plautus *Truculentus* 371: *melle dulci dulcius;* cf *Asinaria* 614.

8 dulcius ... anima / sweeter than the ... breath of life] Proverbial; see Otto 1914 (of a beloved person); cf Allen Ep 5:27 / CWE Ep 5:28–9: 'you are dearer to me than my life itself [*hac anima*]' and Allen Ep 7:2–3 / CWE Ep 7:3: 'I value you more than my ... life [*hac anima*]'; *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 553A / CWE 29 18: 'my mother, dearer to me than my own soul [*charior anima*].'

15 pignore matrem = 11.19 below

16 pars melior ... mei / my better part] Cf Ovid *Heroides* 10.58; Otto 111. Cf poems 13.7, 93.158n, and 109.42 below (with note on 109.42–3).

11 LB V 1360 / R 31

Metre: elegiac distich

Heading If the picture above the tomb was a triptych, as appears likely, the crucifixion would be portrayed in the centre. Christ's side has been pierced by the soldier's spear, and blood and water is flowing from it (John 19:34). The side panels must have shown two prefigurations of Christ's saving power: the bronze serpent set up in the desert to heal the Israelites who had been bitten by snakes (Num 21:8–9) and the water streaming from the rock struck by Moses (Exod 17:5–6). On the bronze serpent as a prefiguration of the crucified Christ see John 3:14–15 and for example Augustine *Sermones* 6.5.7 (PL 38 62); Isidore *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum* 36.2–3 (PL 83 355); Albertus Magnus *Sermones de sanctis* 39.2 in *Opera* 13 568; Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 368:163–5; *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 293:562–4; *Psalmi* 33 ASD V-3 98:132–5 and 101:244–9; *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 196:172–3; *De praeparatione* ASD V-1 380:13–16. For the parallel between the water gushing from the rock and the water and blood streaming from Christ's side see 1 Cor 10:4; Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 1.152–9; Hugo Rahner *Symbole der Kirche: Die Ekklesiologie der Väter* (Salzburg 1964) 185, 207–8, and 214–15; Erasmus *Psalmi* 33 ASD V-3 100:210–12. Odilia and her son were probably painted as small worshipping figures at the bottom of the side panels (lines 5–6 below); cf headnote on poem 124.

1 haud longa / not ... for long] Cf the heading of poem 72, where the phrase *paulo post defunctum* 'who died shortly afterwards' refers to a span of about one year.
1 divortia] In *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 553A death is termed *triste divortium.*
6 ingeniosa manus = John of Salisbury *Entheticus maior* 1334; Rodolphus Agricola, untitled epigram in *Lucubrationes* page 314; Gaguin *Carmina* 53.2, first printed in August 1498; Erasmus *Adagia* LB II 290B: *scalptoris ingeniosa manus;* cf Allen Ep 2212:9: *ingeniosa pictoris manus.*
7 sortis ... omnibus aequae / the fate that comes equally to all] Proverbial; see Otto 1141; Erasmus *Adagia* III ix 12; poem 38.27 below.
9–10 necis – tua] Cf 1.79–81n above.
9 vitae ... autor] See 2.243n above.
11 verbere virgae = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 14.300
14 veteris colubri / the ancient serpent] Rev 12:9 and 20:2
16 sanguis et unda / blood and water] John 19:34. Here the blood stands for the Eucharist, the water for baptism; see for example Thomas Aquinas *In Ioannem Evangelistam expositio* 19.5.4 in *Opera omnia* 10 622; Albertus Magnus *Enarrationes in Evangelium Ioannis* 19:34 in *Opera omnia* 24 663–4; Erasmus *Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum* LB V 1214C.
17 recalescere flatu = Prudentius *Psychomachia* 59 (of a corpse); cf *Cathemerinon* 10.95; Erasmus *Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum* LB V 1212E: *tu ... solus arentia deplorataque ossa vitali flatu animas.*
19 pignore matrem = 10.15 above
20 In dextrum – gregem / claim them for the flock at your right hand] Cf Matt 25:32–3.

12 LB I 1219 / R 73

Wilhelmina Beka was the daughter of Arnold Beka, professor of civil and canon law at Louvain from 1481 to 1487; see CEBR I 120. Antoon Ysbrandtsz, mentioned in the poem as Wilhelmina's husband, had been town secretary of Antwerp from 1486 to 1488 and was pensionary (legal consultant) from 1489 to his death in 1505; see CEBR III 466. The epitaph, which must have been composed during Erasmus' first stay in Louvain in 1502–4, was first published in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507. It bears some similarities in structure and language to nos 83 and 84 below, also cast in the first person.

Metre: elegiac distich

3 ex omnibus unus = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.513
4 referens – patrem] Cf 4.70n above.
6 Templa, domus, proles / church, home, children] The traditional areas of a woman's life; the Germans used to speak in the same vein of *Kinder, Küche, Kirche.* Cf 83.4–8 and 84.7 below.

9 huic requiem – precatus] Cf 9.38–9n above.

10 Vive – bene / live long – live well] What counts is not the length of life, but its quality. For this commonplace see for example Seneca *Epistulae morales* 22.17, 77.20: *Quomodo fabula, sic vita non quam diu, sed quam bene acta sit, refert* (= Erasmus *Parabolae* ASD I-5 220:959 / CWE 23 212:38–9), 93.2, and 101.15; Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 450:20–4 / CWE 25 160–1; *Parabolae* ASD I-5 192:504 / CWE 23 195:14–15; *Institutio principis christiani* ASD IV-1 144:243–5 / CWE 27 213.

10 diu est hic nihil / nothing here is long] For the commonplace see for example Cicero *De senectute* 19.69; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.177; Otto 1915; Walther 4606, 16640, and 33872; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 52:354–56:467 / CWE 66 146–50.

13 LB I 1219 / R 10

The identity of Margaret Honora and her husband has not been established. Reedijk suggests that she might be Berta van Heyen's daughter Margaret, who died only six weeks after her wedding (c 1489); see *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 557C–D / CWE 29 25 and headnote on no 113 below. But the Margaret referred to in the present poem had the surname or family name (*cognomen*; cf 12.1) *Honora,* which cannot be a Latinization of Heyen. Erasmus does not mention the name *Honora* in *Oratio funebris.*

A *terminus post quem* for the poem is provided by several echoes of Fausto Andrelini's poetry – *Livia,* published on 1 October 1490 (see line 4n below) and *Elegiae,* first published in 1494 (see line 8n below). The close parallels in lines 4 and 6 to texts written in 1498–9 point to the later 1490s.

The epitaph was first printed in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507.

Metre: elegiac distich

1 Hic sita ... est] A stock phrase in both actual and literary epitaphs; cf 14.1n below. Variations are common; see 15.1, 39.1, 40.1–2, 60.3, 66.2, 70.1, 73.1, 75.1, 78.1, 83.1, 84.1, 85.1, 86.1, 126.1, 137.1, and 143.1.

2 Fiscini] The second syllable of the name *Fiscinius* is scanned long. For this reason it is probably not related to *fiscina* 'basket,' the second syllable of which is short, or to the Dutch name De Corver 'the basket-maker,' as Reedijk suggests.

4 ne – amor / love which not even death can dissolve] Cf Fausto Andrelini *Livia* 4.2.10 (of the bond between husband and wife): *vix ipsa dissoluenda nece* 'which even death can scarcely dissolve.' The thought also occurs in Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 421:14–16 / CWE 25 139: 'The af-

fection of a wife is ... in the end ... severed by death alone, or rather not even by death [*ne morte quidem*]' and 422:20–1 / CWE 25 140: 'To the affection of wedlock there will be added a bond as adamant as steel which not even death [*ne mors quidem*] can sever.' These two passages, also printed in ASD I-5 406:270–2 and 408:306–7, come from *Encomium matrimonii*, a declamation written in 1498–9. See also *De vidua christiana* LB V 747B and 747D / CWE 66 224. In *Institutio christiani matrimonii* LB V 624B Erasmus explains that physical death cannot dissolve the matrimonial knot because true love resides in the soul, not in the body.

5 viridis ... iuventae] Virgil *Aeneid* 5.295; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.557; and often; poem 99.9 below; cf 2.57, 199–200 above.

5 primaevo in flore iuventae] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 7.162; Silius Italicus 1.376.

6 rosa – comis] Cf 4.94–5 above.

6 semadaperta = Ovid *Amores* 1.6.4 (the only occurrence of the word in ancient poetry)

7 Dimidius] See 109.42 below, with note on lines 42–3; cf 10.16n.

8 viduus compare turtur ave] Cf Poliziano *Sylvae* 2.9: *Dum gemit erepta viduatus compare turtur.*

8 viduus ... turtur / a turtle-dove bereaved = Fausto Andrelini *Elegiae* 1 sig a8^v. The turtle-dove was a stock emblem of marital love and fidelity; see T. Peach 'Sources et fortunes d'une image: "sur l'arbre sec la veufve tourterelle"' BHR 48 (1986) 735–45; Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 412:11 / CWE 25 135; poems 70.3–4 and 132.3 below.

14 and 15 LB I 1219 / R 41–2

David of Burgundy (c 1427–16 April 1496), one of the natural sons of Duke Philip the Good, became bishop of Utrecht in 1456. Erasmus seems to have sent him a small bundle of moral and religious poems in late winter 1491, no doubt to win his favour, as Allen suggests; see Allen Ep 28:22n / CWE Ep 28:22n (for the date of this letter see headnote on poem 50 below). Erasmus' ordination on 25 April 1492 was probably not by David himself, but by the Carmelite Jan van Riet (Johannes de Arundine), bishop of Usbite; in *Epistola contra pseudevangelicos* ASD IX-1 283:5–6 Erasmus says only that the ordination took place during (*sub*) David's administration. See A.J. van de Ven 'David van Bourgondië, bisschop van Utrecht, en de priesterwijding van Erasmus' *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* 8th ser (1970) 196–209. David subsequently did give Erasmus leave to join Bishop Hendrik van Bergen at Cambrai. See CEBR I 226–7.

Nos 14 and 15 were first printed in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507.

Metre of both epitaphs: elegiac distich

14

1 Hic situs est = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.327; Lucan 8.793; cf poem 13.1n above.

1 non tantum nomine / in more than name] The phrase belongs with *praesul*, not with the name *David*, which Erasmus understood to mean *fortis manu* 'strong-handed,' 'strong in battle'; see for instance *Psalmi* 4 ASD V-2 224:21–2, 22 ASD V-2 329:14 and 336:227, 33 ASD V-3 101:254–5 and 108:522; *De concordia* ASD V-3 263:179–80. For the meanings of the name David – *fortis manu* and *desiderabilis* 'beloved' – see Jerome *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum* 1 Reg (CCSL 72 103) and Isidore *Etymologiae* 7.6.64. Because of his genuine concern for his flock David was a true bishop, both in name and in deed. Cf lines 3–4 and poem 15.2 below; *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 130:991–5. Cf also poems 39.3–4, 40.3–4, and 137.7–12 below (epitaphs for Hendrik van Bergen, bishop of Cambrai), 107.19–20 (Gregory the Great); *Moria* ASD IV-3 170:739–172:752 / CWE 27 137; *Ratio* LB V 116F: a bishop should care only for the welfare of his flock and the glory of Christ.

2 Digna patre proles ... tua] Cf Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.2.81–2.

16 and 17 LB I 1219–20 / R 62–3

Jacob Batt of Bergen op Zoom (c 1466–1502) studied in Paris. After his return to Bergen, where he became a citizen on 1 February 1494, he befriended Erasmus, who at the time was in the service of Bishop Hendrik van Bergen. Batt became one of the main characters in the *Antibarbari*. He remained a faithful friend to Erasmus after leaving Bergen op Zoom about 1496. As tutor to Anna van Borssele's son Adolph of Burgundy, he helped Erasmus secure her patronage (cf headnote on no 1). See CEBR I 100–1.

The two poems were first printed in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507. For the theme cf 9.7–19n above.

Metre of both epitaphs: iambic dimeter

16

1 θάρσεο] For metrical reasons (and to avoid rhyme) Erasmus here employs an unusual form of the imperative instead of θάρσει – the form that recurs in ancient Greek epitaphs and in the Greek New Testament (for example Matt 9:2, 22); see also Erasmus *Ecclesiastes* LB V 1049B.

2 Καλῶς – παλιμφύει] Cf 62.17n and 17.2 below.

18 LB I 1220 / R 61

On Batt see headnote on nos 16–17. The epigram was first printed in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507.

Metre: elegiac distich

1 manibus ... uncis / in his grasping claws] In Virgil *Aeneid* 3.217 the phrase is applied to the Harpies' talons. It occurs in a different context also in Virgil *Georgics* 2.365–6. Cf Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 200:87 / CWE 24 574:28: *manus ad rapinam incurvas* 'hands like talons ready to tear'; Allen Ep 447:75 / CWE Ep 447:79–80, where greedy people are said to have 'harpies' talons.'

2 Battus] The herdsman who betrayed a theft by Mercury; see Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.687–707.

2 defuat] For this unusual subjunctive form (= *desit*) see Plautus *Miles gloriosus* 595.

19 LB I 1220 / R 27–8

The epigrams were evidently intended to be engraved on two salt-cellars sent as a present by the inmates of the convent *Vallis virginum* to the abbot of an unnamed monastery. They were first published in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507.

Reedijk thinks that the presents might have come from the Abbey of Ghislenghien near Ath in Hainault, also known as 'Val des Vierges,' and that the verses must hence have been composed during the time Erasmus was in the service of Bishop Hendrik van Bergen (summer 1492–summer 1495). The name 'Val des Vierges,' however, seems to have been applied to the abbey only at its founding in 1126. In Erasmus' day it was known as *Guilenghien*. See *Monasticon Belge* I (Bruges 1890) 316–17. The convent to which Erasmus refers is perhaps the *Vallis virginum* in Amsterdam, known as 'Maagdendaal' in Dutch. This house was founded by Gijsbrecht Douwe before 1432. In 1475 the Franciscan Tertiaries who lived there joined the Windesheim congregation. See Michael Schoengen *Monasticon Batavum* II: *De Augustijnsche Orden benevens de Broeders en Zusters van het Gemeene Leven* (Amsterdam 1941) 16, 19. The Windesheim congregation had close ties with the smaller Sion congregation to which Erasmus' monastery Steyn belonged, since both were chapters of the Augustinian order. Cornelis Gerard could have taken the salt-cellars along as a gift to the abbot of St Victor at Paris in late October 1497 when he served as one of the representatives of the Windesheim congregation who were helping to reform the abbey. If so, he must have asked his friend Erasmus to compose these verses; the abbot, to whom the salt-cellars were presented, might then be identified as Nicaise Delorme, abbot of St Victor and, like Cornelis and Erasmus, a canon regular of St Augustine; see CEBR I 385.

Metre: elegiac distich

1 sine labe = Ovid *Heroides* 16(17).69; *Metamorphoses* 2.537; *Fasti* 4.335; cf poem 40.8n below.

3 sapientia sal est / salt, for wisdom] In Latin *sal* can mean both 'salt' and 'wit'; see *Adagia* II iii 51. Salt is also an old symbol of purity; see *Adagia* LB II 23D–E / CWE 31 47:431–4. Cf further Matt 5:13: 'You are the salt of the earth'; Mark 9:50; Luke 14:34–5

20 LB I 1220 / R 50–7

For which church were these bell epigrams written? Two possibilities have been advanced thus far. Reedijk proposes St Michael's of Den Hem near Schoonhoven. This convent and church were destroyed by lightning on 14 June 1495; see Dalmatius van Heel 'Het klooster der reguliere kanunniken te Den Hem bij Schoonhoven' *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht* 69 (1950) 164–98. Since there were close ties between Steyn and Den Hem (cf headnote on no 50 below), we can readily understand that Erasmus was asked to compose verses for the new bells. He could have written the epigrams on one of his visits to Holland in the summer of 1498, early 1499, or late spring 1501. In this regard it is worth while to note the close verbal parallel in line 15 to *De virtute amplectenda*, written at Paris in c March 1499.

Reedijk's suggestion, while certainly attractive, does have its problems. According to Dalmatius van Heel (page 183) the rebuilding of the convent and church went on for many decades, owing to a lack of funds. Yet lines 3–4 of the epigrams, first published in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507, speak of the church and the bells as already restored. Given the lack of money available for restoration, could Den Hem have afforded an expensive set of new bells? Furthermore, as Nicolaas van der Blom points out in a private letter, a monastery dedicated to St Michael might be expected to have at least one of its bells placed under the archangel's protection. For medieval and Renaissance examples of bells dedicated to St Michael see Walter *Glockenkunde* 232, 275–6, and 329. Yet not one of Erasmus' epigrams mentions the archangel (or, for that matter, any of the angels). Even Gerard (Gérard, Girard?) Scastus, the abbot or prior under whose auspices the church and its bells were restored, has not been identified. Dalmatius van Heel mentions no such name in his article on Den Hem. Reedijk proposes that Erasmus might have been thinking of the suffragan Hendrik Schadehoet through confusion with Gerard Scadde of Calcar, who in c 1424 founded the school at 's-Hertogenbosch that Erasmus attended in the mid-1480s. But this is clearly a grasping at straws.

Nicolaas van der Blom 'On a Verse of Erasmus' ERSY 1 (1981) 148–53, citing difficulties such as these, follows up a suggestion earlier rejected by Reedijk: that the church in question might be the Cathedral of Our Lady at Chartres. The north tower of this church was destroyed by lightning on 26 July 1506, along with its six bells. But much speaks against this identification also. Lines 3–4 of the bell poems imply that the church or part of the church had to be rebuilt, not just one tower, as was the case at Chartres. The bishop of Chartres at the time was René d'Illiers (d 8 April 1507), not Gerard Scastus. Van der Blom ingeniously theorizes that Erasmus first wrote the name *Renati*, changing it to *Erardi* in autumn 1506 after learning that René was seriously ill and that the king would name Erard de la Marck as his successor. In order to lay 'the ghost' Scastus to rest, he emends the name *Scasti* to *Sanctis* 'Saints' and assumes that *Girardi* is a spelling variant or printer's error for *Erardi*. Van der Blom's emendation, however, has the effect of making the church in question sacred to All Saints rather than the Virgin Mary – a difficulty that is not overcome by Alfred M.M. Dekker's idea in 'Twee epigrammen van Erasmus (R 49, 50)' *Hermeneus* 53 (1981) 366–7 that the emended word *Sanctis* be taken instead as the indirect object of *restituit* ('restored us and the church *to the saints*'). In any case, the restoration of the north tower was not begun until 24 March 1507 and not completed until 1513. See [Marcel Joseph] Bulteau *Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres* 3 vols (2nd ed Chartres 1887–92) II 100. Erasmus, however, speaks of both the church and the tower as already restored (lines 3–4) and of the bells as already recast (heading). Erard de la Marck was not elected bishop of Chartres until 28 June 1507, six months after these epigrams were published.

Perhaps the church in question was the abbey church of Ste Geneviève in Paris, which belonged to Erasmus' own order, the canons regular of St Augustine. Erasmus lived close by this church during his student days in Paris. He may even have preached some sermons on the saints there. It was to Ste Geneviève that he turned for relief from an attack of the quartan fever in the winter of 1496–7; see headnote on no 88 below. The church's bell tower – it survives to the present day as 'Tour Clovis' – was hit by lightning on 6 June 1483. The ensuing fire destroyed the upper part of the belfry, melted the bells, and damaged the church. To repair the damage, abbot Philippe Langlois (d 1488) obtained from Pope Sixtus IV indulgences for five years. These were renewed by Pope Innocent VIII for another three years. The tower was restored and the bells recast during the reign of Charles VIII (d 1498). See Aubin-Louis Millin *Antiquités nationales ou recueil de monumens* 5 vols (Paris 1790–5) V section 60 'Abbaye Sainte-Geneviève à Paris' pages 39 and 58. Unfortunately there are some difficulties with this possibility also. The abbot under whom the tower was actually reconstructed was Philippe Cousin (abbot from 1488 to 1517), not 'Girardus Scastus'; the prior of the Augustinians in Paris around 1497, however, was Pierre Gérard; see Renaudet *Préréforme* 286 n2. According to Claude Du Molinet *Histoire de Sainte-Geneviève et de son église royale et apostolique à Paris* (seventeenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 610) page 400, only 'four good bells' were cast for the rebuilt tower. And none of the bells mentioned by Erasmus is dedicated to Ste Geneviève herself.

Erasmus' verses are written in several different metres: lines 1–6, 9–12, and 15–18 are elegiac distichs; lines 7–8 are iambic senarii; lines 13–14 are choliambs.

2 Alpha et ω] The bell's name is 'Alpha and Omega.' In Rev 1:8 God says: 'I am the Alpha and the Omega'; see also Rev 21:6 and 22:13. The inscription 'Alpha and Omega,' written either in Greek characters or in transcription, is often found on medieval church bells; see Walter *Glockenkunde* 203 and 229.

2 Triadi] Erasmus, like other humanists, generally preferred this Greek term for the Trinity to the more traditional *Trinitas* (used in 20.8 below, for metrical reasons); see for example *Precationes* LB V 1199E; Allen Ep 143:93, 98; *Moria* ASD IV-3 164:599.

2 rite dicata = Ovid *Fasti* 1.610

2 vocor / I ... am called] In the late Middle Ages bells often bore inscriptions speaking of themselves in the first person. A bell in Blaricum, Holland, for example, bears the inscription: *Vocor Maria. Ic heyt Maria* 'I am called Mary.' See Walter *Glockenkunde* 204, 211, 213, 214, 216, 218–19, and often.

3–4 Nos – restituit / We and the holy church – Gerard Scastus] Walter *Glockenkunde* gives several examples of inscriptions that indicate the name of the prelate responsible for having the bell restored or cast. See page 206: *me veterem fidus renovat abbas Godefridus*; page 207: *sub Hainrico praeposito ... facta sum*; page 271: *unter dem erwirdigen apt Caspar Schiegg ist dise glogg gegosen.*

3 Scasti ... Girardi / Gerard Scastus] See headnote. Nicolaas van der Blom

(page 150) objects that 'the "administrative" order of the names ... is hardly compatible with a poem.' This is his first and foremost argument for emending *Scasti* to *Sanctis*. The inversion of names, however, is quite common in poetry for metrical reasons. See for instance 13.2 above: *Fiscini ... Guihelme,* 78.2 below: *Utenhovius ... Nicolaus,* 86.1–2: *Clava ... Antonius,* and 132.5: *Gracchum Tiberium.* But Van der Blom's feeling that we need to 'get rid' of *Scasti* may be sound, since this name seems to be totally unknown. If so, we might emend the word to *sancti* ('venerable,' as an adjective with *Girardi praesulis*); cf 20.14: *pius praesul.* The printer could have expanded Erasmus' contracted form *sc̄ti* (= *sancti*) incorrectly. Alternatively the correct reading might be *casti* 'chaste,' 'pure,' but this seems less likely.

5–6 Aenea – queat / I have a voice – Christ] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.625–7 (imitating Homer *Iliad* 2.488–90): not even a hundred tongues and a voice of iron would be enough. On the 'inexpressibility topos' see Curtius ELLM 159–60.

5 Aenea ... vox] Servius on Virgil *Aeneid* 6.626 (*ferrea vox*) quotes a now-lost passage in Lucretius *De rerum natura* which spoke of 'a voice of bronze,' *aerea vox.*

9 Vox clamantis / a voice crying out] Matt 3:3; Luke 3:4; John 1:23; based on Isa 40:3. Walter *Glockenkunde* 265 cites the following epigraph: *Ioh. baptista ego vox clamantis in deserto.*

10 nocte dieque] *Adagia* I iv 24

11 sacra] The change of gender indicates that here *campana* is understood instead of *tintinabulum.*

11–12 fugo – dies / I put the evil demons – feast-days] In the late Middle Ages bells often bore inscriptions asserting that they ward off demons and lightning. A bell in the cathedral at Erfurt, cast in 1497 by the renowned Dutch master Gerrit van Wou of Kampen, boasts: *Fulgur arcens et demones malignos* 'warding off lightning and evil spirits'; see Walter *Glockenkunde* 278. Often these boasts are combined, as here, with the bell's function of tolling at funerals and feast-days; see Walter *Glockenkunde* 185–7, 209–10, 214, 234: *defunctos plango. festa colo. fulgura frango,* 243–4, 251, 261, 266, 287, and 297. The epigraph of Schiller's famous 'Das Lied von der Glocke' quotes the inscription on the big bell in the church of Schaffhausen (1486): *Vivos voco. Mortuos plango. Fulgura frango* 'I call the living. I mourn the dead. I shatter the thunderbolts.' See Walter *Glockenkunde* 266.

12 Funera – dies / with my song – feast-days] Cf Walter *Glockenkunde* 213: *Fleo funera. Festa decoro* 'I weep for the dead. I adorn feast-days,' 225: *Festa pulsoque funera mesta signoque* 'I ring out at feasts and mark sad funerals,' and 232: *Nuntio festa, ...flebile laethum* 'I announce feasts ... [and] lamentable death.'

13–14 Sum – praesul / I belong – better than before] The 'limping' metre (scazon or choliambus) is so named because the line's last foot is not, as expected, an iamb but rather a spondee or a trochee. The verse form, with its reversal of metre at the end, may have been deliberately chosen here to underscore the reversal in fortune not only of the bells which, through a fortunate kind of fall, were much improved, but also of the fallen woman who, precisely because she fell, became a great saint. The same metre appears in no 28 below, possibly for a similar reason: to suggest the change in fortune of the little book which, if it should please the bishop, would be more precious than the pearls from the Persian Gulf. Scazons were originally used in lampoons; later they were commonly employed in comic or satiric verse. Erasmus uses it for this purpose in his 'Epitaph for a drunken jokester' (52) and 'On the flight of the French' (58).

Claude Du Molinet *Histoire de Sainte-Geneviève et de son église royale et apostolique à Paris* (Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 610) page 400 likewise says that the calamity that befell Sainte-Geneviève turned out to have been a blessing in disguise, for the restoration, which gave the tower a new spire and 'four good bells,' put everything in better condition than it had been before ('ensorte que toutes choses furent remises en un meilleur estat, quelles n'estoient avant que cet incendie et ce malheur fust arrivé').

15 ferit eminus aures] *De virtute amplectenda* LB V 70E: *vox illa hominis dulcis ac tinnula ... eminus ... aures feriens;* cf Virgil *Aeneid* 10.346: *ferit eminus hasta.*

16 caelicolum ... cohors] Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 3.127

17 Dodones ... aera / the bronze of Dodona] The bronze cauldrons of Dodona in Epirus were hung so closely together that when one was struck all rang in turn. Cf *Adagia* I i 7 (which also mentions Corinthian bronze).

17 aera ... Corinthi / bronze of Corinth] Corinthian bronze, a highly prized alloy made of gold, silver, and copper, was in ancient times used for costly ornaments and vessels.

21–3 LB I 1220 / R 58–60

Reedijk suggests that the courtier whom Erasmus lampoons in these three epigrams might be the dissolute soldier for whom Erasmus began writing the *Enchiridion* at Tournehem in 1501. In Allen I 20:3–4 / CWE Ep 1341A:726–7 Erasmus describes him as a man who despised all theologians, Erasmus excepted; and in Allen Ep 858:2 / CWE Ep 858:7–8 he says that this 'private friend' was not very cultured (*amiculo cuidam prorsus* ἀναλφαβήτῳ), which certainly fits no 23 below. The prefatory letter to the *Enchiridion* addresses him, furthermore, as 'a friend at court' (*amicus aulicus*). Otto Schottenloher identified this man as the gunsmith Johann Poppenruyter of Nürnberg, who might already then have been living in Mechelen; see CWE Ep 164 headnote and CEBR III 114–15. If Poppenruyter were indeed the courtier who is attacked here, the poems must have been written very early during Erasmus' stay at Tournehem, before the two men became friends; see Allen I 20:1 / CWE Ep 1341A:723 and Allen Ep 858:2 / CWE Ep 858:7–8. Schottenloher's theory has been rejected by A.J. Festugière *Erasme, Enchiridion militis christiani* (Paris 1971) 29–34. The surname 'Poppenruyter,' in any case, does not lend itself to the punning reference of 22.7–8 – at least not in Latin, Dutch, or German.

The three poems were first printed in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507.

Metre: elegiac distich

21

1 Midas] He was proverbial not only for his riches (Otto 1110), but also for his stupidity; see poem 4 dedicatory letter 39–41n above.

4 Phalarim] Phalaris was a tyrant of Acragas (Agrigentum) in Sicily (570–554 BC) proverbial for his cruelty; see Otto 1405; Erasmus *Adagia* I x 86.

5–6 Sic – mali / In the same way – a vicious race] In 356 BC Herostratus set fire to the great temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus in order to make his name immortal. That is why the Ephesians decreed that his name should never be mentioned; see Valerius Maximus 8.14 ext 5; Aulus Gellius 2.6.18. According to Valerius Maximus, the only ancient writer who recorded his name was Theopompus. Afterwards his name was mentioned again by Aelian *De natura animalium* 6.40, Solinus 40.3, and Strabo 14.1.22; but other ancient writers deliberately passed over his name in silence. Erasmus mentions him by name in Allen Epp 47:65–6, 1053:204–5, and 1967:52–3 / CWE Epp 47:72–3, 1053:220–1; *Adagia* prolegomena xiii.7 (LB II 13C / CWE 31 27:175); *De copia* ASD I-6 106:953 / CWE 24 391:6; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 668:22–3; and elsewhere. But in Allen Ep 337:583–4 / CWE Ep 337:612–14 he alludes to him only as 'that Ephesian youth.'

7 stolidam mentem] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.149, referring to Midas (some editors prefer: *stultae ... mentis*); cf poem 22.1 below.

7 nullis aboleveris undis] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 3.559–60; Erasmus *Spongia* ASD IX-1 192:709.

8 rabiem – queat / only a sword-point could put down his rage] Cf *Parabolae* ASD I-5 282:979 / CWE 23 250:27: 'there are some vices ... which only death can cure'; Allen Ep 1515:25 (of Nicolaas Baechem): *Tale ingenium solis fustibus corrigi poterat* 'Such a mind could be cured only by a sound beating'; poems 22.7 and 119.24 below.

22

1 stolidum ... pectus] Cf 21.7n above.

2 Malce] Malchus was the high priest's slave whose right ear was cut off by Peter (John 18:10).

3–4 quidam – via / a certain – whatever] This modern Herostratus, unlike the ancient one (see 21.5–6n), is to remain forever nameless – at least, if Erasmus can help it. Ovid likewise refuses to identify the object of his wrath in *Ibis*.

5–6 asininas ... auriculas / ass's ears] Ears like those which Apollo gave to Midas; see poem 4 dedicatory letter 39–41n above.

7 crepet / let him burst] See 96.39–40n below. Reedijk suggests some connection to the name *Borssele* (Dutch *borsten* or *bersten* means 'to burst').
8 syllaba prima = Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.12.12 (of a family name)

23

2 ius Caesareum ... atque sacrum / the legal saws of the emperor and the church] Civil and canon law; cf 12.2 above.
4 Et merito, quid enim = Ovid *Amores* 3.12.9; *Metamorphoses* 9.585
5 iura ... iuris / 'saws' ... sauce] The punning on *ius*, which can mean both 'law' and 'broth' ('rule' and 'roux'), is quite common in ancient literature; see for example Plautus *Cistellaria* 473; Cicero *In Verrem actio secunda* 1.46.121; *Ad familiares* 9.18.3; Claudian *In Eutropium* 2.348.

24–7 LB I 1220–1 / R 68–71

The epigrams were probably intended to interpret a series of actual paintings. Neither the painter(s) nor the paintings are known. The question, formerly taken seriously, whether the paintings might have been Erasmus', can be dismissed out of hand; see 2.95n above.

The poems were first printed in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507.

24

Metre: hexameter

1 stolida ... tellure] Cf 94.19n below.
1 Gigantes / the Giants] They were the sons of Earth (Gaea) and the drops of blood from the castrated Uranus. The Giants tried to storm the heavens by piling mountains on top of mountains, but were smitten by Zeus' lightning bolts. See Virgil *Georgics* 1.278–83; Horace *Odes* 3.4.42–68; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.151–5; Erasmus *Adagia* III x 93; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 410:12–411:4 / CWE 25 134–5 (interpreted allegorically); poem 59.15 below.
3 Caelicolum regem] Virgil *Aeneid* 3.21
3 supera ... arce] Statius *Silvae* 3.3.138 (of heaven)
4 male – vires / mere mad power without intelligence will fail] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.4.65: 'Strength without wisdom falls to ruin by its own weight.' Horace had earlier cited the Giants as an example of brawn without brains; cf Erasmus *Adagia* III x 93; *De concordia* ASD V-3 313:944–6; poem 25.3–4 below.

25

Metre: hexameter

1 Iuppiter – moles] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 1.283.
3 Sic sic] See 2.83n above.
3–4 vis – ruunt] Cf 24.4n above.

26

Pentheus, son of Echion and Agaue and king of Thebes, attempted to stop the introduction of the ecstatic religion of Dionysius (Bacchus). But his mother and her sisters in their frenzy took him for a wild animal and tore him to pieces. The story is told by Euripides in the *Bacchae;* cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.511–733.

Metre: dactylic tetrameter catalectic *in syllabam*

1 Penthea ... Echioniden] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.513–14
7–8 Quam – malis / How well – committed] Cf *Adagia* I i 89.

27

The scene is based on Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.836–75. Mercury, at his father Jupiter's behest, has just driven a herd of bulls from the mountain to the shore. He does not realize that his father is among them and is about to carry Europa to Crete.

Metre: elegiac distich

2–4 Aurea – erit / you can tell – his blond hair] For these attributes of Mercury see Virgil *Aeneid* 4.239–42; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.671–2; Statius *Thebaid* 1.303–6; Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 10.30; Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 1.77–8.
2 Aurea ... virga] Ovid *Heroides* 15(16).64, of Mercury's magic wand; Virgil *Aeneid* 7.190, of Circe's wand; cf poem 2.129n above.
3 talaria / his sandals] Cf *Adagia* I ii 42.
4 bicolor ... galerus] The phrase also occurs in *De copia* ASD I-6 265:728. As a herald, Mercury wore a broad-brimmed felt hat (*petasos*). In later art, this hat is often depicted as winged. I have not found ancient authority for the epithet *bicolor;* perhaps Erasmus means that the hat and the wings are of a contrasting colour.
7 imagine tauri = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.1 and 8.122, both of Jupiter

8 per freta longa = Ovid *Heroides* 7.46; cf *Metamorphoses* 8.142.

11 Quid – cogat] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.412: *improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis;* cf also *Aeneid* 3.56.

11 caecus amor] Catullus 67.25; Ovid *Fasti* 2.762; Otto 99; Walther 15538 and 16676; poem 100.36 below

28 LB I 1221 / ASD I-1 176 / R 75

This poem was written to introduce Erasmus' translation of three declamations by Libanius; see ASD I-1 175–92. The translations were completed in 1503 and presented, in Erasmus' autograph, to the bishop of Arras, Nicolas Ruistre, on 17 November of the same year; see Ep 177. In the illustrated presentation copy the epigram appears on a separate sheet preceding the title-page. The manuscript is now at Trinity College, Cambridge (MS R.9.26). The little book was not published until July 1519 (Louvain: D. Martens), perhaps because of its insignificant size. As Allen and Reedijk note, the booklet could have been fleshed out with a Greek text, as it indeed was in 1519; but in 1503 Martens was not yet able to print Greek texts of any great length.

In the Cambridge manuscript and in the 1519 edition the liminary verses bear the title *Scazon trimeter ad libellum* 'Choliambic trimeter. To the little book.' The epigram was first printed in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507.

The theme of this epigram, that a paper gift that touches the reader's heart is worth more than precious stones, is also presented in Allen Ep 3086:19–21 (the preface to *Psalmi* 14).

Metre: choliamb; cf 20.13–14n above.

1 Avibus sequundis / with favourable omens] Cf Erasmus *Adagia* I i 75; poem 45.1 below.

1 charteum munus] Cf Allen Epp 187:8: *chartaceam strenam,* 3086:19: *chartaceum munus;* line 17 of Snoy's preface to nos 93–7 below: *carthaceo munere.*

2 Exile / meagre] In Allen Ep 178:4–5 / CWE Ep 178:7 Erasmus refers to the work as 'my little gift, tiny though it was.'

3 praesuli] Nicolas Ruistre of Luxembourg (c 1442–1509) became chancellor of the University of Louvain in 1487 and was consecrated bishop of Arras on 7 August 1502. See CEBR III 177–8.

4 lapillos ... Erithreos] Martial 5.37.4 and 9.2.9; cf poem 64.3n below; cf also 4.116n above.

29 LB I 1221 / R 67

Erasmus composed this complimentary epigram for the title-page of Jacob Anthoniszoon's treatise *De praecellentia potestatis imperatoriae* (Antwerp: D. Martens, 1 April 1502, NS 1503) to which he also contributed a semi-complimentary letter, Ep 173 (dated 13 February 1503), as well as poem 62 below. On the title-page the epigram has the heading: *Ad lectores distichon* 'A distich to the readers.'

Jacob Anthoniszoon of Middelburg, a doctor of canon law and vicar-general to Bishop Hendrik van Bergen, was an old friend of Erasmus; cf CWE Ep 60:11n and CEBR I 61–2. His treatise on the power of the emperor was already complete by June 1501. Erasmus, who at that time was staying at Anthoniszoon's house, had apparently been asked to help find a publisher for it in Antwerp; see Allen Ep 153:1–19 / CWE Ep 153:3–22.

The theme of the epigram is also expressed in Allen Ep 173:35–9 / CWE Ep 173:43–7. Nothing, Erasmus assures Anthoniszoon in this letter, could be 'more glorious or more pious than to take up your pen in defence of imperial majesty, which itself takes up arms in defence of us all.'

Metre: trochaic tetrameter catalectic

30 LB I 1221 / R 43

Willem Hermans (c 1466–1510) of Gouda studied at Deventer together with Erasmus; subsequently both became monks at Steyn. No 106, probably written in spring 1488, is a tribute to the closeness of their friendship. Nos 104 and 109 may also have been addressed to him. The two friends kept in contact after Hermans left Steyn for Haarlem in autumn 1490; see Ep 28 and headnote on poem 50 below. Hermans sent Erasmus some poems at the end of 1493 (Allen Ep 34:21–2 / CWE Ep 34:25–6), and gave him more when he visited Steyn in 1496. Erasmus published them in *Sylva odarum* (Paris: G. Marchant, 20 January 1497). The present verses served as liminary epigram to this collection. Erasmus also contributed Ep 49 and poem 7 above. On Willem Hermans see CEBR II 184–5.

Metre: hendecasyllable

3 melle – venenum / that covers deadly poison with honey] For the commonplace of the honey-covered poison see 2.177–9n above.

31 LB I 1221 / R 76

Allen (Ep 178:16n) suggests that the book presented with this inscription to Jérôme de Busleyden was Willem Hermans' *Apologi*, a prose version of Avianus' fables. In Allen Ep 178:16–17 / CWE Ep 178:18–19 Erasmus tells Willem: 'I have presented to Busleyden your *Apologi* with a letter commending your talents and character.' Hermans' book seems to have been first published in c 1502 (see Allen Ep 172:12 / CWE Ep 172:15–16), but no copy of this edition is known; for later editions of the work see NK nos 2243, 2245–6, and 4108. The fact that the present epigram immediately follows Erasmus' liminary poem for Willem Hermans' *Odes* in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507 and the *Epigrammata* of 1518 tends to corroborate Allen's view. Reedijk, however, thinks that Hermans' book could not have been the one in which this epigram appeared, on the grounds that the epigram belittles the merits of the book. 'It seems to be more plausible,' he argues, 'that Erasmus wrote it in a presentation copy of a work either by himself or by a complete stranger.' But Erasmus had already praised the book sufficiently in his letter; in his epigram he lauds the book's recipient. The poem's chief point is to compliment Busleyden on his great library (cf Allen Ep 388:145 / CWE Ep 388:155) and by this *captatio benevolentiae* to ingratiate both Willem and Erasmus with an important patron. No 32 makes the same compliment about another library. See also Allen I 2:3–6 / CWE Ep 1341A:13–16, of Erasmus' books in Botzheim's library: 'You love to add lustre to your library, you say, with Erasmus' works. For my part, I think your library adds lustre to my books, for it is one of the most illustrious I ever saw; one might call it a veritable home of the Muses.'

Jérôme de Busleyden, the third son of Gilles de Busleyden and the younger brother of Archbishop François de Busleyden, was born c 1470. Having earned a doctorate in civil and canon law at Padua in 1503, Jérôme became archdeacon of Cambrai in the same year (Ep 178). On 24 June 1517 he was appointed councillor to King Charles I (the future Emperor Charles V). While travelling with him to Spain Jérôme fell ill in Bordeaux, where he died on 27 August 1517. See CEBR I 235–7.

Erasmus first met Jérôme de Busleyden in 1500 in Orléans, where the latter was studying law. They met again in Brabant in 1503, at which time Erasmus presented the book inscribed with this epigram. The verses were first published in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507.

Metre: elegiac distich

32 LB I 1221 / R 77

Reedijk proposes to identify the Antonius to whom this epigram is addressed with either Antoon van Bergen, abbot of St Bertin and since 1500 councillor to Archduke Philip the Handsome (CEBR I 130–1), or with his steward, Antonius of Luxembourg (CEBR I 66). Neither of them, however, was noted as a collector of books. Indeed, in Allen Ep 130:52–5 / CWE Ep 130:63–7 Erasmus complains that Antonius of Luxembourg lacks education. It seems much more likely that the epigram was addressed to Antonius Clava of Bruges. Clava had served as pensionary (legal consultant) of Ghent from 1493 to 1496 and from 1499 to 1502, and had been a member of the Council of Flanders since spring 1502 or 1503. See CEBR I 307. Erasmus first mentions him in a letter to Robert de Keysere of September 1503 (Allen Ep 175:10 / CWE Ep 175:13). He met Clava again in 1514 (Allen Ep 301:36–7 / CWE Ep 301:39), together with a number of other old friends. Later, in January 1530, Erasmus was to write his epitaph; see no 86 below. What struck him in particular about this man was his love of books and his wonderful library, full of gilded and richly illustrated volumes; see Allen Ep 2260:42–5. We know of one other book that Erasmus presented to him: a Herodotus in Greek, sent with Ep 841 in April 1518.

The similarity of this poem to the preceding one makes it probable that both were written in Louvain, at about the same time (c November 1503), for another copy of the same book (presumably Hermans' *Apologi*). Erasmus would have had several copies to distribute; cf Allen Ep 172:12 / CWE Ep 172:16, where Erasmus asks Willem Hermans to send him 'some copies' of his book. The epigram was first published in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507.

Metre: elegiac distich

33 LB I 1221 / R 49

The identity of the 'blind corrector' has been much discussed. John Noble Johnson *The Life of Thomas Linacre* (London 1835) 172 and Reedijk 256–7 proposed the blind poet Bernard André of Toulouse (see headnote on no 67 below); but his blindness obviously prevented him from ever being a corrector. Gilbert Tournoy, in 'Two Poems written by Erasmus for Bernard André' HL 27 (1978) 45–7 (cf CEBR I 89 and II 21), argued for the blind humanist Charles Fernand who, together with Girolamo Balbi, had published an edition of Seneca's tragedies in c 1487; but he too was no corrector. And Nicolaas van der Blom, in 'On Another Verse of Erasmus' ERSY 1 (1981) 154–6 considered the epigram 'a joke' intended for the circle of friends around Thomas More and hence identified the blind corrector with the one-eyed copyist, corrector, and messenger Pieter Meghen of 's-Hertogenbosch – a man well known to More and his friends; see CEBR II 420–2. Alfred M.M. Dekker 'Twee epigrammen van Erasmus (R 49, 50)' *Hermeneus* 53 (1981) 367–70 rightly criticizes these explanations. He notes that the second half of line 2 is a quotation from Ovid *Fasti* 6.204 describing the blind but mentally clear-sighted censor Appius Claudius Caecus: *Appius ... / multum animo vidit, lumine captus erat.* Erasmus' epigram thus contrasts the sighted but unseeing corrector of his Euripides translations (Paris: J. Bade, 13 September 1506) with Appius Claudius, who was blind, but mentally clear-sighted; cf *De vidua christiana* LB V 750F / CWE 66 230: 'almost blinded by age, but most perspicacious ... with the eyes of her mind.' In truth, Bade's edition of the Euripides translations contains a high number of printer's errors (see ASD I-1 197). Erasmus refers to them with some bitterness in two letters written in October–November; see Allen Epp 207:26–31 and 209:64–6 / CWE Epp 207:30–6 and 209:73–4.

The epigram was first published in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507, also printed by Bade.

Metre: elegiac distich

34 LB I 1221 / R 72

These verses, as Reedijk points out, may well have been intended to be placed beneath a painting of Christ in Robert de Keysere's school in Ghent, which he opened in late 1500; see CEBR II 258–9. Erasmus later composed similar poems for Colet's school (nos 44–8 below), published in *Concio de puero Iesu a puero in schola Coletica nuper Londini instituta pronuncianda* ([Paris: Joris Biermans?] 1 September [1511?]). For the thought expressed in this epigram see for instance 1 Sam 16:7; Ps 44:21; Jer 17:10; Rom 8:27; Allen Ep 153:23–4 / CWE Ep 153:26–7, dated 12 July 1501: 'God, who sees deep into the recesses of every human heart'; *Enchiridion* LB V 58C / CWE 66 116 (written in 1501); *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 282:261–2.

The epigram was first published in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507.

Metre: iambic senarius

2 pectoris penetralia] Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 3.15; cf poems 49.64n and 49.96n below.

35 LB I 1221 / R 81

Petrus Carmelianus of Brescia (1451–1527) was an Italian humanist who, after much travelling throughout Europe, eventually settled in England. By 1495 he was Latin secretary to Henry VII, by 1500 his chaplain. Erasmus probably first met him in 1505–6. By this time Carmelianus had written three long poems and a number of occasional poems. See CEBR I 270 and David Carlson 'The Occasional Poetry of Pietro Carmeliano' *Aevum* 61 (1987) 495–502.

The epigram was first published in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507.

Metre: hendecasyllable

1–2 Antistes ... ac Princeps ... literarum] Allen Epp 49:57–8 and 1352:35–6; cf Allen Epp 305:7–8, 384:79, 396:2, 441:27, 457:2, and 1697:103; also *De virtute amplectenda* LB V 70E (of the Muses): *studiorum atque elegantioris litteraturae praesides.*

1–2 elegantiorum ... literarum] Allen Epp 862:39, 1558:292, 1716:36, and 2093:32

3–8 En – modosque / here are some verses – verses and songs] These lines are closely paralleled in Allen Ep 140:20–7 / CWE Ep 140:23–9; cf poems 51.10–14 below and 4 dedicatory letter 53–7n above. The model is Prudentius *Epilogus* 1–12: being neither holy nor rich, Prudentius has only verses to offer; but God also gladly accepts an uninspired poem as an offering.

5 aere mutat aurum / bronze in exchange for gold] The exchange alludes to Homer *Iliad* 6.234–6, where Glaucus impulsively exchanges his gold armour for the bronze armour of Diomedes. The unequal bartering of 'gold for bronze' became proverbial; see *Adagia* I ii 1; cf Allen Epp 140:24–7, 145:131–3, 234:2–4, 531:2–3, and 620:41–3 / CWE Epp 140:28–9, 145:150–1, 234:3–5, 531:3–5, and 620:46–8.

10 Sylvae – undas / like bringing logs – shifting sea] For these proverbs see Otto 1649 and 1060; Erasmus *Adagia* I vii 57 (quoting lines 9–10). The two proverbs are frequently coupled; see *Nachträge* 184–5.

36 LB I 1221–2 and VIII 571 / R 16

The poem was originally used to introduce *Lucubratiunculae aliquot* (Antwerp: D. Martens, 15 February 1503, which is perhaps 1504 NS). This is a collection of small works including *De virtute amplectenda* and *Enchiridion*. Later the epigram was regularly prefixed to the *Enchiridion* itself. It is also found in MS Scriverius f 19^{v}. According to the heading of this manuscript, written in 1570, all the poems in it were composed by Erasmus while he was still in the monastery. Relying on this statement, Reedijk placed the poem in c 1489. However, the manuscript also contains several poems which in fact date from 1499 (see the headnotes on nos 110–12 below). We may therefore discard Reedijk's dating and assume that the epigram was composed either for the *Lucubratiunculae* or for the *Enchiridion* itself. The Christocentrism of this poem, which is in noticeable contrast to the earlier poems on St Ann (1) and the Virgin Mary (110), closely agrees with the attitude expressed in the *Enchiridion* and in the conclusion of the poem on old age (2). Cf *Enchiridion* LB V 60D / CWE 66 119: 'True honour is to be praised by those who have merited praise themselves; the highest honour is to have pleased Christ'; cf also Allen Epp 402:5–6 and 876:5–7 / CWE Epp 402:7–9 and 876:7–10.

Metre: elegiac distich

1 Nil moror = Virgil *Aeneid* 11.365; Horace *Epistles* 2.1.264
4 Cui CHRISTUS sapit] Cf *Enchiridion* LB V 51A: *misere desipit, qui Christum non sapit.*
4 bene habet] The idiom also occurs in *Enchiridion* LB V 59D.
5 Unicus – Apollo / Christ alone is my Apollo] For the commonplace that Christian poets are inspired by God or the saints rather than by the Muses or Apollo see 88.2n below. Alexander Hegius expresses the same thought in *Carmina* sig C4^{v} (addressing God as his inspiration): *Tu mihi Phoebus eris* 'You will be my Apollo.' Cf 2.231 above and Allen Ep 1404:15.
5 venae / vein] See 56.15n below.

37 LB I 1222 / R 48

The epigram was evidently written in a presentation copy of one of Erasmus' slighter works. Which little book and which powerful friend are meant? Reedijk guesses that 'it might have accompanied a ms. copy of the *Adages* sent to the young Adolphus of Veere in 1500' (cf Allen's note on Ep 124:67). But at 152 pages the *Adagiorum collectanea* (Paris: J. Philippi 1500) hardly fits the characterization 'little gift.' Erasmus himself spoke of that work – his longest to date – as a *volumen iustum* 'real book,' not a trifling gift, when he came to dedicate it to Lord Mountjoy; see Allen Ep 126:1–2 / CWE Ep 126:4. Moreover Adolph of Burgundy was at this time only ten or eleven years old and could scarcely have been addressed as 'a powerful friend.' The verses were more probably sent instead to Richard Foxe (c 1448–1528). As keeper of the privy seal since 1487 and bishop of Winchester since 1501, Foxe was one of the patrons whom Erasmus courted during his second stay in England; see CEBR II 46–9. On 1 January 1506 Erasmus sent him a translation of Lucian's dialogue *Toxaris* (ASD I-1 425–48), together with a dedicatory letter (Ep 187). In language closely matching the present epigram's title and first line, Erasmus tells the bishop that he is 'sending' (Allen Ep 187:3, 8, 9 / CWE Ep 187:4, 8, 10) 'this little gift of mine' (Allen Ep 187:15 / CWE Ep 187:17) to 'so great a patron and so powerful a friend' (Allen Ep 187:6 / CWE Ep 187:8).

The verses were first printed in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507. For the theme see poem 4 dedicatory letter 53–7n above.

Metre: elegiac distich

2 capiant – deos] Cf Ovid *Tristia* 2.76; Erasmus *Adagia* I iii 18.

38 LB I 1222 / R 32

The Flemish musician Jan Ockeghem was born between 1420 and 1425. From 1453 on he served successive French kings as singer, composer, chaplain, and master of the royal chapel, and held the lucrative sinecure of treasurer of the abbey of St Martin of Tours. He composed polyphonic masses of considerable originality and influence, as well as motets and chansons. Perhaps Erasmus met him during his years with the bishop of Cambrai (1492–5) or shortly after he went to study in Paris in the late summer of 1495. Ockeghem died on 6 February 1497 (NS) in Tours; see the note by Bernard Chevalier in *Johannes Ockeghem en zijn tijd* [Dendermonde 1970] 279–80; CEBR III 22–3.

The poem was first printed in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507. Johannes Lupi set it to music (first published in 1547); see Jean-Claude Margolin *Erasme et la musique* (Paris 1965) 81–93 and 121–5.

Metre: elegiambus. The dactylic penthemimer and the iambic dimeter, which together make up an elegiambus, are here printed as separate lines. Line 31, a dactylic penthemimer, is not followed by the expected iambic dimeter. The poem ends abruptly, silenced like the golden voice of Ockeghem.

3 Aurea vox Okegi / the golden voice of Ockeghem = Line 17 below; cf line 16. In the same way line 25 serves as an echo to line 15. Such echoes recall the repetitiousness of ancient dirges; see Margaret Alexiou *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge 1974) 135–7. Erasmus' emphasis on the 'golden voice' does not refer metaphorically to Ockeghem's finished musical compositions, as Reedijk suggests, for these can scarcely be said to have died with their composer. Erasmus is lauding Ockeghem's beautiful bass voice. His skill in singing was indeed often remarked upon by his contemporaries. See Clement A. Miller 'Erasmus on Music' *The Musical Quarterly* 52 (1966) 342; and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 20 vols (1981) XIII 490.

6 naenias / dirge] The ancient *nenia* was a dirge, sung to the accompaniment of a flute: Cicero *De legibus* 2.24.62; Horace *Odes* 2.1.38 and 2.20.21; Ovid *Fasti* 6.668.

15 invida mors / envious Death] Nemesianus 1.47; and later poets; Allen Ep 205:13 / CWE Ep 205:16; poems 71.7–8, 83.11, and 92.1 below; cf 62.1; Lattimore *Themes* 147–54.

18 Vel saxa flectere / move even stones] *Adagia* ASD II-6 402:148–9 (of songbirds). Here the phrase recalls the wondrous singing of Orpheus; see 6.46n above.

22–4 Demulsit – pectora / soothing the ears – earthborn men] Ockeghem was a second Orpheus; cf Silius Italicus 11.460; poem 93.99 below.

27 Aequa ... omnibus es / you deal justly with everyone] See 11.7n above.

39 LB I 1222 / R 64

Hendrik van Bergen (b 1449) studied at Louvain, Orléans, Perugia, and Rome. Having earned a doctorate in laws, he became canon of Liège in 1473, abbot of St Denis-en-Broqueroie near Mons in 1477, and bishop of Cambrai in 1480. In 1492, when he was planning to travel to Italy in hopes of gaining a cardinal's hat, he took Erasmus into his service as a secretary, releasing him in mid-1495 to study theology in Paris. Though he remained Erasmus' patron, Erasmus soon had reason to complain about his stinginess; see Epp 75–7; also Allen Epp 81:14–16, 128:17, and 135:13–29 / CWE Epp 81:16–19, 128:18–19, and 135:17–36.

After the bishop's death on 6–7 October 1502 Erasmus was commissioned to compose some epitaphs for him. In Allen Ep 178:49–51 / CWE Ep 178:54–6, written a year later, he tells Willem Hermans: 'I have written three Latin epitaphs, and one Greek one, in honour of the bishop of Cambrai; for which they sent me only six florins, so as to keep up in death the character he had in life!' A contemporary list of expenses for the erection of the tomb mentions that it was the bishop's brother, Antoon van Bergen, who authorized payment of 'vj livres' to Erasmus for the epitaphs; see Gilbert Tournoy 'The "Lost" Third Epitaph for Henry of Bergen, written by Erasmus' HL 33 (1984) 109. For an account of Hendrik's life see CEBR I 132–3; see also Richard Walsh 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries: Some Italian Influences at the Court of Charles the Bold' HL 25 (1976) 188.

Of the four epitaphs Erasmus mentions, only two are extant: nos 39 and 40, first published in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507. The Greek epitaph and one of the Latin poems are lost. No 62 below, which Allen and Reedijk regarded as the third Latin epitaph, is not an epitaph, as Tournoy rightly points out, but a poem of consolation to Antoon van Bergen, probably written to accompany the epitaphs themselves. Later descriptions of the monument appear to indicate that of Erasmus' epitaphs only no 40 was actually inscribed on a small copper plate that was either attached to the monument or (more probably) placed on the floor in front of the tomb. For another epitaph, inscribed on a larger copper plate affixed to the tomb, see no 137 below. The tomb disappeared after the metropolitan church of Cambrai was torn down in 1796.

Metre: iambic senarius

2 Qui – stemmata / who surpassed – praiseworthy conduct] Living up to or surpassing the standards of illustrious forebears was a rhetorical category of praise; see for example *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.7.13; Quintilian 3.7.10.

3–4 Gregis – viscera / He considered – like a loving father] Cf 14.1n above and 40.3–4 below.

6 Iacobe – tuam / zealously visited your shrine, James] Hendrik twice visited the famous shrine of St James at Compostela in Spain (see 40.5 below), probably first in autumn 1496, when he was in Spain to celebrate the wedding of Philip the Handsome and Joanna of Castile, and again in spring 1502, when he accompanied the couple on their voyage to Spain (see no 64 below).

7 Arcemque Petri visit / and he visited the citadel of Peter] He visited Rome in late 1487, on his return journey from Jerusalem. Cf 137.16 below.

40 LB I 1222 / R 65

Metre: elegiac distich

1 de fratribus unum = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.118

3–4 Ille – erat / He was the bishop – not for himself] Cf 14.1n and 39.3–4 above.

4 Cui – erat] Cf Cicero *De finibus* 2.14.45, citing Plato *Letters* 9: *non sibi se soli natum meminerit sed patriae, sed suis;* Lucan 2.383: *Nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo;* Erasmus *De virtute amplectenda* LB V 69A: *Principi ... qui patriae, non sibi nascitur.*

7–8 Sic – suum] According to A. Le Glay *Recherches sur l'église métropolitaine de Cambrai* (Paris 1825) 63, the actual epitaph placed on or near the tomb replaced this distich with the following lines: *Anno milleno* C. *quinquies octuageno / Septima octobris transiit ad Dominum* 'On 7 October 1508 he passed away to the Lord.' The corrupt form *octuageno* can be corrected with the help of MS 21.050, an eighteenth-century manuscript in the Royal Library, Brussels, that on f 163^r–163^v contains a text of nos 40 and 137. This manuscript gives the reading *atque secundo,* which yields the correct date 1502.

7 vagus ... gravissimus / Wandering ... steadfast] Note the subdued paradox.

8 sine labe = Ovid *Heroides* 16(17).14: *dum ... tenor vitae sit sine labe meae;* cf *Ex Ponto* 2.7.49; and poem 19.1n above.

41 LB I 1222–3 / R 74

This poem is directed against a patron who had commissioned a panegyric of himself and then paid very little for it. Reedijk identifies him as Antoon van Bergen, since it was he who authorized only a small payment for Erasmus' epitaphs on Hendrik van Bergen (nos 39 and 40) and apparently gave him no reward for the accompanying verse letter of consolation (62). But, as Reedijk freely admits, the circumstances described in the present epigram hardly correspond to those of the epitaphs or the letter of consolation. Wholly fanciful is Schmidt-Dengler's supposition (page 333 n1) that Erasmus might have composed the epigram to vent his spite at the prior of a St Michael's church who had offered to reward him for the 'Ode in praise of Michael and all the angels' (50) with only enough money to buy a pint of wine (Allen I 3:30–4:2 / CWE Ep 1341A:81–91).

If the juxtaposition of the present verses and the epitaphs on Hendrik van Bergen in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507 and the *Epigrammata* of 1518 was deliberate, we may speculate that it was the stingy bishop himself whom Erasmus had in mind. Erasmus often complained about his tight-fistedness; see the headnote on no 39 above. If this reasoning is correct we can place the epigram in c 1498–1500. It would then be loosely contemporary with the very similar argument presented to Prince Henry in poem 4 dedicatory letter 36–9 above:

flattery can be shockingly unflattering when the reality is too far removed from the ideal pattern.

The poet's complaint against stingy patrons is in any case a stock theme. See for instance Theocritus *Idylls* 16, Juvenal 7, Martial 8.56, and Baptista Mantuanus *Eclogues* 5. Erasmus deals with the subject also in *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 55:20–56:12 / CWE 23 31:32–32:12.

The poem was first published in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507.

Metre: iambic dimeter

11 palinodiam] Cf *Adagia* I ix 59.

15–17 Quum – munera / since at the same time – filthy fools] Cf *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 56:9–12 / CWE 23 32:10–12, of Renaissance princes: 'Their gifts go to jesters [*moriones*], flatterers, the architects of their pleasures. More respect is paid to the man who leads in a fine dog than to the one who presents a learned book.'

42 LB V 1317–19 / R 33

This ode, together with nos 5, 6, and 50, was first published in Erasmus' *De casa natalitia Iesu* (Paris: A. Denidel [January 1496?]). The little volume is introduced by a letter to Hector Boece (Ep 47, 8 November 1495). In this preface (Allen Ep 47:5–9 and 75–7 / CWE Ep 47:7–11 and 83–4) Erasmus swears that he has not written any poetry for a long time and that, if he ever wrote poems as a lad, he has left them all behind in Holland. He adds that he recently composed these few poems extempore. Taking these statements at face value, Reedijk places no 42 (as well as nos 5, 6, and 50) in early autumn 1495, not long after Erasmus' arrival in Paris.

Erasmus' assertions in this tongue-in-cheek letter cannot be trusted as a matter of course unless there is corroborating evidence. From Allen Ep 34:21–2 / CWE Ep 34:25–6 we learn that Erasmus had indeed left his poems behind at Steyn – but also that he had since obtained copies of a good many of them from his friend Willem Hermans. The statement that *De casa natalitia* contains only some recent trifles 'which I threw off on holiday, when we were walking by a country stream,' is patently misleading. That Erasmus threw off *one* poem in a pastoral setting does not stretch our credulity. No 6 does indeed invite us to imagine just such a rustic scene. But who can take Erasmus at his word when he says that on the same walk he also 'threw off' his poem of introduction to Gaguin

(5), the 'Ode on the shed where the boy Jesus was born,' *and* the long 'Ode in praise of Michael and all the angels' (50)? The letter to Botzheim, Allen I 3:30–4:2 / CWE Ep 1341A:81–91, tells a different story about the hymn to St Michael. It was written at the request of the prior of a church dedicated to St Michael, presumably the one in Den Hem. Other evidence confirms that it was indeed written at Steyn, probably in the winter of 1490–1; see headnote on no 50 below. We may therefore safely assume that Erasmus wrote no 42 at about the same time that he composed his other devotional poems: the ode on St Michael (50), the hymns to Sts Ann (1) and Gregory (107), and the 'Epigram on the four last things' (108). Perhaps Erasmus wrote no 42 for Christmas 1490.

Parts of the ode were imitated by Helius Eobanus Hessus in *Heroidum christianarum epistolae* 21 (*Heroides* 2.2) 'St Paula to St Jerome'; see Vredeveld 'Traces' 55–6. The ode also influenced Paul Fleming's lengthy poem on the birth of Christ, *Sylvae* 9.2 (dated 1 February 1631). See the notes below.

Metre: first Pythiambic strophe

1 spectacula rerum = Virgil *Georgics* 4.3

2 Huc – currite] Cf Poliziano *Hymni* 2.13: *Huc huc omnes accurrite / Emanuelem visere, / Quem iacentem praesepio / Bos adorant et asinus;* also Prudentius *Peristefanon* 10.463.

3 agrestibus horrida culmis] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 8.348.

5 saeclis ... vetustis] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 9.25; poem 110.313–14n below

7–10 Hic – ubera / Here the one – virgin breasts] The paradox of the Almighty as a squalling infant in the cradle or at his mother's breast is a favourite theme in medieval poetry. See for example Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 2.55–62; Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 2.2.11–15; AH 7 23.4b, 53 17.7; Alexander Hegius *Carmina* sig D4^{v}: 'Jesus, the creator of the world, cried in a crib; Jesus, who holds sway over the world, did cry; his mother suckled Jesus at her own breast; Jesus, the king of the world, drank his mother's milk'; poem 110.357–68 below; cf also 110.293–304n.

7–8 Hic – vagitibus] Cf AH 48 141.4: *In praesaepi / vagit ut parvulus, / Qui concutit / caelum tonitribus* and 48 282.2b: *Tonans in aethere / Vagit in stabulo.*

7 tonitru – aether / whose thunder – tremble] Cf Cornelis Gerard *Marias* 7 f 78^{r} (Christ in the manger): *puer ille sacer, quem terra tremiscit et aether* 'that holy boy who makes earth and heaven tremble'; Virgil *Aeneid* 5.694–5.

7 tellus ... et aether = Sabellico *In natalem diem Mariae* 1 sig a3^{r}: *Hunc immensa colat tellus, hunc pontus et aether.*

9 orbis magni moderator / ruler of the universe] Cf 50.26 below. The phrase *orbis ... moderator* comes from Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.5.75 (of Augustus).

9 orbis ... moderator maximus] Cf Prudentius *Peristefanon* 5.21: *Rex ... orbis maximus.*

9 maximus infans = Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 2.44 (of Christ); Poliziano *Syl-*

vae 3.224 (of Achilles). In Erasmus' verse the epithet *maximus* belongs more closely with *moderator*, but the juxtaposition with *infans* recalls Sedulius' phrase.

10 Virginea ... ubera] In the first edition the phrase was *Materna ... ubera*. Erasmus probably revised the wording to reduce the alliteration of *m* in lines 9–10.

11–18 His – saxeis / This stable – rightly envy you] The passage was imitated by Paul Fleming in *Sylvae* 9.2.423–8. Cf Jerome *Letters* 108.1: St Paula preferred a mud hut in Bethlehem to the gilded palaces of Rome.

11 palatia Romae = Mutianus Rufus *Letters* 82 (Krause page 88) to Heinrich Urbanus, 21 December (1507?), in similar context: *Ipse etenim genitor rerum, moderator Olympi, / dum peteret terras, non alta palatia Romae, / ast adiit servile genus stabulumque pudicum;* Eobanus Hessus *Heroidum christianarum epistolae* 21.203 (*Heroides* 2.2.201): *Huic ego nec veteris celebrata palatia Rhomae / Praetulerim et Latio templa superba Iove.* The 'palace of Rome' to which Erasmus refers is the imperial palace on the Palatine Hill.

13 operosa ... templa] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.666–7

13 Solomonia templa] Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 3.233

13–14 auream ... regiam] Virgil *Aeneid* 7.210

14 Lydi tyranni / the Lydian tyrant] Croesus; see 2.123–5n above.

15–16 clara – conscia / splendid dwelling – sacred birth] Cf Sabellico *In natalem diem Mariae* 4 sig a6^v, of Mary's birthplace Nazareth: *Clarior una quidem terraque beatior omni / Nascentis dominae conscia terra meae* 'a land in truth more splendid and blessed than all others on earth, since it experienced the birth of my lady.'

16 Partus sacrati conscia] Cf Sabellico *In natalem diem Mariae* 1 sig a2^v, of the day that Mary was born: *sacri lux conscia partus;* Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 3.114, where the ox and ass at the cradle are said to be *divini conscia partus.*

19–20 Aegyptus – turpibus / Egypt – gods] The apocryphal *Gospel of Matthew* 23 relates how the Egyptian idols tumbled down when the infant Jesus entered the temple of Memphis. Cf Isa 19:1; Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 3.397–411.

19 sancta ... cunabula] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 11.77–8

21 hiantibus ... rimis] Lucan 1.624

25–7 Talia – luxum / Such a bed – shameful vice] Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 3.116–19 says that Christ's birth in a lowly stable should teach the great lords of this world to be humble. The same thought occurs in Geraldini *Eclogues* 2.47–8: *Hic tegitur laceris vix membra infantia pannis, / Ut doceat proceres nimios contemnere luxus;* Erasmus' paraphrase on Luke 2:7 (LB VII 298F–299A); Paul Fleming *Sylvae* 9.2.296–316.

31 Nec – ambitiosa] Cf Paul Fleming *Sylvae* 9.2.289 (of the stable in Bethlehem): *Non domus officiis strepitat.*

31 domus ambitiosa] Lucan 10.488 (in one manuscript tradition)

33 in duris praesepibus infans] Geraldini *Eclogues* 2.63: *Qui tener in duris vagit praesepibus infans*

35 Emicat / flashes forth] The verb *emicare* is often used to describe the sun's light at dawn; see 4.56n above. Since Christ is the sun of salvation

(111.76n and 112.244 below) the verb is also commonly used to describe his birth; see for example Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 9.27; Arator 2.301: 'the Son of God flashes forth [*emicat*] from a virgin's womb'; AH 50 63.7; and poem 110.317 below.

35 vagitu dispuit ignes / his cries spew forth ... fires] Erasmus' model is Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.52, describing the infant Sun in the arms of his mother Tethys: *vagitu despuit ignem.*

36–7 Sensere ... deum ... iumenta / The beasts of burden sense that God is present] According to Isa 1:3 'the ox knows its owner, and the ass its master's crib; but Israel does not know [her God].' Cf 43.57–60 and 110.337–8 below; also Erasmus *In Prudentium* LB V 1346C / CWE 29 190; and poem 111.95–100 below.

36 Sensere praesentem deum] Cf Horace *Epistles* 2.1.134: *praesentia numina sentit;* Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 3.476–7 (Jesus in Egypt): *praesentia numina tellus / sensit.* For the phrase *sensere deum* see Ovid *Heroides* 11.26; *Tristia* 3.8.14.

36 praesentem deum = Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 11.90 (Jesus in the crib); cf Ovid *Tristia* 2.54 (of Augustus).

37–8 iumenta – temperant / temper the December cold with their warm breath] The thought also occurs in Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 3.102–4 and in Paul Fleming *Sylvae* 9.2.292: *tepido gelidas spiramine temperat auras.*

37 tepentibus auris = Virgil *Georgics* 2.330 (in one manuscript tradition)

41 Aethereique – circum] Imitated by Paul Fleming *Sylvae* 9.2.434–5

43–4 examina regem, Regi novo] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.21: *cum prima novi ducent examina reges.* Until the end of the sixteenth century it was assumed that bees were ruled by a king rather than a queen. See for example Aristotle *Historia animalium* 5.21; Virgil *Georgics* 4.68; Pliny *Naturalis historia* 11.16.46–17.54; Erasmus *Institutio principis christiani* ASD IV-1 142:206 and 156:632–157:638 / CWE 27 212 and 225–6; *Parabolae* ASD I-5 298:225–9 / CWE 23 260:28–34.

44–5 faventibus Applaudunt alis] Cf Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.148; Virgil *Aeneid* 5.515–6.

46–7 duci Circumfusa] Lucan 5.680

50 Coniux pudicus] Cf Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.11.7–8; poem 1.13 above.

51 Fusus humi = Virgil *Aeneid* 6.423

53 haeret ocellis] Propertius 1.3.19 and 1.19.5

54 sese non capit] Cf Lucretius 3.298; Virgil *Aeneid* 7.466 (literal sense, of water).

55 genitrix virguncula] Cf Baptista Mantuanus *In laudem Ioannis Baptistae* in *Opera* I f 247^{r}: *mater virguncula;* Salzer *Sinnbilder* 106–9. The young Mary was often called *virguncula;* see for example AH 1 31.1, 4 93.4, and 51 122.2; Erasmus' paraphrase on Matt 1:18 (LB VII 5F) and on Luke 1:27 (LB VII 288F), 2:7 (LB VII 298E), 2:17 (LB VII 300A), 2:19 (LB VII 300C).

59–63 Ac modo – somnos] Closely imitated by Paul Fleming *Sylvae* 9.2.459–64

61 fovet gremio] See 10.4n above. Cf St Bernard *Sermones in laudibus Virginis Matris* 2.9: *cum tenera adhuc infantis Dei membra mater blando ... foveret in gremio;* Baptista Mantuanus *Oratio ad Virginem Mariam* in *Opera* I f 251^{v}: *non abnuit ubere pasci / Atque sinus haurire tuos gremioque foveri.*

63 invitat murmure somnos] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.603–4; Horace *Epodes* 2.28.

43 LB V 1319–20 / R 85

The poem was first published in Erasmus' *Concio de puero Iesu a puero in schola Coletica nuper Londini instituta pronuncianda* ([Paris: Joris Biermans?] 1 September [1511?]); for a discussion of the book's place of printing, publisher, and date see J. Machiels 'Robert en Pieter de Keysere als drukker' *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique* 46 (1975) 1–16. An earlier, considerably shorter version has been preserved in MS Egerton 1651 (see no 117 below).

It is difficult to determine when the two versions were composed. Ferguson *Opuscula* 28 argues that the poem originated during Erasmus' days at Steyn, on the grounds that it 'shows many resemblances in thought and style' to no 94 below, and 'would fit very well into the conventual period.' There is indeed good reason to place the earlier version in c winter 1490–1, around the time of nos 42 and 50, which deal with the birth of Christ. One might equally well, however, place it with nos 110–12, which sing of the life, passion, and resurrection of Christ. Reedijk (page 255), rejecting Ferguson's argument, thinks that 'in spirit and in tone the poem shows a marked change when compared with the much more conventional religious poetry of *De casa natalitia*' (nos 42 and 50). Assuming that this change might have been due to Colet's influence, he assigns the poem to autumn 1499. But Colet's influence on Erasmus' religious thinking at this stage in his career was by no means as significant as used to be thought; see Gleason 93–125. Erasmus' poem, moreover – particularly the earlier version – is very much a traditional piece of work. Christ's reproaches and appeals to man from the cross are the subject of numerous late medieval poems, the model being the *improperia* of the Good Friday liturgy. There the crucified Christ asks: 'What else ought I to have done for you and did not do?' and reproves his chosen people for their cruel ingratitude; see *Missale Romanum* I 170–1. In Sebastian Brant's 'Elegy on the scourging of Christ' in *Varia carmina* sigs c1^r–c2^r Christ reproaches his people for repaying his numerous blessings with insults and crucifixion. Willem Hermans wrote a similar poem, printed in his *Sylva odarum* (Paris: G. Marchant 1497) sigs e5^r–f3^r and entitled *Salvator e cruce iam iam animam exhalaturus affatur hominem*. There are also many English poems of this sort; see *Religious*

Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century ed Carleton Brown (Oxford 1939) 151–76. Cf Erasmus *Ecclesiastes* LB V 982E.

In view of the close parallels in the first version to the moral satires 94–6 and the thematic links to nos 42 and 50, we may tentatively place the first version in c winter 1490–1. Supporting this conclusion is the circumstance that nos 117 and 43 are written in a metre which Erasmus favoured during his years at Steyn: the first Pythiambic strophe, used also in the reproachful 'Amatory ode' (103) and in the 'Ode on the shed where the boy Jesus was born' (42). By winter 1499–1500, however, Erasmus must have been working on an expanded version, for the subheading of no 117 in MS Egerton 1651 reads: 'The first draft of a future [or: forthcoming] poem.' He may well have revised the poem one more time in 1510–11 before having it printed with the *carmina scholaria* (nos 44–8) in *De puero Iesu*. The theme of the first twenty-three lines of the poem, indeed, is closely paralleled in *De puero Iesu* LB V 601A–D / CWE 29 57–8, though the sermon has neither the prosopopoeia nor the reproachful tone of the poem: 'What could be richer than he who is that utmost good from which all good things flow, yet which is incapable of being diminished? What could shine more brilliantly than he ...? What could be more powerful than he ...? Whose will could more prevail than his ...? ... What could be more majestic than he ...? What could be stronger, a mightier conqueror than he ...? ... What could be wiser than he ...? ... And what should we fear so much as him, whose mere nod suffices to send both body and soul to hell? Yet what could be fairer to behold than he, the contemplation of whose face is the highest of all bliss? ... what is more ancient than he who has no beginning and who will have no end?'

Erasmus' poem soon became very popular, enjoying numerous reprints. P.C. Boeren 'Tilburgs kleingoed' *Het Boek* 31 (1952–4) 41–4 describes a trace of one such reprint published together with *Philippi Beroaldi Bononiensis carmen lugubre de dominice passionis die* between 1512 and 1519. The poem was translated several times into German; see Reedijk 293–4. Its first eight lines were given a monophonic musical setting by Heinrich Glarean in *Dodecachordon* (1547) trans Clement A. Miller 2 vols (n p 1965) I 220–1. Huldrych Zwingli recalled in 1523 that he first read this 'comforting poem' eight or nine years before. As he tells us, it became the source of his conviction that Christ is the sole true mediator between God and man. See Emil Egli and Georg Finsler eds *Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke* II Corpus Reformatorum 89 (Leipzig 1908) 217; CEBR III 483.

Metre: first Pythiambic strophe

1–8 Cum mihi – persequi] Cf 94.1–6 below, without the Christocentric perspective.

3 quae vos dementia cepit] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 2.69.

7–8 Mendaces – persequi] Cf *Psalmi* 1 ASD V-2 36:105–6; poem 94.35–6 below.

7–8 Mendaces ... Umbras] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9.460

7 trepido ... tumultu] Virgil *Aeneid* 8.4–5; Lucan 7.127; Statius *Thebaid* 2.311; poem 110.318 below

8 Umbras bonorum] Seneca *Epistulae morales* 92.27

11 Forma rapit] Propertius 2.25.44; cf poem 117.5n below.

11 me nil formosius / nothing ... is more beautiful than I am] God is often addressed as 'the most beautiful one'; see for instance St Augustine *Confessions* 1.4.4 (CCSL 27 2): *pulcherrime* and 1.7.12 (CCSL 27 7): *formosissime;* Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 3 metrum 9.7: *pulcherrimus.* Christ too is frequently so called. This is in part based on the Christological interpretation of Ps 45:2; see Erasmus *Psalmi* 85 ASD V-3 410:174–81 and poem 110.369n below.

18 Affinitatem iungere / ally themselves with me by marriage] Christ is traditionally the 'bridegroom of the soul.' This is based on the Christological interpretation of Ps 19:4–5, the Song of Solomon, and the parable of the bridegroom in Matt 25:1–13.

19 ille ego sum = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.500

19 caelique solique monarcha / monarch of heaven and earth] Cf Gen 24:3; Acts 17:24.

21 facilis dare magna] Cf Lucan 1.510: *faciles dare summa deos.*

23–5 Sumque – parentis] Cf *Enchiridion* LB V 11A–B / CWE 66 38: 'Jesus Christ is the author of wisdom and indeed wisdom itself, the true light [cf line 39 below] ... the reflection [*splendor*] of the glory of the Father.'

23 patris summi sapientia / the wisdom of the highest Father] Alcuin *Carmina* 1.1; Hrabanus *Carmina* 34.1; Rodolphus Agricola *Anna mater* page 298; Cornelis Gerard *Marias* prologue f 7^{v}; Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 174:1581–2; cf poem 110.194 below, with note on lines 194–6. The doctrine is based on 1 Cor 1:24.

25 splendor] Heb 1:3 (Vulg)

27 amicus amico / As a friend ... to my friend = 96.27 below. The thought is proverbial; see *Adagia* I iii 17.

31–7 via ... veritas ... vita / the ... way ... truth ... life itself] John 14:6

31 Sum via – ad astra / I am the only way – the heavens] Cf Erasmus *Enchiridion* LB V 23D / CWE 66 58: 'the way of Christ is ... the only one that leads to happiness.' For the phrase *via ad astra* see Seneca *Hercules furens* 437; Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 8.3.54; cf Ovid *Heroides* 15(16).72.

31 itur ad astra] Virgil *Aeneid* 9.641; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 48.11 and 73.15

37 Autor ... vitae] See 2.243n above.

39 Lux ego sum / I am the light] John 1:4–5 and 9, 8:12, 9:5

40 Dux] Matt 2:6 (Vulg)

41 Vivendi recte ... regula] Cf 48.2 below.

43 sine felle voluptas] Cf 2.177–9n above.

45–6 Unica – pectoris / I am the only peace – troubled hearts] Cf Matt 11:28.

46 Curas edaces] Horace *Odes* 2.11.18

47–56 Si benefacta – volens / If even savage lions – my own life] Cf *De puero Iesu* LB V 603C / CWE 29 61: 'Eagles, lions, leopards, dolphins, and snakes understand when good is done to them, and return it. Then how hard is the human heart, harder than the diamond, if it does not grow tender with such unprecedented love; how ungrateful is man, more so than the beasts, if he can forget such good deeds; how uniquely shameless, or should I rather say insane, if when he has been thus formed, thus restored and enriched, heaped with such kindnesses, and summoned to such hopes, he can love anything but him alone in whom is everything, from whom comes everything, and who shares all things with us.'

47 leones / lions] Aulus Gellius 5.14 tells the story of Androclus, a slave who removed a splinter from a lion's paw and was later spared by the same lion in the arena. See also Seneca *De beneficiis* 2.19.1 and Pliny *Naturalis historia* 8.21.56–8. Stories like this, according to Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 334:20–3 / CWE 25 86, are to be in every writer's memory. He also cites a number of examples in *Adagia* III vii 1 (ASD II-6 410:350–66). Erasmus himself liked to use these fables to contrast the brutes' gratitude with man's hard-heartedness and ingratitude toward others. See *De copia* ASD I-6 240:44–6 / CWE 24 615:29–31; and for example Allen Epp 8:16–30 and 58:57–9 / CWE Epp 8:20–35 and 58:62–4; and *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 288:931–58.

49 dracones / snakes] Pliny *Naturalis historia* 8.22.61. Erasmus retells the story of the grateful snake in Allen Ep 8:21–7 / CWE Ep 8:24–32. See also *De copia* ASD I-6 240:46–7 / CWE 24 615:31–2; *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 315:285–6.

50 canis / a dog] Dogs are mentioned along with serpents and lions in Allen Ep 8:27–8 / CWE Ep 8:32–3 as examples of animals who return affection. Cf *Colloquia* ASD I-3 704:118–19. Pliny gives many examples of faithful dogs in *Naturalis historia* 8.61.142–5.

51–3 Si redamant – homo] Cf Allen Ep 1633:1.

51 aquilae / eagles] Pliny *Naturalis historia* 10.6.18; Erasmus *Adagia* ASD II-6 410:365–6; *De copia* ASD I-6 240:49 and 256:449–50 / CWE 24 616:1–2 and 633:9; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 704:112–14.

51 delphines / dolphins] Pliny *Naturalis historia* 9.8.25–8 gives several examples; see also Aulus Gellius 6.8. Erasmus alludes to these legends in *De copia* ASD I-6 240:47–9 / CWE 24 615:32–616:1; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 703:82–3. The most familiar one is the story of Arion and the dolphin; see Herodotus 1.23–4; Ovid *Fasti* 2.83–118; Aulus Gellius 16.19.

56 Dispendio vitae] Cf 2.173 above.

57–60 Si bos – vindicem] See 42.36–7n above.

61 cunctorum summa bonorum] Cf *Enchiridion* LB V 25B / CWE 66 61; poem 94.73n below.

63–4 Quorsum – inertia] Cf 105.13–16n below.

63–4 grassans Laboriosa inertia / wasting your energy in toilsome idleness] Cf Horace *Epistles* 1.11.28: *strenua nos exercet inertia* 'a busy idleness plagues us.' There is a similar oxymoron in Seneca *De tranquillitate animi* 12.3: *inquietam inertiam* 'restless idleness'; cf poems 94.39 and 105.46 below: *Mixta labore quies.*

69 Corpus – mitto / With a nod – down to hell] Cf Matt 10:28; Luke 12:5; Erasmus *De puero Iesu* LB V 601D / CWE 29 58; *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 231:280–2 and 232:311–13. In *Moria* ASD IV-3 174:800–1 / CWE 27 139 this power is mockingly attributed to the 'dreaded thunderbolt [of the popes] whereby at a mere nod they can dispatch the souls of mortal men to deepest Tartarus.'

69 nutu] See 110.293n below.

69 sub Tartara mitto] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.243, 8.563, 11.397, and 12.14.

71–2 Proinde ... secordia ... te Adducet in mortem tua] Cf *Euripidis Iphigenia in Aulide* ASD I-1 349:2043–4: *Proinde nequaquam sinam / Tua perire ... te socordia.*

73–4 Praeteritum – tibi / there is nothing – own afflictions] In his paraphrases on the New Testament Erasmus often expresses the thought that Christ has done everything possible to save mankind; man therefore has only himself to blame if he is damned to hell. See for instance the paraphrase on Matt 11:15 (LB VII 67E), 23:37 (LB VII 124B), 28:20 (LB VII 146C), and the paraphrase on John 15:22 (LB VII 617F / CWE 46 182), 16:9 (LB VII 621A / CWE 46 186). The expression *praeteritum nihil est* also occurs in the paraphrase of John 17:12 (LB VII 627A) and 17:25 (LB VII 629C). In both passages Erasmus says that Christ has left no stone unturned to save man.

74 Malorum – tibi] Cf *Euripidis Iphigenia in Aulide* ASD I-1 293:495–6: *tuorum tu tibi / Ipsus autor es malorum.*

77 marmoreum pectus / heart ... as hard as marble] Cf Otto 1645. In *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 58:529–30 Erasmus speaks of *animus ... marmoreus* 'a heart of marble.'

79–81 Si – gehennae / if you are not awakened – depths of hell] Cf 94.75–7 below.

85–6 chalybemque petramque ... molliant / soften steel and stone] Cf Otto 19 and 1647.

88 Devota morti pectora] Horace *Odes* 4.14.18

89 Invitum servare] Horace *Ars poetica* 467

44 LB V 1320–1 / R 88

Nos 44–8 were written for Colet's school for boys at St Paul's, London, which opened in late 1511 or early 1512. On this school see Allen Ep 1211:339–61 / CWE Ep 1211:370–94; Gleason 217–34. Most, if not all, of the poems were intended to be affixed at appropriate places throughout the school. No 46 (perhaps also no 48) was to be placed beneath or near the image of the boy Jesus. Erasmus was a great believer in the educational value of such inscriptions; see *De ratione studii* ASD I-2 118:15–119:5 / CWE 24 671:14–25; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 233:66–234:91.

The epigrams were first published in Erasmus' *Concio de puero Iesu a puero in schola Coletica nuper Londini instituta pronuncianda* ([Paris: Joris Biermans?] 1 September [1511?]) and were often reprinted. Colet had evidently not yet received a copy of the book by March 1512, for in Allen Ep 258:16–18 / CWE Ep 258:17–18 he reminds Erasmus to send him 'the poems you are writing for my boys.' The poems have been analysed and, in part, translated by James H. Rieger in 'Erasmus, Colet, and the Schoolboy Jesus' *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 (1962) 187–94.

No 44, like no 43, is a prosopopoeia in which Jesus addresses the reader. The subtitle in the *Progymnasmata* of 1521 specifies that it is the boy Jesus who is addressing the boys of Colet's school: *Sub persona pueri Iesu praesidentis scholae Coleticae.*

Metre: iambic senarius alternating with an iambic dimeter

8 ministri / assistants] The angels are 'ministering spirits' according to Heb 1:14. The word *ministri* is often used in Latin to characterize the angels' task. See for instance Lactantius *Institutiones divinae* 1.7.4–8 (CSEL 19 26); Iuvencus 1.52; and Erasmus' paraphrase on Heb 1:4 (LB VII 1166E): *Angelus ministri vocabulum est.* Here the boys' guardian angels are meant. For this doctrine cf *Ecclesiastes* LB V 1094E–F; poem 50.221–8 below; *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* I-1 (Paris 1930) 1216–9; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* IX (Freiburg 1964) 522–4.

10–16 Mihi – mea / Purity is everywhere – defile my kingdom] The emphasis on moral and linguistic purity, a leitmotif in this series of epigrams, was also characteristic of Colet's own attitude; cf the Statutes of St Paul's School (Lupton 280): 'I say that ffylthynesse and all such abusyon which the later blynde worlde brought in which more ratheyr may be callid blotterature thenne litterature I vtterly abbanysh and Exclude oute of this scole'; Allen Ep 1211:328–30 / CWE Ep 1211:360–2: 'Christ was the only topic of [Colet's] conversation. He was impatient of everything slovenly [*sordium*], and thus could not stand language that was ungrammatical and defiled with barbarisms.' Erasmus explains this kind of attitude in Allen Ep 531:323–6 / CWE Ep 531:359–62, in a different context: 'Language above all is the mirror of the mind, and the mind should be without spot; if then we hold it a fault in a man if his clothes are filthy, I think it more incumbent on a good man to develop a pure clean style.' On the proverbial saying: 'speech is the mirror of the mind' see n122 to the introduction, page 405 above.

15 illiteratas literas / illiterate literacy] In Allen Ep 843:10–11 / CWE Ep 843:12 Erasmus complains that schoolmasters nowadays teach nothing but 'bad grammar' (*illiteratas ... literas*); in *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 211:4 / CWE 25 12 he calls such pedants an 'illiterate horde of literates.' For the wordplay see also Allen Epp 529:91, 1223:19, and 1234:21; cf poem 47.4–5n below.

45 LB V 1321 / R 90

Metre: Sapphic strophe

1 faustis avibus] Cf 28.1n above.

5 tanquam nova testa / like a new earthenware jar] The comparison of the unglazed, porous wine jar with the retentiveness of young learners was proverbial. The first contents of such vessels had to be of high quality, lest they spoil what was poured in later. See Otto 1770; Erasmus *Adagia* II iv 20; Allen Ep 93:66–8 / CWE Ep 93:72–4; *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 81:803–4 / CWE 27 62: 'imbue the unhardened clay [*testulam*] of a childish mind with salutary opinions'; *De recta pronuntiatione* ASD I-4 44:5–6 / CWE 26 402; *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 33:11–12 / CWE 26 306: 'pour only precious liquids into a jar that has never been used before'; *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 348:571–3 and 464:375–80.

6 Graias simul et Latinas / Greek as well as Latin learning] According to the Statutes of St Paul's School (Lupton 279) the boys were to be 'taught all way in good litterature both laten and greke.' Colet's statute thus accepts Erasmus' recommendation that both languages be acquired while the pupil is still young; see Allen Ep 93:78–80 / CWE Ep 93:88–9; *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 50:3–15 / CWE 26 320–1; *De recta pronuntiatione* ASD I-4 30:559–60 / CWE 26 387. In the early years of the school, however, Colet's intention seems to have been carried out only fitfully; see Gleason 228.

9–12 Quid – nitescat] Cf *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 26:29–27:2 and 32:12–33:8 / CWE 26 299–300 and 305.

13–20 Stirpe – orbem] Cf Allen Ep 1211:360–1 / CWE Ep 1211:392–3: 'Being a far-sighted man, he saw that the greatest hope for a commonwealth lies in the education of its young.'

46 LB V 1321 / R 86

The couplet was intended to be placed under or near a statue of the boy Jesus, seated and gesturing like a teacher. The image was located above the high master's desk. As the boys entered and left the school they would greet the image with a hymn. Over the boy Jesus was the countenance of the Father. At Erasmus' suggestion Colet added the words 'Listen to him' (Matt 17:5; Luke 9:35) to the Father's figure. See Allen Ep 1211:350–3 / CWE Ep 1211:381–5. That the image was a statue and not a painting is apparent from Gardiner's 'Admission Registers' for the school which on page 9 records: '1556–7. The picture of Jesus set up agayne' and: 'For payenting and gilding the same picture.' See Lupton 237 n1, who explains that the word 'picture' in contemporary usage can mean statue. Cf also the heading of this poem in the first edition: *Imago pueri*

Iesu posita in ludo litterario, where the verb *posita* 'placed' suggests a statue. One receives the same impression from the language used in the title of Andrea Ammonio *Carmina* 18: *scholam in qua Christi pueri docentis imago locata est* 'the school in which the image of the boy Christ is set up.'

In the colloquy *Convivium religiosum,* first published in 1522, a year after Ep 1211, Erasmus describes a painting 'worthy of Apelles,' which at first glance resembles the image in Colet's school; see ASD I-3 264:1037–40. In this painting Christ is seated on a mountain, his hand stretched out. Above Christ is God's face, saying: 'Listen to him.' The Holy Spirit, his wings spread out, surrounds him with great light. But this painting depicts the transfiguration of Christ (Matt 17:1–5; Luke 9:28–35); the statue in Colet's school represents the boy Jesus in the temple (Luke 2:46).

Metre: elegiac distich

1–2 Discite – Moribus] Cf *Moria* ASD IV-3 134:168–9 / CWE 27 120, where Folly says: 'I hold the view that I'm worshipped with truest devotion when all men everywhere take me to their hearts, express me in their habits [*moribus*], and reflect me in their way of life.'

47 LB V 1321 / R 87

Metre: hendecasyllable

4–5 inerudita ... eruditione] *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 47:35 / CWE 23 26:9; cf poem 44.15n above.

48 LB V 1321 / R 89

Metre: elegiac distich

2 vitae regula ... piae] Cf 43.41 above.
2 vitae ... fons / source of ... life] Ps 36:9; Prov 13:14, 14:27, and 16:22; Sir 21:16 (Vulg)
3 Hunc – stulta est / If anyone – foolish] Cf 1 Cor 1:20; Isa 44:25; Rom 1:22.
4 Absque – est] Cf 9.5n above.

49 LB V 1357–9 / R 94

Like the preceding series of poems (44–8), these 'Basic principles of Christian conduct' were composed for use in St Paul's School; see Allen I 6:28–32 / CWE Ep 1341A:196–200. According to the school's statutes, written by Colet, the first Latin poem that the students were to study was 'Institutum Christiani hominis which that lernyd Erasmus made at my request' (Lupton 279). In Allen Ep 298:31–3 / CWE Ep 298:36–8 – the preface to the first edition (1514) – Erasmus explains that he wrote it 'in verse which aims at clarity rather than polish, from an English text written earlier by John Colet.' The English version, reprinted in Lupton 286–8, was first published in 1527. A commentary on Erasmus' poem was produced by Johannes Vatellus: *Christiani hominis institutum per D. Erasmum Roterodamum Ioanne Vatello Coeniliano interprete ad foelices catholicae ecclesiae successus* ([Paris]: N. de Barra [1519]).

Reedijk, relying on W.H. Woodward *Des. Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education* (Cambridge 1904) 238, says that Erasmus' poem was translated back into English as *The godly and pious institution of a christen man* (London: Thom. Berthelet 1537). However, this is an official catechism issued by the bishops; it is not translated from Erasmus (though it probably borrows his title) and has no connection with Colet; see Gleason 231.

The first edition of the *Institutum* was in *Opuscula aliquot Erasmo Roterodamo castigatore* (Louvain: D. Martens, September 1514), a much-reprinted volume which also includes editions of *Catonis praecepta, Mimi Publiani* (Publilius Syrus), and *Septem sapientum celebria dicta*. In 1515 Erasmus added a brief preface to the poem (Ep 679): 'Do not forget, gentle reader, that what you have read thus far is the precepts of the heathen, and so must be read critically. What you will now read is the sacred words of Christ himself and his Holy Church, which can be followed in safety, and indeed are the only road to blessedness. Read them therefore as things of great moment, and so farewell.' This letter first appeared in the edition printed by M. Schürer at Strasbourg on 17 October 1515 (and not in D. Martens' edition of early autumn 1517, as is assumed in Allen and CWE 5); see Reedijk 306.

Metre: hexameter

Heading Valet – operatur / What counts – through love] The Latin words also stand at the head of Colet's catechism. They are drawn from Gal 5:6.

1–31 Confiteor – perennem / First of all – everlasting life] Colet's version of the Apostles' Creed, which Erasmus versifies here, is nearly always a close rendering of the original text; divergences are noted below. Erasmus discusses the Apostles' Creed and other creeds in his colloquy *Inquisitio de fide* ASD I-3 363–74 and in *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 205–320.

2 nutu] Cf 110.293n below.

3 stelligeri ... caeli] Silius Italicus 2.289

3 spaciosa volumina = Lucan 3.505 (different sense)

3 volumina caeli / spheres of the ... heavens] Borrowed by Eobanus Hessus in his *Heroidum christianarum epistolae* 19.135 (*Heroides* 1.5.143): *extremi ... volumina caeli;* and *Victoria Christi ab inferis* 341: *Multiplicis ... volumina caeli;* both of Eobanus' passages refer to the heavenly spheres. For the (unclassical) sense of *volumina* as 'spheres' cf Vatellus' commentary sig a3^{v}: *Spheras volubiles, sinuosas, amplasque, quae et orbes nuncupantur;* Hermann Buschius *Lipsica* 398: *super octavae flammata volumina sphaerae;* for the concept see also poems 76.2–4n and 110.366 below.

4 condidit] In *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 230:742–52 Erasmus explains that he prefers *condidit* to *creavit* because it more clearly indicates that God did not create the world *ex nihilo* but formed it out of chaos instead.

7–8 Hunc – purissima virgo / By the breath – pure virgin] Colet has: 'Whiche was conceyued by the holy goost & borne of the clene virgyn Marie.'

12 infera regna = *Anthologia Latina* 596.3; cf poem 112.61, 323–4 below.

13–14 Mox – auras / As soon as – air above] Colet has: 'Whiche rose againe the thyrde daye from deth to lyfe.'

13 tertia lux / the third day] See 112.301n below.

14 superas ... auras = Virgil *Georgics* 4.486 (of Eurydice's return to the upper world); *Aeneid* 6.128 (Aeneas' return to the upper world), mentioned in Vatellus' commentary sig b1^{v}; Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 1.278 (Pluto makes his way to the upper air)

15 Inde / Then] Vatellus (sig b1^{v}) says that *Inde* is not a spatial adverb ('thence') but a temporal adverb referring to the time between the resurrection and the ascension. Colet has no comparable adverb or phrase here.

15 aethereum ... arcem] Ovid *Tristia* 4.3.5; Valerius Flaccus 2.444; Statius *Thebaid* 3.222

15 sublimis] Vatellus (sig b1^{v}) glosses the word with *gloriosus* and compares Virgil *Aeneid* 1.259–60.

18 lumine cassos] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.85 (cited in Vatellus' commentary sig b2^{r}); Statius *Thebaid* 2.15

19–20 Te – lustrans] Quoted by Erasmus in Allen Ep 1877:112–13 and *Apologia adversus monachos* LB IX 1027A. Erasmus explains in the letter that he called the Holy Spirit *numen* rather than *Deus* only because of the metre. In the *Apologia* he says that he used *numen* here because it unambiguously refers to God, while in the Bible *Deus* is sometimes also applied to men.

19 spirabile numen / life-sustaining divinity] The phrase (more literally 'the divinity who gives us breath') is a variation on Virgil *Aeneid* 3.600: *hoc caeli spirabile lumen* 'this light of the sky that gives us breath.' Cf Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 370:234–5: as the body lives through breathing, so the soul is enlivened by the breath of the Holy Spirit; *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 267:829–268:843; lines 63–5 below.

20 Halitus afflatusque dei sacer / Holy Spirit and Breath of God] Cf Colet: 'And I byleue in the holi goost the holy spirite of god.'

20 omnia lustrans / illuminating all things = Lucretius 6.737: *radiis sol omnia lustrans;* cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.607 (of the sun's light). The Holy Spirit illuminates all things; cf AH 53 70.4: *Spiritus alme, / illustrator hominum;* Geraldini *Eclogues* 10.60–1: *Esse Deum hunc credo, qui nos modo lumine sancto / Lustravit;* Erasmus' paraphrase on Acts 2:1 (LB VII 666D): *spiritus ... et ignis, qui ... mentes illuminet.* The verb *lustro* has several other meanings that are also relevant here. It can for instance mean 'examine closely'; cf 1 Cor 2:10 (Vulg): *Spiritus ... omnia scrutatur;* AH 52 30.10: *Omnia scrutatur, intima nostra videt;* Erasmus *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 46:225–6: *Spiritus ... scrutator est cordium* and LB V 1091B: *Spiritus omnia scrutans.* Vatellus (sig b2^v) offers two further explanations: the Holy Ghost, being a spirit, penetrates all things; and the Holy Spirit, being pure, purifies all things. For the former explanation cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.887; Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 370:241–2 and *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 272:963: the Holy Spirit fills all things (*implens omnia*). For the latter reading cf AH 53 70.8–9: *Tu purificator / omnium / flagitiorum, / spiritus, / Purifica nostri / oculum / interioris / hominis;* Erasmus *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 268:860: the Holy Spirit sanctifies all things holy (*ex se sanctificans omnia ... sancta*); Rufinus *Expositio in symbolum apostolorum* 33 (CCSL 20 169): *Spiritus Sanctus ... cuncta sanctificans.*

21–3 Et te – IESU / And I profess – Jesus] Erasmus' version is different from Colet's: 'I byleue the holy Chyrche of Christ, whiche is the clene congregacyon of faytfull people in grace, & communyon of sayntes onely in Chryst Iesu.' Erasmus focuses on the church as the mystical body of Christ; cf 1 Cor 12:12–13; Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 371:256–60; *Adagia* LB II 960B–C; *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 274:40–64 and 280:224–283:285.

21 concio] Erasmus uses the word *concio* 'assembly' in the sense of *ecclesia,* which also means 'assembly' (of believers), 'church.'

22 coit omnis in unum = Virgil *Aeneid* 9.801 and 10.410; cf line 69 below.

24 habet communia cuncta / holds all things in common] Cf 112.29 below; *Adagia* I i 1: 'Between friends all is common.' In his paraphrase on Col 2:10 (LB VII 1010B) Erasmus says that whoever lives in Christ desires nothing else. For just as Christ was lacking in nothing and wanted to have everything in common with his believers, so we too should be complete in him. In *Colloquia* ASD I-3 372:272–7 he explains that the phrase 'the communion of saints' means that believers share one God, one gospel, one faith, one creed, the same spirit, and the same sacraments, so that one can speak of a certain *communio bonorum omnium inter omnes pios* 'communion of all goods among all believers,' existing since the beginning of the world.

25–7 Hoc – fletu / In this – their tears] Colet has: 'I byleue that in the chirche of Chryst is remyssion of synnes bothe by baptym and by penaunce.' In *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 285:353–286:375 Erasmus outlines how the phrase 'the remission of sin' came to include not only baptism but also penance. See also *Colloquia* ASD I-3 372:279–83.

26 sacro ... fonte renati] Hrabanus *Carmina* 97.3; cf Erasmus *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 73:819; Allen Ep 2157:561.

27 diluerint ... sua crimina fletu] Cf Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 22.117: *... lavit sua crimina fletu.*

28–9 Nec – priores / I have no doubt – had before] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10.41–4: *Quae pigra cadavera pridem / tumulis putrefacta iacebant / volucres* *rapientur in auras / animas comitata priores.* Colet has simply: 'I byleue after this lyfe resurreccyon of our deed bodyes.' Erasmus elsewhere emphasizes that each soul will receive the same body it had before, however improved; see *Colloquia* ASD I-3 372:290–3 and *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 288:442–4.

30–1 Utraque – perennem / Thenceforth – everlasting life] Cf 2.239–42 above. Colet has: 'I byleue at the last euerlastinge lyfe of bodi & soule.'

32–5 Hoc – apte / I am also persuaded – fittingly] Colet has: 'I bileue also that by the seuen sacramentes of the chirche cometh grete grace to all that taketh them accordyngly.'

32 mystica] Vatellus (sig b4^r) takes this to be an adjective with *ecclesia* and glosses the phrase with: *Ecclesia militans* 'the church militant.' But the epithet surely belongs with *munera* instead. Cf the formulaic phrase *mystica dona*: Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 27.46; Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 2.166; and often. Cf line 44 below.

38–9 Munere – mundi / By the gift of marriage – world so beautiful] Colet has: 'By gracyous matrymony we be borne into this worlde to god.' Erasmus later adduced this passage to refute the charge that he, like Luther, denied that marriage was a sacrament; see *Apologia ad Caranzam* LB IX 429B.

39 pulchri – mundi] Cf 4.29n above.

44–8 Mysticus – adultos / That mystical food – mature in God] Colet has: 'By gracyous Eucharistye, where is the very presence of the persone of Chryst vnder forme of breed, we be nourysshed spirytually in god.' Colet does not mention the wine; Erasmus does.

44–6 Mysticus – exhibet] The passage is quoted and discussed in *Detectio praestigiarum* ASD IX-1 236:71–238:108.

44 Mysticus ille cibus] Cf Allen Ep 916:62: *panis ille mysticus; Querela pacis* ASD IV-2 76:373–4: *caelestis ille panis ac mysticus ille calix.*

44 synaxin] Following Origen, Chrysostom, and other Greek Fathers, Erasmus habitually uses this Greek word (literally 'gathering,' 'assembly') in the sense of mass or Eucharist; it was first Latinized in Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 8.12.1. See for instance *Moria* ASD IV-3 146:398 (with Clarence H. Miller's note), 150:427 and 430, 192:217; Allen Ep 916:58.

49–54 Si – culpae / If perhaps – his guilt] Colet has only: 'By gracyous penaunce we ryse agayne from synne to grace in god.' Erasmus elaborates considerably, mentioning two of the three traditional parts of the sacrament of penance: contrition, confession, and satisfaction.

50 metanoea] Cf Erasmus' annotation on Matt 3:2 (LB VI 17E–18B); Erika Rummel *Erasmus' 'Annotations' on the New Testament: From Philologist to Theologian* (Toronto 1986) 152–6; Erasmus *Adagia* LB II 128A / CWE 31 268:38–9.

55–7 Unguinis – euntem / The gift – powers above] Colet has: 'By gracyous Enealynge and the last anoyntynge we be in our deth commended to god.'

56 per summa pericula = Lucan 5.302

64 animi penetralia] Statius *Silvae* 3.5.56; cf poem 34.2n above.

66–71 Atque – amabitur unus] Quoted in *Apologia adversus monachos* LB IX 1027B

66–8 hic ternio – honore / this Trinity – my utmost strength] Cf Deut 6:5; Matt 22:37; Mark 12:30, 33; Luke 10:27.

Heading after 72 Amor sui / Love of self] This heading is found in the early editions, but is omitted in the *Epigrammata* of 1518. Colet has 'The loue of thyne owne selfe.'

79 bili ... fervente] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.13.4; poem 103.9n below.

82–3 Ne – mundi / I will try not – deceiving world] Colet has: 'I shall not be couetous desyrynge superfluyte of worldly thynges.'

82 nunquam – habendi] Cf 96.2n and 96.33–4n below.

86 pectore toto] Proverbial; see Otto 1368; Erasmus *Adagia* I iv 26.

89–91 Orabo – recurret / I will pray – recur] Colet has: 'I shall praye often, specyally on the holy dayes.'

92–3 Frugales – luxus / My feasts – luxury] Colet has: 'I shall lyue alwaye temperatly & sober of my mouth.'

96 secretae penetralia mentis] Cf 34.2n above and 88.75 below.

100–2 A furto – iusto / I will restrain – rightful owner] Colet has: 'I shall kepe my handes from stelynge and pykynge. Thynges taken awaye I shall restore agayne.'

101 Viscatos ... digitos] Cf Lucilius 796 (of a pilferer): *omnia viscatis manibus leget.*

103–4 Id – morari / I will also give back – my possession] Colet has simply: 'Thynges founde I shall rendre agayne.'

105–6 amabitur omnis Proximus / I will love all my neighbours] Matt 19:19, 22:39; Mark 12:31, 33; and often

106–7 proximus ille Quisquis homo est / anyone who is a human being is my neighbour] Luke 10:29–37

112 utrique parenti] See 117.7n below.

Heading after 120 Sumptio – in vita / Receiving – lifetime] Colet has only 'Howselinge' (that is, 'Receiving Holy Communion'). The added *in vita* 'during my lifetime' is in contrast with receiving Communion at the time of death.

121–2 Ast – vocabit] Quoted in *Detectio praestigiarum* ASD IX-1 237:92–3

122 dies / the proper day] In Erasmus' time, receiving Communion once a year, between Easter and Trinity Sunday, was the norm. Vatellus (sig d3^r) explains that *dies* means 'feast-day, especially Easter.' Colet says only: 'As often as I shal receyue my lord in sacrament, I shall with al study dispose me to pure clennes & deuocyon.'

123 Illotis manibus / with unwashed hands] *Adagia* I ix 55. The phrase means: 'without due reverence.' Cf Allen Ep 1053:422–3 / CWE Ep 1053:459–60: 'proceeding forthwith with unwashed minds [*illotis animis*] to Christ's most holy table.'

131 sumam – corpus] Quoted in *Detectio praestigiarum* ASD IX-1 237:95

Postscript Hoc fac et vives / Do this and you will live] Luke 10:28. The word 'this' in the biblical text refers to Christ's command to love God with all one's heart, soul, strength, and mind, and one's neighbour as one's own self.

50 LB V 1321–5 / R 34–7

In his letter to Botzheim, Allen I 3:30–4:2 / CWE Ep 1341A:81–91, Erasmus recalls that he wrote the sapphic ode on St Michael many years before the 'Expostulation of Jesus' (43, final version 1510–11). He adds that he did so at the insistence of the prior of a church dedicated to St Michael. Even though the young humanist had deliberately written it in a prosaic style, the prior found it so poetical that it seemed Greek to him and did not dare post it up in his church. For his trouble Erasmus was offered enough money to buy a pint of wine, an offer he politely refused.

The ode was first printed in *De casa natalitia Iesu* (Paris: A. Denidel [January 1496?]); it is also found in MS Egerton 1651.

Allen identifies the poem with the 'lyric ode' mentioned in Allen Ep 28:13–14 / CWE Ep 28:13, a letter he conjecturally places in 1489. If so, the ode would have been written in 1489 and the church referred to would most naturally be the priory church of St Michael's at Den Hem, near Schoonhoven. Reedijk, on the other hand, argues that the ode was composed a few months after Erasmus' arrival in Paris. He notes that in the preface to *De casa natalitia* (Allen Ep 47:5–7 / CWE Ep 47:7–9) Erasmus swears that he left all his early poems behind in Holland. The poems in *De casa natalitia,* he infers, must all have been written in the autumn of 1495.

Neither Allen's argument for 1489 nor Reedijk's for 1495 is very strong. As Reedijk observes, there is nothing that compels us to associate this particular poem with the 'lyric ode' mentioned in Ep 28. But it must also be admitted that Erasmus cannot be taken at his word when he asserts in Ep 47 that he has left his earlier poems in Holland and implies that the poems published in the 1496 volume were all composed in the autumn of 1495; see headnote on no 42 above.

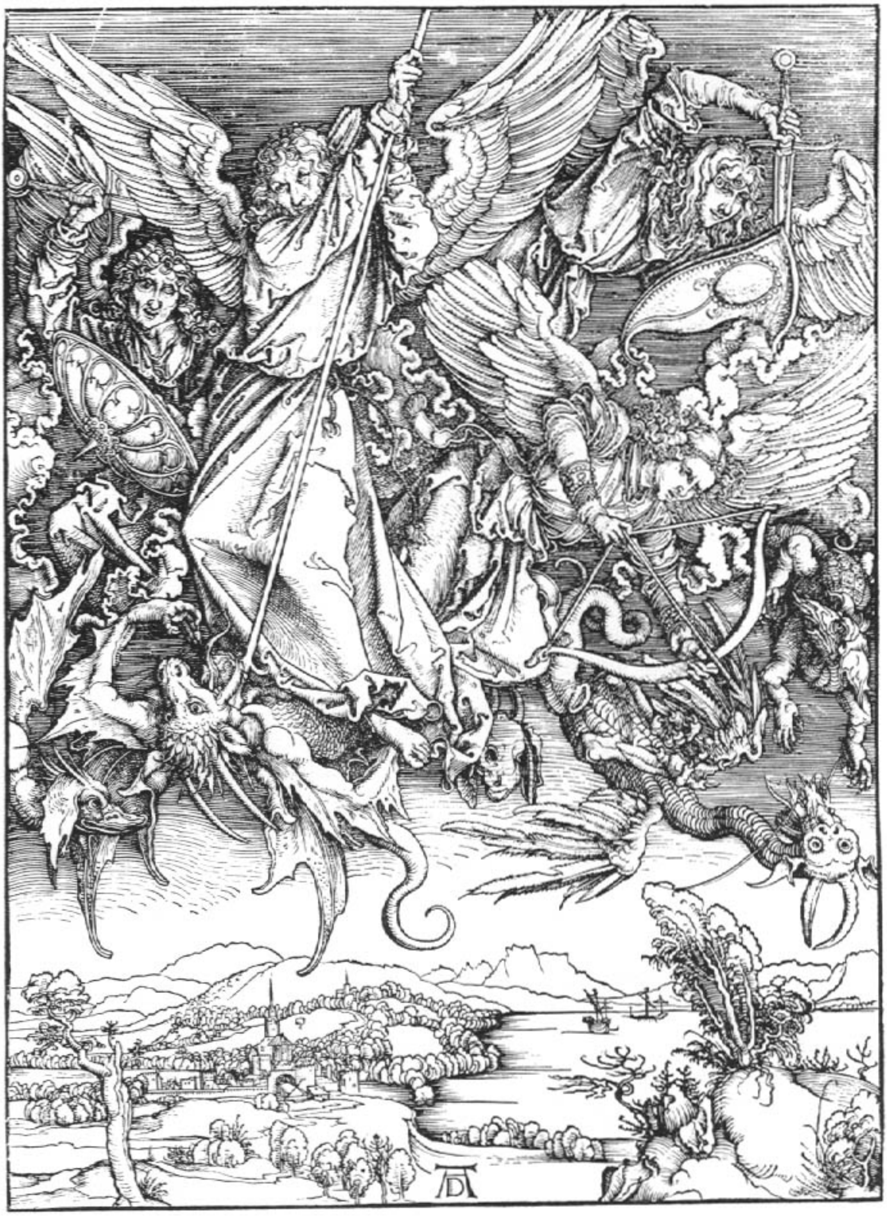
There is, fortunately, some further evidence that has hitherto escaped notice. Two of the sections addressed to the archangels end with a passionate prayer for peace on earth (lines 85–96, 177–80); the section about Gabriel also makes a reference to peace on earth (lines 153–6). These insistent allusions to the pestilence of war may well reflect the historical situation at the time of composition. During 1488–92 Holland was again in the throes of civil war. The suffering in the Rotterdam-Gouda area was especially severe; see Hyma *Youth* 16–17. It is thus no wonder that Erasmus and his friends often lament the war and its consequences; see *Oratio de pace* LB VIII 550C–F (c 1489); *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 56:473–57:485 / CWE 66 150 (probably written in spring

1491; see headnote on nos 94–6 below); cf also Allen Ep 35:49–51 / CWE Ep 35:51–3 and *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 44:31 / CWE 23 23:23–4. Willem Hermans made it the subject of his ode *Hollandia*, the third poem in his *Sylva odarum*. It thus seems likely that Erasmus composed the ode during a period when the civil war had been going on for some time and seemed so interminable that only prayers offered hope (see line 95n below). On this evidence we can estimate the date of composition as sometime in 1490 or 1491. Erasmus in this period was still at Steyn, which, as Allen has noted, had strong ties to the priory church of St Michael's at Den Hem. For a close verbal parallel to two passages written in c 1489–91 see the note on line 139 below.

The composition date 1490–1 seems at first glance not to fit the allusion to the 'lyric ode' in Ep 28, since Allen conjecturally places this letter in c 1489. Internal evidence, however, reveals that Ep 28 must in fact have been written in late winter or early spring of 1491. This date can be inferred from two allusions in the letter itself. In Allen Ep 28:3–8 / CWE Ep 28:3–7 Erasmus speaks of Willem Hermans' new poem on St Bavo. Since St Bavo was the patron saint of Haarlem, Hermans' choice of theme suggests a close connection with that town. And since Hermans left Steyn some time after October 1490 to help organize the new Augustinian monastery in Haarlem, this means that Ep 28 was composed several months after October 1490. See Tilmans *Aurelius* 22 and n50; also the headnote on nos 94–6 below. A different allusion in the same letter may permit a more precise dating. In Allen Ep 28:20–2 / CWE Ep 28:20–1 Erasmus mentions that he has in his possession the poems of Bartholomäus Zehender of Cologne. A collection of his poems was first published under the title *Silva carminum* at Deventer on 16 February 1491. Unless Erasmus is referring to a manuscript copy of Zehender's poems – always a possibility in this period (cf Allen Ep 23:66–8 / CWE Ep 23:68–9; Allen I Appendix IV 587) – Ep 28 must have been written sometime after 16 February, perhaps in March 1491. The date thus arrived at fits the composition date of *Oratio funebris*, mentioned as a recent production in Allen Ep 28:14–16 / CWE Ep 28:14–16 and probably written in late October 1490; see headnote on no 113 below.

If the 'lyric ode' referred to in Ep 28 is indeed the 'Ode in praise of Michael and all the angels,' Erasmus would have completed the poem in early spring 1491 – well in time for the feast of the Apparition of St Michael on May 8.

Metre: Sapphic strophe



St Michael fighting the dragon
Woodcut from Albrecht Dürer's *Apocalypse* (probably 1497)
Courtesy Robarts Library, University of Toronto

1–16 Caelitum – verba / Prince – words of fire] These lines are a proem to the hymn as a whole. In the first edition the section has its own heading: *Invocatio propositionem complectens* 'An invocation setting forth the subject.'

1 princeps / Prince] Dan 10:13 and 21, 12:1

6–14 citus – teporem / let a burning seraph – lukewarm sluggishness] See Isa 6:1–7. The episode was especially familiar because it was referred to in the priest's prayer before the reading of the gospel: *Munda cor meum ac labia mea, omnipotens deus, qui labia Ysaiae prophetae calculo mundasti ignito* 'Cleanse my heart and lips, almighty God, as you cleansed the lips of the prophet Isaiah with a burning coal'; see *Missale Romanum* I 199.

Heading before 17 De Michaele] This heading occurs only in MS Egerton 1651. There it is written as *De Michahele.*

17–18 tu – partes] Cf Horace *Satires* 2.6.22–3: *tu carminis esto / principium.*

20 Agmina caeli = AH 50 135.2 and 51 181.6 (in a hymn on St Michael)

21 pyropus / a fiery ruby] The *pyropus* was a red stone whose name in Greek means 'fiery'; cf Willem Hermans *Sylva odarum* sig a7^{r}: *Aemulum ... ignis rutuli pyropum;* Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 485:530–1 (in a list of precious stones); Allen Ep 1342:475 (Burgundy wine has the same colour); Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.2 (probably of an alloy of gold and bronze, though some interpret it as a stone). Thomas Elyot *Bibliotheca Eliotae* sig Jii6^{v} says that *pyropus* is a kind of carbuncle stone.

23–4 Utve – astra / or like Lucifer – fellow stars] The morning star Lucifer (*Hesperus* as the evening star) is often mentioned in relative comparisons of beauty. Cf for instance Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.722–5; Silius Italicus 7.639–40; Poliziano *Elegiae* 7.83–4: *Tamque suas vincit comites, quam Lucifer ore / Purpureo rutilans astra minora premit;* Erasmus *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 29:94–6 / CWE 27 10: 'you ... stood out, the fairest among the fair, as Hesperus shines golden amongst the blazing stars'; poems 102.74–7n and 133.17–18 below. The image is also used to describe the angel Lucifer before his fall; see lines 197–8n below.

26 magni moderator orbis] See 42.9n above.

27–8 Tu – sontes / You have the power – the guilty] In Christian iconography Michael was commonly represented at the Last Judgment with a pair of scales in his hand, weighing the souls to determine their final lot. See Réau *Iconographie* II-1 49–50. Medieval hymns also refer to Michael's scales; see for example AH 29 164.6 and 48 353.24.

30–6 Tu – vaporis / You appeared – nostrils of God] Reedijk has pointed out the striking parallel to Alcuin's well-known sequence for the feast of St Michael, AH 53 192.7–8: *Tu in templo Dei / turibulum aureum / visus es / habuisse manibus. / Inde scandens vapor / aromate plurimo / pervenit / ante conspectum Dei.* This is based on Rev 8:3–4, verses traditionally applied to St Michael; see for instance *Hereford Breviary* II 339–42; *Missale Romanum* II 275; *Sarum Missal* 329.

31–2 plenam Thuris acerram] Horace *Odes* 3.8.2–3

33 fumus odore multo] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.18.7–8: *ara multo / Fumat odore.*

37–8 Tu – Sedibus / You bring – blissful abode = Horace *Odes* 1.10.17–18 (of Mercury). Michael, partly because he defended the body of Moses against the devil (Jude 9), was assigned the role of guide of the souls of the dead.

Medieval hymns frequently refer to his function as the conductor of souls into heaven; see for example AH 15 210.1–3, 29 164.6, 29 229.1, 43 428.6, 43 431.4; also *Missale Romanum* II 275; *Legenda aurea* 145 (page 642). Michael was thus the Christian Mercury in his role as *psychopompos* 'guide of souls'; see Réau *Iconographie* II-1 44. The borrowing from Horace's hymn to Mercury underscores this identification. It might be added that Erasmus seems to identify each of the archangels with Mercury in one of his functions: Gabriel as the messenger of God (line 131n) and Raphael as the restorer to life (lines 173–6n).

38–40 cantu – bustis / With a trumpet blast – their graves] According to medieval belief Michael will blow the trumpet to announce the resurrection of the dead and the Last Judgment; see AH 16 404.10, 29 164.3, 33 180.5, 48 353.13; *Legenda aurea* 145 (page 642).

42–4 Cum – pugna / when the enemy – heaven itself] See Rev 12:7–9.

42 gravi ... ruina] Ovid *Tristia* 4.8.36

46–7 septem ... Ora / his seven mouths] See Rev 12:3.

47–8 colubris – trecentis / the necks – snakes] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.419 (of the three-headed dog Cerberus, the gatekeeper of hell); poem 110.34–5n below (of the snaky locks of the Furies).

47–8 tumebant Colla] Virgil *Georgics* 3.421 and *Aeneid* 2.381 (of snakes)

49–50 Avernum Virus efflabat] Cf Allen Ep 61:212: *tartareum virus efflabat; De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 58:514: *sua venena afflabit.*

50 Virus – monstrum] Cf 110.58 and 112.175 below and notes, of the ancient serpent.

51 Fulminis ... instar] Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.490; Allen Ep 45:128; cf poem 110.107n below.

51–2 piceos – ignes / His jaws – flames] A reminiscence of Virgil *Aeneid* 8.198–9, describing the monster Cacus: *atros / ore vomens ignis* 'belching black flames from his mouth.' For the oxymoron of the 'black flames' see also 112.144n below.

54 Beluae / beast] Cf 110.32 (death) and 112.90 below (the Leviathan, Tartarus).

55–6 Cogis – praedam / force him – swallowed] Cf Alcuin's sequence for the feast of St Michael, AH 53 192.9: *Quando cum dracone magnum / perfecisti proelium, / faucibus illius animas / eruisti plurimas* 'When you finished the great battle with the serpent, you rescued many spirits from his jaws.'

57 fulvas ... alas] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.546, 6.707, and 8.146

57 fugitat sub alas / they flee – wings] The image is biblical; see for instance Pss 17:8, 36:7, 61:4, 63:7, 91:4; Matt 23:37.

62–4 Labat – tellus / It falls – abyss of hell] See Rev 12:9 and 20:3.

65 Siculo Peloro] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.706. Pelorus is the promontory at the north-east corner of Sicily.

67–8 refluum ... aequor] Silius Italicus 2.307

69 Ferreis – catenis / Subdued – chains] See Rev 20:1–2.

71–2 iras ... inanes] Virgil *Aeneid* 10.758

74–5 Tibi – Antichristus / you will exact – Antichrist] According to a widely held belief, St Michael would at the Lord's command slay the Antichrist on the Mount of Olives; see *Legenda aurea* 145 (pages 642 and 648).

76 Orbe levato] Cf line 146 below: *mundo ... levato.*

80 Praeside / its guardian] Michael is the guardian angel of the true Israel, the Christian church; cf Dan 10:13 and 12:1; Jude 9; Rev 12:7; AH 27 159.5. Hence prayers for peace are addressed to him; see AH 14a 74.4 and 27 158.15.

87–8 Tota ... terimus ... Saecula bellis] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 9.609: *omne aevum ferro teritur;* Horace *Epodes* 16.1: *Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas* (referring to Rome's civil wars, just as Erasmus is alluding to the civil wars in Holland).

87–8 nefandis ... bellis] Virgil *Aeneid* 12.572

90–1 Si tibi pax – mutuat / if it is not for nothing – you her name] The verb *mutuat* is here used in the medieval sense 'lends,' rather than in the classical sense 'borrows.' St Michael, as protector of the people of God, bears the title 'angel of peace'; see AH 1 59.4, 2 76.2, and 50 146.2; Jérôme de Busleyden, poem on the angel's message to the shepherds at Christ's birth in De Vocht *Busleyden* 212 poem 4.5. Erasmus' allusion was first explained by Nicolaas van der Blom 'On a Verse of Erasmus' ERSY 1 (1981) 153 n4e; see further Harry Vredeveld 'An Obscure Allusion in Erasmus' Ode on St Michael' BHR 48 (1986) 91–2.

93 rex Olympi] Virgil *Aeneid* 5.533, 10.621, and 12.791

95 Ferias donet / grant us a holiday] In *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 57:475–7 / CWE 66 150 Erasmus laments that in all his twenty-four years he has never experienced 'relief [*ferias*] from the din of war.' The reference there is plainly to the seemingly endless civil wars of Holland. For the idea that peace is a holiday from war see Horace *Odes* 4.5.37; poem 4.57–8 above. In the latter two instances, however, both Horace and Erasmus celebrate the ruler who has given his realms a vacation from war. The passage in *De contemptu mundi* and the present line lament an *ongoing* war and pray that it may end soon.

96 Ocia terris = Sabellico *In natalem diem Mariae* 13 sig c3^v: *Per te* [sc *Maria*] *tuta quies, per te sunt ocia terris, / Pressa iacent merito bella nefanda tuo*

96 terris] This word concludes each of the sections on the archangels.

99 Proximum primo] Cf line 157 below.

99–100 tonantis Armiger / armour-bearer of the Thunderer] This recalls the poetic phrase *Iovis armiger* (the eagle as bearer of Jove's thunderbolts); see for example Virgil *Aeneid* 5.255 and Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.386. In medieval Latin the word *armiger* was also used in a wider sense to mean any warrior who took up arms for his lord. We may thus see an allusion here (and in the next stanza) to Gabriel's name, which means 'Man of God' or 'Strength of God.' Erasmus also plays on the meaning of Raphael's name ('God's healing'); but he could do nothing with Michael's ('Who is as God is?'). For the meanings and appropriateness of these names see Gregory the Great *Homiliae in evangelia* 2.34.9 (PL 76 1251).

102–4 nec quisquam – vires / nor is anyone better – assailants] Cf 2 Kings 19:35. Here the angel of the Lord (traditionally identified with Gabriel) slays the Assyrian army and forces Sennacherib to raise his siege of Jerusalem.

103–4 rabidas ... vires] Prudentius *Psychomachia* 159: *rabidas ... extinguere vires*

105–8 Tu – rictu / You have charge – harmless grin] Gabriel was the angel who interpreted Daniel's visions; see Dan 8:15–26 and 9:21–7. The story of Daniel in the lions' den is told in Dan 6:16–23.

105 tenes oracula] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.321

106 casus ... futuros] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.559; *Ibis* 267

108 Lambere / licked] This detail, which is not mentioned in Dan 6, is taken from Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 4.47; cf Pliny *Naturalis historia* 8.21.56 (a variant of the Androclus story).

109–12 Tu – adstas / You appeared – late in life] Luke 1:8–20

113 Cuncta – canendo / Why should we – your deeds] Cf 100.49n and 110.25 below. Erasmus confines himself to the messages of Gabriel that are recorded in Scripture. Here he only alludes to the other messages, which were sometimes included in the medieval hymns, such as informing Joseph that Mary was not adulterous (cf Erasmus' paraphrase on Matt 1:18–20, LB VII 6A–7B), telling the shepherds of Christ's birth (cf paraphrase on Luke 2:9–13, LB VII 299B–D), warning Joseph to flee into Egypt and the Magi not to return to Herod, consoling Christ in Gethsemane, comforting Mary after Christ's death, and telling the women that Christ had risen from the tomb. See for example AH 16 230.3–5, 19 237.2–6, 23 298.4–6, and 34 236.2b–5a.

118–19 Stygiis profecta Sedibus] Cf 103.8 below; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 14.155.

120 Vindice nullo = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.89; Juvenal 4.152

121 artes / stratagem] Cf 110.191, 197–200, and 112.112–27 below with notes. Erasmus, basing himself on medieval tradition, often says that it was part of God's plan to deceive the great deceiver; see paraphrase on Luke 4:2 (LB VII 318E); *De immensa Dei misericordia* LB V 561E; *Psalmi* 2 ASD V-2 126:920–5; lines 127–8 below. Satan is not to discover the incarnation while Christ is alive on earth, lest he prevent the crucifixion (1 Cor 2:8). On this 'deception of Satan' see J.A. MacCulloch *The Harrowing of Hell* (Edinburgh 1930) 199–216.

125 Advola terris] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 4.55

127–8 Fac – hostis / Conceal – learn of it] Cf Mone II 374.2–4: *misit archangelum / clam ad sponsam, templum / Ut gignat clandestine* 'he secretly sent the archangel to his bride, so that she might give birth to the Temple in secret'; 110.239–40 below.

130 lapsu placido] Ovid *Fasti* 6.500

131–2 Dissecas – pennis] Cf 110.283–4n below.

131 Dissecas nubes] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.257 (of the messenger Mercury): *ventos ... secabat*; also poem 95.31n below. For the association of Gabriel with Mercury cf lines 173–6n below and poem 110.254n.

131–2 pictis ... pennis / bright-coloured plumage] Cf Milton *Paradise Lost* 7.434: 'their painted wings.' For the epithet see 106.100n below.

133–5 Qualis – antiqui / just as Iris – the ancient pact] The simile combines several levels of allusion. Iris is Juno's messenger; as such she corresponds to Gabriel, the messenger of God. Her path across the heavens is marked by a rainbow (Virgil *Aeneid* 4.700–2; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.590 and 632); her cloak too is multi-coloured (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.589). In the Old Testament, however, the rainbow is a sign of God's covenant with Noah not to flood the world again. The rainbow of Gen 9:8–17, by mythological metonymy, is also called *Iris* in *Ecloga Theoduli* 76.

137 obliquis oculis] Horace *Epistles* 1.14.37; cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.787 (of Envy personified): *obliquo ... lumine.*

139 Incubans terris draco] Cf Allen Ep 29:46: *quibus ... ceu draco quispiam Hesperius incubas; De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 47:201: *non aliter quam hesperius ille serpens malis aureis ... incubas.* Cf also 111.14 below.

140 Palluit ore] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.106 and 6.602.

142–3 pudicae Virginis / the chaste virgin] Salzer *Sinnbilder* 362–4

143–4 mandata refers ... Regia / you deliver – the King] Luke 1:26–38

146 mundo ... levato] Cf line 76 above.

153 pacifer / bringer of peace] Gabriel is repeatedly praised as the harbinger of peace in AH 18 25.

154–6 Surculum – terris / Carrying a green – drowning world] So the second dove brought a leafy olive branch to Noah to show that the flood was over and a new age of the world was at hand (Gen 8:10–11). Cf lines 133–5n above; *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1231F, with a typological interpretation. In late-medieval iconography Gabriel was sometimes shown carrying an olive branch at the Annunciation; see Réau *Iconographie* II-1 52. The detail also occurs in Cornelis Gerard *Marias* 4 f 45^v: *Paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit olivae.*

154 Surculum ... oleae] Cf Prudentius *Apotheosis* 342–3: *olivi / surculus.*

155–6 meliora – terris] Cf 110.71–2, 315–16n below.

157 Proxime primis] Cf line 99 above.

162 Rebus afflictis] Virgil *Aeneid* 1.452

162–8 ope – laetum / by your help – his new bride] Tob 6:1–11:19; cf Erasmus *Encomium medicinae* ASD I-4 180:292–3 / CWE 29 45.

169–70 Ethnici – divos / The pagans – as gods] Apollo and his son Asclepius (Aesculapius) were venerated as gods of medicine; cf *Encomium medicinae* ASD I-4 164:31–165:33 / CWE 29 37. A sidenote in the first edition (1496) mentions *Aesculapium.*

173–6 potentem – venis / who have the power – exhausted veins] Raphael's name means 'God's healing.' The archangel is accordingly often praised for his ability to heal man. Unlike Asclepius, however, Raphael is not known for recalling the dead to life. Possibly Erasmus is associating him with Mercury, just as he associates Michael with Mercury as the guide of souls (lines 37–8n) and Gabriel with Mercury as the messenger of God (line 131n). Mercury was able to call back souls from the underworld; see Virgil *Aeneid* 4.242–3: *hac [virga] animas ille evocat Orco pallentis.* Physicians, in any case, were commonly lauded for calling back the shades from the nether world, since curing people who have one foot in the grave is, hyperbolically speaking, tantamount to bringing them back from the dead. See *Encomium medicinae* ASD I-4 167:79–83 / CWE 29 38. Cf Terence *Hecyra* 852; Ovid *Tristia* 5.9.19; Gregorio Tifernate *Carmina* sig $C3^r$ (in praise of a physician): *Saepe digressum revocas ab Orcho / Spiritum, et notos animam volantem / Reddis in artus;* Allen Ep 132:45–6 / CWE Ep 132:56–7, to a physician: 'I was restored to life as if from the nether world [*tanquam ab Orco revocatus*], entirely by your skill'; Allen Ep 1809:16.

174 nigro ... Orco] Horace *Odes* 4.2.23–4

178 opifer / bringer of help] This is also the epithet of the healing gods Apollo and Asclepius in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.521 and 15.653.

178–9 luem – saevientem / the plague – your charges] Reedijk understands these words to refer to an epidemic at the time Erasmus was writing the hymn (in his view, at Paris in the autumn of 1495). Corroborating evidence for such an epidemic is lacking, however. The context, moreover, suggests that the 'plague' is not so much a physical (*membris*) as a spiritual disease (*medere mentibus*); cf Allen Ep 993:53–5 / CWE Ep 993:62–4 and *Supputatio* LB IX 515C–D. We should remember that each of the preceding sections on the archangels concludes with the thought of peace on earth (*terris*). Peace is what Erasmus probably has in mind here too. He is praying that the physician-angel Raphael may heal body and soul so that the pestilence of war that rages against the people of God (*in tuos*) may be banished from the earth. The image of war as a plague that in turn engenders a multitude of spiritual diseases recurs in Erasmus' writings; see for example *Oratio de pace* LB VIII 547C; *Institutio principis christiani* ASD IV-1 213:460–2 / CWE 27 282; *Adagia* LB II 953D–E; *Moria* ASD IV-3 174:815–16 / CWE 27 139; *Querela pacis* ASD IV-2 62:25 / CWE 27 293: 'war ... is the greatest immediate destroyer [*pestis*] of all piety and religion.'

185 ter triplici / thrice-three] Paul mentions seven groups of angels; see Rom 8:38; Eph 1:21; Col 1:16, 2:15; and 1 Thess 4:16. To these were later added the cherubim and seraphim mentioned in the Old Testament. The doctrine was first worked out by Pseudo-Dionysius in *The Celestial Hierarchy*. This treatise became very popular in the late Middle Ages; Albertus Magnus and Hugo of St Victor, for instance, wrote commentaries on it. The nine choirs of angels are often referred to in medieval hymns; see for example AH 7 178.4a, 12 353.1, 16 404.14, 27 158.5, 49 313.2, and 50 191.3.

186–8 frequentiores ... quam ... Sydera / more numerous than the stars] Otto 1643; see also poems 93.24 and 149–50, and 98.1–2 below.

187 nocte silente] Tibullus 1.5.16; Virgil *Aeneid* 4.527, 7.87; and often; poem 112.70 below

197–8 Vespero – ignes / Once he glowed – eternal fires] Cf Isa 14:12, of the morning star Lucifer (the 'light-bringer,' that is, the planet Venus); as the evening star, Venus-Lucifer is called *Hesperus* or *Vesper*. Isaiah applies the metaphor to the once resplendent king of Babylon who fell into Sheol (hell). Theologians often associated this passage with Luke 10:18 and Rev 12:7–9. Cf 110.106–8 below.

197 Vespero ... rubenti] Virgil *Georgics* 1.251

197 Vespero ... similis] Horace *Odes* 3.19.26

198 aeternos ... ignes] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.154

202 grege cum sequaci] Cf 110.106 below.

203–4 rudem ... orbem / the formless world] The world is said to be 'formless' because Lucifer's fall occurred before the creation; cf 110.105–16 below. The epithet *rudem* specifically recalls Ovid's description of primeval chaos in *Metamorphoses* 1.7; cf Gen 1:2. In *In Prudentium* LB V 1342C / CWE 29 181 Erasmus also links the biblical and Ovidian descriptions of chaos.

204 Terruit orbem = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 14.817; cf Horace *Odes* 1.2.2–4.

205–8 Excipit – turba / Some of them – empty space] Medieval theologians were not sure where the fallen angels dwell. Were they cast down into the air or under the earth? See Jeffrey B. Russell *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca 1984) 180. Erasmus, declining to take sides, combines the various ideas.

206 lucis ... opacis] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.673

207 magnum per inane] Virgil *Eclogues* 6.31

209–11 Densior – examina] For the comparison with bees cf Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.517 and 3.150; *Tristia* 5.6.38.

209 Cecropiis ... hortis / the gardens of Attica] Attica and Mount Hymettus near Athens were said to be especially rich in bees. Cf Otto 838; Virgil *Georgics* 4.177: *Cecropias ... apes* and 4.270; Martial 9.13.2 and 13.24.1. The epithet *Cecropiis* 'Athenian' is derived from the legendary king of Attica and founder of Athens, Cecrops.

210 Tinnulos – secuta / drawn by the sound of tinkling bronze] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.64, 151. Bees were thought to be attracted to the sound of bronze cymbals; see also for instance Lucan 9.288 and Pliny *Naturalis historia* 11.22.68.

212 Decidit imber = Horace *Epistles* 1.14.29; cf Ovid *Fasti* 2.494.

215–16 gemino ... Funere / a double death] Of the body and the soul; cf 43.69n above.

220 Dira libido = Lucretius 4.1046; cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 2.84.

221–8 Vestra – tuti / When we get up – safe through your service] For the doctrine of the guardian angels see 44.8n above.

225 tumidum ... aequor] Virgil *Aeneid* 3.157; Ovid *Heroides* 17(18).35, 193; *Metamorphoses* 14.544

236 Sortis iniquae] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.332 and 12.243

237–40 Nuncii – refertis] Cf Plato *Symposium* 202E.

239 preces ... querulas] Cf 110.377–8 below.

243–4 ferimusque – dicatis] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 5.59–60: *sacra quotannis / ... templis ... ferre dicatis.*

245 Ferias / your feast-days] Though there was no feast of all the angels, there was a votive mass of the angels which could be said at various times. Michael had two feast-days (Dedication, September 29, and Apparition, May 8). Gabriel's feast-day was March 24. Raphael's feast-day was celebrated on various dates in different places, but was not yet universally established on October 24.

246 Celat] *Caelat* in *1518*

246 simulacra fumus / images with ... incense] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.6.4: *simulacra fumo.* The incense indicates that the special feast was to be celebrated with a solemn high mass, with celebrant, deacon, and subdeacon; see *Missale Romanum* I 198–201.

247–8 supplex – supinis / prays – in supplication] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.205. Raising one's hands with open palms turned upwards was a common gesture of prayer in Greek and Roman antiquity. It was also a Jewish custom; see for example Ps 63:4. In Christianity the ancient gesture of raising the hands in prayer was eventually abandoned, but it lived on in the mass. During the incensing of the altar and at certain times in the liturgical year the priest prayed: *Dirigatur domine oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo; elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum* 'May my prayer, O Lord, be directed like incense in your sight; may the raising of my hands be an evening sacrifice'; see *Missale Romanum* I 201; *Sarum Missal* 58, 190, and 200; Erasmus *Modus orandi Deum* ASD V-1 166:583.

249 patris summi] Virgil *Aeneid* 1.665

249 penetrent ad aures] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12.42; cf poem 1.53n above.

251 O patroni praesidiumque] The phrase recalls Horace *Odes* 1.1.2 (of his patron Maecenas): *O et praesidium et dulce decus meum.*

51 LB V 1325 / R 92

Erasmus probably composed this poem in spring 1512. He mentions it in Allen Ep 262:6–8 / CWE Ep 262:7–9, written from Cambridge on 9 May [1512] and addressed to Andrea Ammonio: 'I am to pay a visit to Our Lady of Walsingham, and I will there hang up a votive offering of a Greek poem. Look for it if ever you visit the place.' Erasmus later described this pilgrimage in the colloquy *Peregrinatio religionis ergo* (1526); see ASD I-3 474–86.

The shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, some 100 kilometers from Cambridge, is said to date back to 1061. In Erasmus' day it ranked among the most famous pilgrimage places in Europe. See J.C. Dickinson *The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham* (Cambridge 1956); D.J. Hall *English Mediaeval Pilgrimage* (London 1965) 104–19. On the subject of Erasmus' pilgrimages see Léon-E. Halkin 'Erasme pèlerin' in *Scrinium* II 239–52; and 'Le thème du pèlerinage dans les Colloques d'Erasme' in *Actes du Congrès Erasme, Rotterdam 27–29 octobre 1969* (Amsterdam 1971) 88–98. On the place of Mary in Erasmus' works see Léon-E. Halkin 'La Mariologie d'Erasme' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 68 (1977) 32–55; and Joaquín María Alonso *Erasmi Corpus Mariologicum* Marian Library Studies n s 11–12 (Dayton 1979–80). Alonso discusses the poem on pages 67–8 and reprints it, together with some versions in Latin, Spanish, and English, on pages 109–12.

The poem was first published in *Lucubrationes* (Strasbourg: M. Schürer, September 1515). Alaard of Amsterdam translated it into Latin the following year; see Allen Ep 433:32–4 / CWE Ep 433:35–8, to which letter it was appended. The text of Alaard's Latin version, first printed together with his edition of poem 102, *De vitando pernitioso libidinosoque aspectu carmen bucolicum* (Leiden: P. van Balen, 13 February 1538) sig D6^r–D6^v, may be found in LB III 1561.

In the colloquy *Peregrinatio religionis ergo* ASD I-3 479:348–480:353 Erasmus restates the essential theme of this poem. There Ogygius prays to Our Lady of Walsingham: Grant through your son that we may imitate your saintly way of life in a worthy manner and that the Lord Jesus may dwell forever in our hearts.

Metre: iambic trimeter

1–2 χαῖρ' ... θεοτόκος καὶ παρθένος] This is a variation on the words of the 'Gregorian' antiphonary: Χαῖρε ...θεοτόκε παρθένε . See Meersseman *Hymnos* I 83; cf the antiphon for the feast of Purification in the Latin church: *Ave O Theotocos virgo Maria; Hereford Breviary* II 103; cf AH 7 99.5a and 37 76.5a: *Ave, o theotocos, / virgo peperisti*; Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1227F–1228E: *Virgo Theotocos.*

1–2 χαῖρ' – γυναικῶν / All hail – among women] Cf Luke 1:28 (angel to Mary in the Greek text) and 1:42.

6–9 Ἀνθ' – λαχεῖν / In return – man of Pylos] A similar list of frivolous wishes that people address to the Virgin occurs in the colloquy *Peregrinatio religionis ergo* ASD I-3 473:82–104; cf 474:140–1.

7–8 γυναικίου – πατρός] Cf *Adagia* LB II 504C: *Si tibi dulce patris cognomen pignora nata / Donant*; cf also 83.3–4 and 84.3–4 below.

9 Πυλίου – αἰῶνας / the long lifetime of the old man of Pylos] Nestor's longevity was proverbial; see 4.67–8n above.

10–13 Αὐτὸς – αἰτῶ / as for me – greatest of boons] Cf 35.3–8 above and notes.

13–14 θεοσεβῆ – ἐλευθέραν / a devout heart – from sin] Cf Ps 51:10; poem 2.237n above.

52 LB I 1223 / R 84

The 'drunken jokester' for whom this mock epitaph was written was probably the Portuguese poet and humanist Henrique Caiado of Lisbon, who died in Rome in 1509. This identification, however, has been questioned by Marcel Bataillon in his 'La mort d'Henrique Caiado' *Etudes sur le Portugal au temps de l'humanisme* (Coimbra 1952) 1–8, but without compelling reasons. Erasmus, who had met Caiado in Rome, describes his death in *Adagia* IV viii 2. He seems to have been an unusually obese man, much given to drink. When suffering from a slight fever he was told by Erasmus' good friend Christopher Fisher, a papal official, that such a fever could be 'washed away' by drinking good wine. He enthusiastically followed this advice, drank the four-year-old Corsican wine that Fisher had sent him, and died soon thereafter. Caiado is mentioned again in *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 692:1–2 / CWE 28 429 as a writer of 'neat epigrams and easy unlaboured prose'; but Erasmus also criticizes him for having 'too much clever persiflage in his talk.' See CEBR I 239.

The poem is evidently alluded to in Allen Ep 216:41–2 / CWE Ep 216:46–7, a letter from Jacob Piso, written in Rome on 30 June 1509: 'I am waiting for you to send me the epitaph on that drunken jokester [*scurrulae istius merobibi*]; do not disappoint me, I beg of you.' It was first printed at the end of *Concio de puero Iesu a puero in schola Coletica nuper Londini instituta pronuncianda* ([Paris: Joris Biermans?] 1 September [1511?]), where it adds a measure of jollity to an otherwise grave and sober book.

The model for this mock epitaph is perhaps the one that Gaetulicus wrote on the death of the Greek satirist Archilochus (*Anthologia Palatina* 7.71). Erasmus cites and translates the concluding lines of this 'epitaph on Archilochus the scurrilous poet' in *Adagia* I i 60: 'Stranger, on tiptoe pass, and do not wake / The wasps for ever perched upon his tomb.' Erasmus' fictitious epitaph in turn was twice imitated by Helius Eobanus Hessus, at the end of his *Hymnus paschalis* (Erfurt: J. Knappe 1515) sigs B2^v–B3^v; see Vredeveld 'Traces' 56–9. Like Erasmus, Eobanus prints the profane mock epitaphs together with a work on a sacred theme, explaining that his purpose is to avoid tedium (sig B4^r). Another humanist who imitated the epigram was Erasmus' amanuensis, Gilbert Cousin (Cognatus); see his *Opera multifarii argumenti* (Basel: H. Petri 1562) I 405:

Iacobi Normani Hippocratis,
ventris et temulenti, epitaphium

Me (ut fit) silenter hic viator aspice,
Ne placidus hic si me reliquerit somnus
Rursum atra miseras occupet sitis fauces;
Nam quod loquor, nunc somniare me credas.

For the convention in which the dead person addresses the passer-by see 9.1n above

Metre: choliamb; see 20.13–14n.

2 sacra verba / their holy texts] The breviary or parts of the mass
5 hocce ... conditus saxo] Cf 73.1n below.
7 bis octo lustra / eight whole decades] A hyperbole. Caiado died before he was forty years old.
11 bibendi ... vivendi] Cf *Moria* ASD IV-3 194:276 (Folly's valediction to her followers): *vivite, bibite*. In *De recta pronuntiatione* ASD I-4 75:45–76:48 / CWE 26 439 Erasmus mentions that some speakers, particularly those from Spain, say *b* for *v* and vice versa, pronouncing '*vivit* for *bibit* and *bibit* for *vivit*.' Erasmus may thus be making fun of one of the toper's speech habits.
13 dormiens] Cf 83.1n below.

53 LB I 1223 / R 98

In this poem Erasmus repays the hospitality that Sélestat and its humanists extended to him as he was travelling to Basel in August 1514; see headnote on no 3 above. It is loosely contemporaneous with his other poems to Alsatian humanists (3, 54, and 55), though it was originally not published together with them. Instead it was first printed in *Iani Damiani Senensis ad Leonem X. Pont. Max. de expeditione in Turcas Elegeia* (Basel: J. Froben, August 1515). The theme of the poem is already expressed in Allen Ep 305:137–42 / CWE Ep 305:145–8, where Erasmus praises Matthias Schürer 'as a son of Sélestat, that town so fertile in learned and gifted men to which I owe also Beatus Rhenanus and Johann Witz and Wimpfeling himself.'

Metre: elegiac distich

3 genius] See 7.45n above.
4 Sydera – tibi] Cf 7.1–2 above and notes.
10 alma Ceres] Virgil *Georgics* 1.7; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.572
11 vitiferos monteis] Silius Italicus 4.347; cf poem 88.10n below.
19–20 Doctrinae – equus / You have so many – warfare] Cf Cicero *De oratore* 2.22.94: 'from [Isocrates'] school, as from the Trojan horse, none but leaders emerged'; Erasmus *Adagia* IV ii 1; *Apologia contra Stunicam* ASD IX-2 178:263–4; Allen Ep 335:21–3 / CWE Ep 335:22–4, to Pope Leo X: 'Out of that family, as out of some Trojan horse, have sprung ... so many leaders distinguished in every branch of knowledge [*tot ... in omni doctrinae genere proceres*]'; Allen Epp 1554:40–3 and 2157:599–601.
21 Vvimphlingus] The well-known humanist Jakob Wimpfeling (1450–1528) was a native of Sélestat. At the time of Erasmus' visit he was living in Strasbourg; but in 1515 he returned to his home town. See CEBR III 447–50.
21 Spiegellius] Jakob Spiegel (c 1483–after 1547) was Jakob Wimpfeling's nephew. In 1513 he was appointed professor of law at the University of Vienna. There he published a translation of Isocrates' *De regno gubernando* (1514). He also served as secretary to Maximilian I until the emperor's death in 1519. See CEBR III 270–2; also headnote on poem 1 above, page 410.
22 Kirherus] Johann Kierher (d 1519), a minor humanist, who received his MA from Paris in 1510. By 1515 he was vicar in the cathedral of Speyer. See Ep 355 and CEBR II 261.
23 Sapidus] Johann Witz; see headnote on no 3 above. Witz thanks Erasmus for the compliment in Allen Ep 353:8–14 / CWE Ep 353:8–15.
23 doctis ... Athenis] Ovid *Heroides* 2.83
24 Phrygio] Paulus Constantinus Phrygio (c 1485–1543) earned a doctorate in theology at Basel in 1513. See CEBR III 79–80.
24 Storkius] Johann Storck (documented 1482–1525). He received his MA from Basel in 1487. See CEBR III 290.
25 Arnoldus] Beat Arnold (1485–1532) worked for the printers of Strasbourg

from 1507 to 1511 and contributed verses to many of their books. Afterwards he became a secretary to Maximilian I, subsequently also to Charles V. See CEBR I 72.

26 Schurerius] Matthias Schürer (c 1470–1519/20), the Strasbourg printer of numerous Greek and Latin classics as well as of books by humanist authors. See CEBR III 233.

27–8 Beatus ... beat / Beatus ... beatify] For Beatus Rhenanus see note on line 3 of Froben's letter to the reader (page 407 above). Erasmus puns on his name also in Allen Epp 322:11 and 327:16 / CWE Epp 322:12–13 and 327:17–18. The latter instance occurs in the preface of *Psalmi* 1, the first words of which are *Beatus vir* 'Blessed is the man' and which Erasmus for this reason dedicated to Beatus.

28 lingua doctus utraque / learned in both tongues] Martial 10.76.6. The two languages, of course, are Latin and Greek.

29 Quae – caelo / What secret affinity – bright skies] Cf 4.121–2n above, referring to pearls. Erasmus insinuates that Sélestat is a pearl among cities. For this concealed image cf line 17 above, where the humanists of the city are called 'gems.'

31 mens aethere manat ab alto / the mind flows – the sky] Cf 2.49n above.

37–8 carmina ... qualiacunque = Ovid *Tristia* 1.7.11–12

54 LB I 1223 / R 95

The poem is contemporaneous with nos 3, 53, and 55, addressed to other Alsatian humanists. It was first published together with nos 3 and 55 in *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo* (Strasbourg: M. Schürer, December 1514).

Sebastian Brant (1457–1521) of Strasbourg, a student of Reuchlin, received a doctorate in civil and canon law from the University of Basel in 1489. He became dean of the faculty of law at Basel in 1492 and professor of civil and canon law in 1496, but remained a practising lawyer. He returned to Strasbourg in 1500, serving his native city first as syndic (legal consultant) and later, from 1503, as chief secretary or chancellor. Brant was the author of *Das Narrenschiff* (Basel: J. Bergmann 1494), the first European best seller in the German language, translated into Latin, Low German, Dutch, French, and English. He also published a collection of religious Latin verse in various metres, *In laudem gloriosae virginis Mariae multorumque sanctorum* (Basel: J. Bergmann 1494), subsequently expanded to include political poems and hence entitled *Varia carmina* (Basel: J. Bergmann 1498). He produced numerous editions of Latin authors, among them St Augustine's *City of God* (1489), Baptista

Mantuanus (1498), Virgil (1502), and Hrabanus Maurus (1503). See CEBR I 190–1.

Erasmus first met Brant in August 1514, when he was travelling through Strasbourg on his way to Basel; see Ep 302. In Allen Ep 305:165–9 / CWE Ep 305:170–4 he hails him as 'a man apart' and goes on to say: 'I set him outside any classification and beyond all hazard. I think so highly of him ... I like and respect and venerate him so much, that it seems to add greatly to my happiness to have been allowed to see him face to face and converse with him.' In the last paragraph of the same letter (Allen Ep 305:254–6 / CWE Ep 305:264–6) he alludes to the present poem: 'I send you also what I wrote immediately after the journey [*ex itinere*] to that incomparable man Sebastian Brant; for I have changed a few words in it of no importance.'

Metre: hendecasyllable

3 Multos – celebres / Many have gained – fatherland] Praising a man on account of his native country is a rhetorical category of praise; see Lausberg 245 I A; cf Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 198:49 / CWE 24 573:20; *Psalmi* 33 ASD V-3 124:94–5; *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 319:794–7. Folly mocks the convention in *Moria* ASD IV-3 78:112–15 / CWE 27 89.

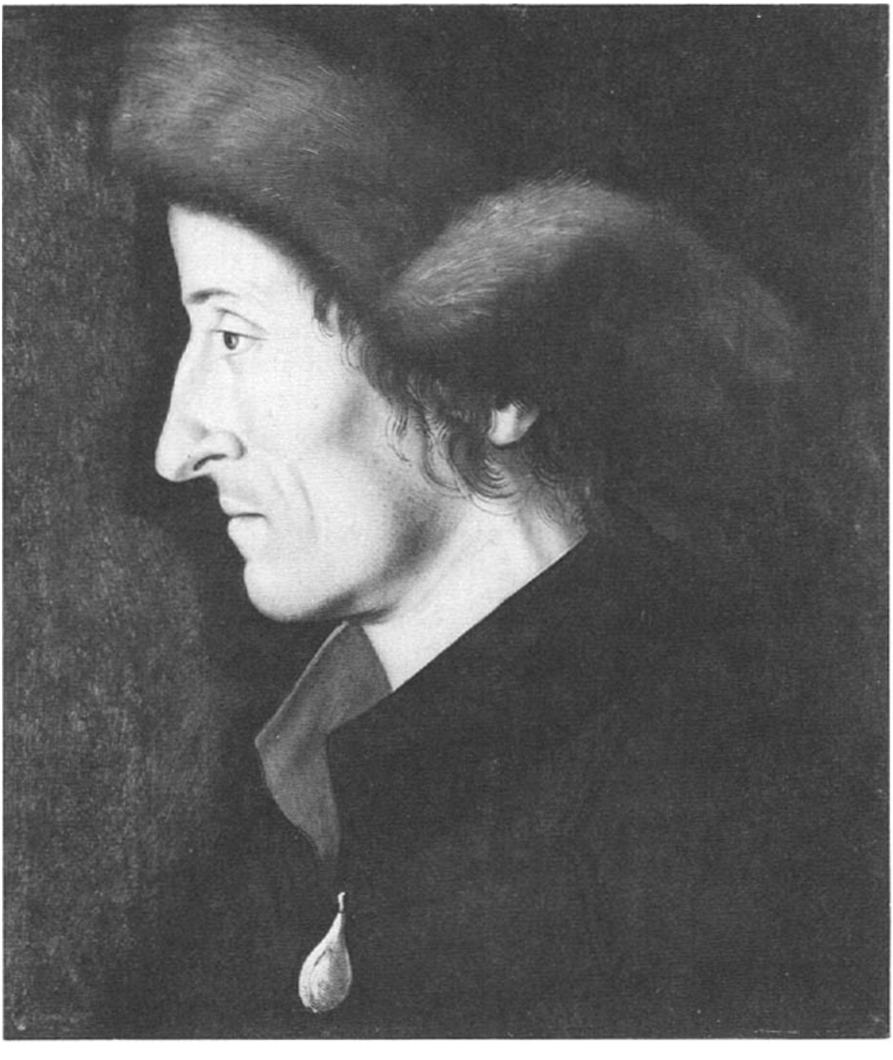
4–5 Urbem – constituis] Cf Allen X Appendix XXII 403:179–81: *Externa quoniam ad laudem proprie non pertinent, arte huc sunt accommodanda. Si patriam illustrem sua virtute reddidit illustriorem.*

8 cum foenore plurimo / at a high rate of interest] Cf 113.10 below. The image is classical; see for instance Cicero *De senectute* 15.51 and Tibullus 2.6.22.

55 LB I 1224 / R 96

Thomas Didymus Vogler (Aucuparius) of Obernai in Alsace was by 1501 almoner to the cathedral chapter in Strasbourg. He received a degree in law from the University of Freiburg in 1511. His Latin verse earned him the title, among the Strasbourg humanists, of 'poet laureate'; Erasmus alludes to this title in Allen Ep 305:132–3 / CWE Ep 305:139–40 as well as in line 8 below. He published an edition of Terence for use in schools in 1511 and also edited some writings of Poggio Bracciolini in 1513. He died in 1532. See CEBR III 416–17.

The poem was written to repay Vogler for the six distichs that lavished praises on Erasmus at his arrival in Strasbourg in mid-August 1514; see Allen Ep 305:134–7 / CWE Ep 305:141–4. Vogler's verses precede Erasmus' in *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo*



Sebastian Brant
Portrait by Hans Burgkmair (1508)
Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe

(Strasbourg: M. Schürer, December 1514). In a note appended to Ep 305 (Allen lines 256–7 / CWE lines 266–7) Erasmus says that he is also sending the verses which he 'babbled [*effutieram*; cf Horace *Ars poetica* 231] rather than wrote to Vogler.'

Metre: hexameter

1–3 Quas – foret / The praises – quite shameless] Cf Allen Ep 531:125–7 / CWE Ep 531:138–9: 'exaggerated tributes which I could not possibly accept unless I were singularly conceited or completely shameless.' Erasmus' model is Cicero *De amicitia* 2.9: *mihi tantum tribui dicis, quantum ego nec agnosco nec postulo* 'the merit, which you say is ascribed to me, is too great for me either to acknowledge or claim.'

11–12 elephantum Reddere de musca / to make an elephant out of a fly] *Adagia* I ix 69. Erasmus often employs this expression to fend off praise; see for instance Allen Epp 245:7–8, 916:10–11, 1148:1–2, 1178:15, and 1216:9–10 / CWE Epp 245:8–10, 916:13–14, 1148:4–5, 1178:18, and 1216:10–11.

12 attollere tricas / make ... a mountain out of a molehill] Cf Otto 127; Erasmus *Adagia* I ii 43.

56 LB I 1224 / Ep 234 / R 91

Erasmus sent these verses in a letter to Andrea Ammonio (Ep 234) around 20 October 1511. The poem is there introduced as follows: 'I am sending back your wine cask. I kept it by me for too long empty, just so as to enjoy the very smell of its Greek wine! And now, as a reward for wine of the finest quality, you are to receive verses of the worst – precisely, in Homer's famous phrase, "bronze in return for gold." Yes, and I am original too in teaching iambic verses on this occasion to sing songs of praise!' Iambic verses, we may note here, were originally used by Archilochus and Callimachus in lampoons, later also in comedy and tragedy; cf Aristotle *Poetics* 4.10–12; Horace *Ars poetica* 79–82; Ovid *Remedia amoris* 377; *Ibis* 51–2; Erasmus *In Prudentium* LB V 1337C / CWE 29 174; poem 130.9–10 below.

Andrea Ammonio of Lucca (c 1478–1517) had come to England in 1504 or 1505. He soon became one of Erasmus' most trusted confidants. By July 1511 he was Latin secretary to Henry VIII. See CEBR I 48–50; Gilbert Tournoy 'The Unrecorded Poetical Production of Andreas Ammonius' HL 37 (1988) 255–64. Ammonio responded to Erasmus' verses with iambics of his own; see Ep 236 and Erasmus' response in Allen Ep 245:1–18 / CWE Ep 245:2–20. Erasmus praises him also in Allen Ep 1347:278–85 / CWE Ep 1347:296–302.

The poem was first published in the *Epigrammata* of March 1518. It amplifies and varies the phrase: 'Endowed with every blessing of nature and fortune'; see *De copia* ASD I-6 198:47–50 / CWE 24 573:17–20.

Metre: iambic senarius

7 Linguae ... plectrum] *Lingua* ASD IV-1A 31:201 and 32:216; cf *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 42:169–70: *oris plectrum.* Cf also Cicero *De natura deorum* 2.59.149: *plectri similem linguam;* and Isidore *Etymologiae* 11.1.51 (of the tongue): *plectrum cordis.*

8 horas ad omneis commodos / suited to all occasions] See *Adagia* I iii 86. There Erasmus explains that a 'man who suits himself to seriousness and jesting alike, and whose company is always delightful' is 'a man for all hours [or: seasons].' Elsewhere he applies the adage to Henricus Glareanus (Allen Ep 394:19–22 / CWE Ep 394:20–4) and to Thomas More (Allen Ep 222:18–21 / CWE Ep 222:22–4, in the preface to *Moria*): 'your affability and kindness are so extraordinary that you are both able and pleased to play with everyone the part of a man for all seasons.' The familiar phrase 'a man for all seasons' first appears in Robert Whittington *Vulgaria* (London: Richard Pynson 1520) f 14^r, in a description of Thomas More (*vir ... omnium horarum*).

9 melle melleos magis / more honey-sweet than honey itself] Otto 1081; *Nachträge* 185, 240, and 279; poem 115.11 below

10 Veneres, lepores, gratias] Allen Ep 282:1 (to Andrea Ammonio)

10 lepores, ... risus, iocos] Cf 2.22n above.

12 simplicem prudentiam] *Ratio* LB V 105C; Allen Ep 1220:16; cf Martial 10.47.7: *prudens simplicitas;* Matt 10:16.

13 sordido aversum lucro / averse to low money-grubbing] Cf 1 Tim 3:8 (Vulg).

14 largiusculam] Erasmus treats this diminutive as if it were a comparative.

15 benigni vena dives ingeni] Cf Horace *Odes* 2.18.9–10: *ingeni / Benigna vena; Ars poetica* 409; Erasmus *Adagia* II vi 76; also poems 36.5 above and 88.2n below.

22–3 tot ... Congesta in unum] Allen Ep 2681:11; cf poems 64.11 and 68.8 below.

24–5 Soli – mortalibus] Cf Pliny *Naturalis historia* 7.1.1.

25 novercam / a stepmother] The stepmother's malignity was proverbial; see Otto 1239; Erasmus *Adagia* II ii 95; poem 96.20, 29 below.

29 caeca plane / downright blind] Fortuna's blindness was proverbial; see Otto 694.

29 invida] Cf Seneca *Hercules furens* 524: *O Fortuna viris invida fortibus.* Fortuna's envy of the strong and virtuous man – the theme *virtus et fortuna* – was a commonplace in the Italian Renaissance.

57 LB I 1224 / R 101

Lukas Klett of Rouffach in Upper Alsace received his MA from the University of Basel in 1512 and a doctorate in civil and canon law in 1515. His humanist name 'Paliurus' ('Christ's thorn') is a loose translation of the German 'Klett' ('burdock'). He died after 1538. See CEBR II 263–4.

Erasmus was already acquainted with Klett in November 1514; see Ep 316. The epigram was probably written in the following year, before Erasmus' departure from Basel in spring 1516. That would help explain why the poem received a double heading when it was first published in the *Epigrammata* of March 1518. The first of these headings (the one reprinted in our Latin text) includes mention of Klett's position as chancellor to the bishop of Basel, Christoph von Utenheim, a position he had assumed by 1517. The second heading, which lacks the reference to this position, can be considered the original heading: *Lucae Paliuro Rubeaquensi Erasmus Roterodamus ex tempore* 'An extemporaneous poem to Lukas Klett of Rouffach, by Erasmus of Rotterdam.' The doubling, as Reedijk suggests, probably resulted from some misunderstanding on the printer's part; it has not been reproduced in our text.

Metre: hendecasyllable

1–4 Exhaustum – nostro] Cf Allen Epp 531:378–83 and 952:4–7 / CWE Epp 531:420–6 and 952:5–9; poem 6.29–30n above.

1–2 Exhaustum – coloni] Cf Silius Italicus 7.160; also Horace *Epistles* 1.7.87.

10–11 ex animo medullitusque ... amabo / I will love ... with all my heart and in the very marrow of my bones] Cf *Adagia* II vii 19 and V i 62.

58 LB I 1224–5 / R 93

The epigram pokes fun at the flight of the French army in the Battle of the Spurs near Thérouanne in northern France on 16 August 1513. For an account of the battle see C.G. Cruickshank *Army Royal: Henry VIII's Invasion of France 1513* (Oxford 1969) 105–18. Erasmus' verses were sent with Ep 283 on 21 December 1513 to Andrea Ammonio, who had been present at the battle. Erasmus explains that he had written the 'squib some time ago' and apologizes for its lack of poetic inspiration (Allen Ep 283:138–40 / CWE Ep 283:165–7). It was first printed in the *Epigrammata* of March 1518.

Lines 1–4 allude to the well-known story about Cato, told in Valerius Maximus *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 2.10.8. At the licentious festival of Flora the censor Cato left the theatre when he realized that he was inhibiting the actors by his mere presence. The language of lines 2–4 is based on the four verses found at the end of the preface to Martial's first book of epigrams. Erasmus summarizes the first two verses of Martial's epigram in line 2; lines 3 and 4 are quoted outright.

Metre: choliamb; see 20.13–14n above.

3 Cato severe / O strict Cato] Cato's moral severity was proverbial; see Otto 358.
6 cruenti ... Martis] Horace *Odes* 2.14.13; cf poem 100.25 below.

59 LB I 1225 / R 102

The epigram refers to the rains that plagued Erasmus' voyage from England to Basel in June 1515; cf Allen Epp 345:2–3 and 348:8–10 / CWE Epp 345:3–4 and 348:10–12. It was first published in the *Epigrammata* of March 1518.

Metre: hendecasyllable

1 Iuppiter] As a weather-god Jupiter was commonly associated with rain. Among his many titles is *Iupiter pluvius*.
14 nubium coactor / cloud-gatherer] Homer *Iliad* 1.511 and elsewhere
15 Gigantum / the Giants] See 24.1n above.
16 cognomina consueta / your usual titles] Jupiter's standing epithet was *Optimus Maximus* 'the Best and the Greatest.'

60 LB I 1225–6 / R 99

The Philippe who is praised in this epitaph is most probably Philippe Bourgoing. A prominent member of the reform group at Paris, he became prior major of the abbey of Cluny in 1505, a post he resigned in December 1508. He died on 25 September 1514. See Renaudet *Préréforme* 456 and 665 n4. Erasmus' poem varies a traditional form of the epitaph in which the living are imagined as speaking with the dead. For the more conventional pattern see nos 79 and 86 below; Margaret Alexiou *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge 1974) 138–9. Related to this convention is the dead person's address to the passer-by. See 9.1n above.

The poem was first printed in the *Epigrammata* of March 1518.

Metre: hendecasyllable

2 Cum – sororum] Cf 38.7–8 above.

8 nivei ... mores] The phrase occurs also in 62.18 and 73.3 below.
11 amictum] This word, lacking in the early editions, is a recent conjecture; see Harry Vredeveld 'A Verse of Erasmus' Restored: Carm. 99,11' *Daphnis* 15 (1986) 123–4. In view of line 6 one might be tempted to supply *luctum* 'mourning,' hence 'mourning apparel'; but this noun does not fit the metre here.

61 LB I 1226 / R 103

Wilhelm Nesen of Nastätten between Koblenz and Mainz (1493–1524) studied at Basel, earning his MA in 1515. As a corrector for Froben's press he proofread Erasmus' edition of Seneca *Lucubrationes omnes* (Basel: J. Froben 1515); see Allen Ep 328:2–4 / CWE Ep 328:3–5 and Ep 329. Erasmus became very fond of Nesen and dedicated a new edition of *De copia* to him (Ep 462, dated 5 September 1516). See CEBR III 12–14. The Nile reed pen that Erasmus herewith presents to Nesen was apparently one of the three that he had earlier received from Johannes Reuchlin; see Allen Ep 457:22 / CWE Ep 457:25–6. Perhaps, as Reedijk suggests, Erasmus gave the pen away as a souvenir when he was leaving Basel in the spring of 1516.

The poem was first printed in the *Epigrammata* of March 1518.
Metre: elegiac distich

1 Tantillus ... tanta] Plautus *Poenulus* 273: *tantilla tanta verba funditat*
4 rude donatum / honourably discharged] Erasmus *Adagia* I ix 24. The *rudis* was a wooden foil presented to a gladiator at his retirement.
6 pignus amicitiae = Martial 9.99.6

62 R 66

For the circumstances in which this elegy was composed see the headnote on no 39. The poem is not an epitaph for Hendrik van Bergen, as Allen and Reedijk assume, but a verse letter of consolation to Hendrik's brother Antoon. It probably accompanied the four epitaphs that Antoon had commissioned from Erasmus.

Antoon van Bergen (1455–1532) was the fourth son of Jan van Bergen. He became abbot of St Bertin at Saint-Omer in 1493. In 1500 he was appointed ducal councillor by Philip the Handsome. See CEBR I 130–1.

The verses were published in Jacob Anthoniszoon's treatise *De praecellentia potestatis imperatoriae* (Antwerp: D. Martens, 1 April 1502, 1503 NS), a volume to which Erasmus also contributed poem 29 and Ep 173. The elegy was first edited by Cornelis Reedijk in 'Erasmus' verzen op het overlijden van Hendrik van Bergen, bisschop van Kamerijk' *Het Boek* 30 (1949–51) 297–305.

Metre: elegiac distich

1 Mors, gnata invidiae / Death, the daughter of Envy] Cf Wisd 2:24: 'through the devil's envy death entered the world.'

4 spemque decusque = Allen Ep 174:24, in an epitaph for Rodolphus Agricola written by Ermolao Barbaro (quoted there from *Adagiorum collectanea* sig a4^v; see also *Adagia* I iv 39).

6–12 Dum flet – lachrymis] Cf 69.3–4 and 71.1–7 below.

7 Pastorem ... bonum / its good shepherd] Cf John 10:11–14 and 21:15–17.

8 consultorem – gravem / the court – counsellor] As bishop of Cambrai since 1480 and chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece since 1493, Hendrik long served as counsellor to Philip the Handsome.

9 paupertas docta / learned men in their poverty] Erasmus is tactfully reminding Antoon to continue Hendrik's patronage of penniless scholars like himself.

12 iustis ... lachrymis] Ovid *Heroides* 11.115

12 prosequitur lachrymis = Virgil *Aeneid* 6.476

13–14 iam toties ... fratrem Luges / so often mourned a brother already] Only three of Jan's seven legitimate sons survived Hendrik.

15–16 Iusta – licet / Your grief – forever] For these commonplaces of consolation see *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 442:13–444:3 and 451:9–452:5 / CWE 25 156–7 and 161–2.

15 iusto – dolori] Cf 92.11 below. The phrase *iustus dolor* occurs in Virgil *Aeneid* 8.500–1; Ovid *Heroides* 12.133; *Tristia* 4.3.21.

17 Non periit – frater / Your brother – to heaven] For the Christian topos of consolation 'he is not dead but has gone before us to heaven,' see Lattimore *Themes* 301–7; Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 453:15–454:5 / CWE 25 162–3; poems 9.3–10 above and 71.12–13 below; cf also 16.2 and 17.2 above.

18 nivei mores] Cf 60.8 above and 73.3 below.

19–20 Vos – viris] Cf 73.7–8 below.

19 relliquias generis] Terence *Adelphi* 444

20 Numina ... non inimica = Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.8.38

63 and 64

In November 1503 Philip the Handsome (1478–1506), archduke of Austria and duke of Burgundy, returned to the Low Countries from a voyage to Spain. He had left Brussels on 4 November 1501 with his wife Joanna, who had unexpectedly become the heiress of the Spanish kingdoms. In France they were entertained by King Louis XII and, later, by John d'Albret, king of Navarre. Philip was crowned heir to Castile on 22 May and received the homage of the Cortes of Aragon on 27 October 1502. Leaving Joanna at Alcalá, he left Spain in early 1503. The return voyage took him first to Savoy, where he visited his sister Margaret and her husband, Philibert II, and then to Innsbruck, where he met his father, Maximilian of Hapsburg. See CEBR I 229–30 and *Panegyricus* introductory note CWE 27 2.

Meanwhile Erasmus had agreed to write a panegyric for the archduke, to be delivered upon his return. He was working on it 'night and day' during September 1503 (Allen Ep 175:10–11 / CWE Ep 175:13–14). A portion of the laudation was delivered in Brussels on 6 January 1504; the entire *Panegyricus* was published the following month by Martens at Antwerp. The book is introduced by a *Homerocenton* (63) and a dedication to Nicolas Ruistre (Ep 179). At the end of the book Erasmus placed an apologetic letter to Jean Desmarez (Ep 180) and the 'Congratulatory poem' (64).

In Allen Ep 180:186–7 / CWE Ep 180:203–5 Erasmus says it is obvious that the congratulatory poem was written extempore, being 'cut from the same cloth' as the *Panegyricus*. Certainly Erasmus composed both of them in a feverish hurry. He was already putting the finishing touches to the panegyric oration by late September 1503 (Allen Ep 176:3–4 / CWE Ep 176:5–6). However, as more information about the archduke's voyage trickled in, he continued to revise and augment it in the following months; see Allen Epp 178:10, 179:24–38, and 180:140–53 / CWE Epp 178:11–12, 179:30–48, and 180:153–68.

63 R 79

This epigram – Erasmus' first Greek poem – was printed on the title-page of the *Panegyricus* (Antwerp: D. Martens [February 1504]). The poem is a cento from Homer, that is to say, a series of verses, half-lines, and phrases lifted from Homer's epics. The genre of patchwork poetry is ancient, apparently beginning in Hellenistic times and becoming quite popular in later antiquity. Especially common were centos from Virgil; see Erasmus *Adagia* II iv 58. A good example is Ausonius *Cento nuptialis*, the preface of which discusses the rules of the genre. Among other things, Ausonius requires that only verse fragments be used. Erasmus violates this rule in lines 2–4 by using a block of verses largely taken from *Odyssey* 24.400–2, where they apply to Odysseus. Line 5 is not so much quoted as adapted from *Iliad* 20.308; there the verse refers to Aeneas as the future ruler of Troy.

A reproduction of the title-page with the cento poem may be found in ASD IV-1 2. For Erasmus' later opinion of the genre of patchwork poetry see *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 625:37–626:3 / CWE 28 368. For an account of his early Greek studies see Erika Rummel *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics* (Toronto 1985) 3–19.

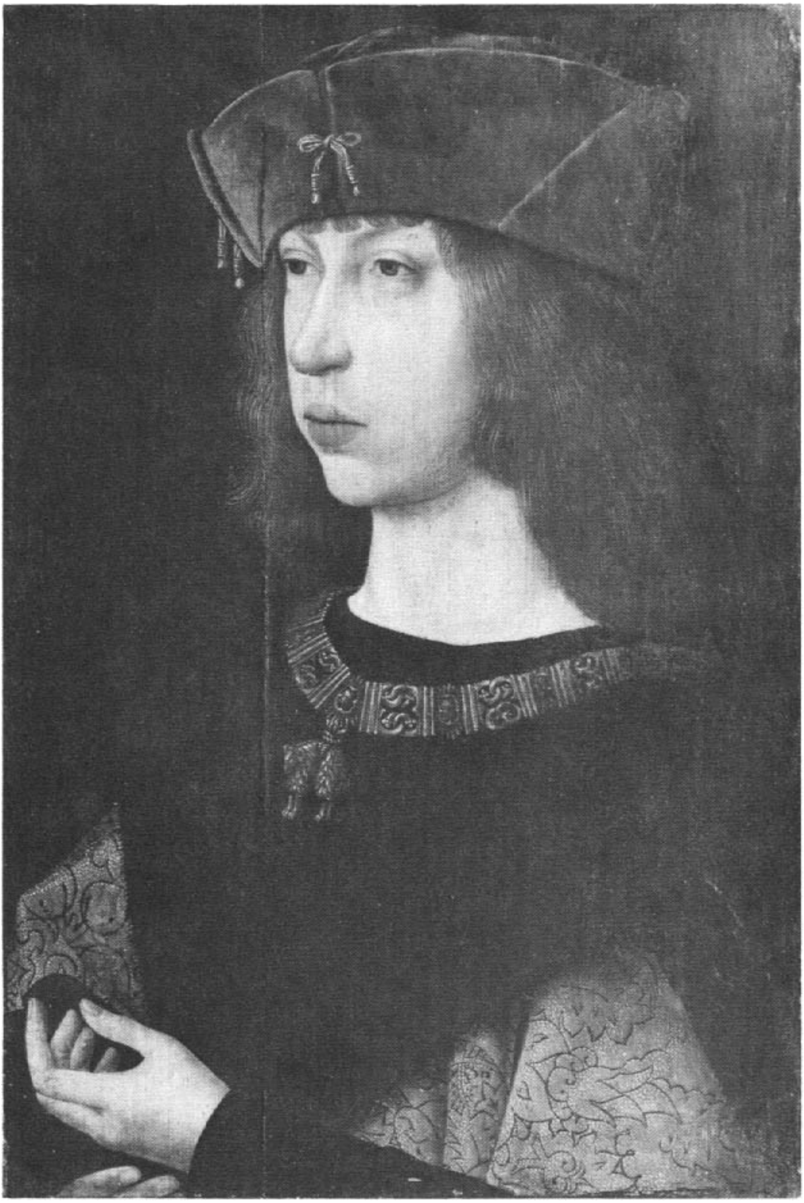
Metre: hexameter

1 Χαῖρε = *Odyssey* 1.123 and 13.229 (as welcome)
1 πάτρας] Instead of the Homeric genitive form πάτρης
1 γλυκερὸν φάος = *Odyssey* 16.23 and 17.41
1 ὄρχαμε λαῶν = *Iliad* 14.102, 17.12, 19.289, and 21.221; *Odyssey* 4.156, 291, and 316, 10.538, 15.64, 87, and 167
2 Ὦ – ἡμῖν = *Odyssey* 24.400. The copy-text prints ἡμεῖν instead of ἡμῖν.
3 Σῶς] The form in *1504* is Σωός, a post-Homeric form which does not fit the metre unless we assume synizesis.
3 ἠΰς τε μέγας τε] *Iliad* 2.653, 3.167, 11.221, and 23.664; *Odyssey* 9.508
3–4 θεοὶ – δοῖεν = *Odyssey* 24.401–2; modern editions of *Odyssey* 24.402 read μέγα instead of μάλα.
5 Καὶ – γένωνται] This line is an adaptation of *Iliad* 20.308 (Virgil adapts the Homeric line in *Aeneid* 3.98).
6 Ἄλκιμος ἔσσ' = *Odyssey* 1.302 and 3.200
6 κλέος – ἀπολεῖται = *Iliad* 2.325 (in older editions; also quoted in this form in Allen Ep 2422:75); cf *Iliad* 7.91.

64 LB IV 553–4 / R 78

Like the *Panegyricus* but without its lengthy digressions, the congratulatory poem is structured around the twin emotions of joy and sorrow: the country's grief at Philip's absence and her elation at his return. Joy is the dominant emotion, rhetorically amplified in the opening section (lines 1–41). In the middle part this renewed joy is contrasted with the grief and solicitude occasioned by his long voyage (lines 42–65). The final section (lines 66–101) returns to the motive of joy. Throughout the poem Erasmus praises Philip indirectly; the ruler's greatness is to be inferred from the exuberant joy and passionate grief of his subjects. For the rhetorical figure employed (*ratiocinatio*) see Lausberg 405; Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 345:20–347:7 / CWE 25 92–3; *Ecclesiastes* LB V 973D–974C.

The congratulatory poem is a prosopopoeia in which the country addresses her ruler. Erasmus employs the figure also in the *Panegyricus*



Philip the Handsome
Detail from a Flemish painting of the early sixteenth century
Musée du Louvre, Paris

itself; see ASD IV-1 35:292–36:335 / CWE 27 16–18 (the country's grief at the archduke's absence) and ASD IV-1 91:140–93:218 / CWE 27 73–5 (her joy at his return). See also poem 4 above.

Metre: hexameter

1 O ... memoranda dies = Statius *Silvae* 1.3.13

1–5 dies – nota] Cf Girolamo Balbi *Carmina* 163.35–6 (page 223): *Festa dies aderit meliori stamine nexa, / Quam nivea signet lactea gemma nota.*

2 Quam – Parcae] Cf Statius *Silvae* 1.2.24–5; Girolamo Balbi *Carmina* 38.1 (page 162): *Laeta dies, albo quam vellere Parca secundet.* On the white thread of life see 4.149–50n above.

3 Erithraeis ... unio conchis / pearl from Persian shell] Cf Tibullus 3.3.17; poems 4.116n and 28.4n above. For the motif of marking the return of a beloved person with a pearl see Martial 8.45.1–2 and 11.36.1–2; Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 566:4–7 / CWE 25 245; lines 9–10 below; *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 84:911–12 / CWE 27 66. The Thracian custom of marking propitious days with a white stone, unlucky days with a black one, was proverbial: see Otto 299; Erasmus *Adagia* I v 54 (LB II 203A–B / CWE 31 431:17–31); Allen Ep 17:27–9 / CWE Ep 17:28–31; *Declamatiuncula* LB IV 623B; poem 110.161–2 below.

5 nota] Horace *Odes* 1.36.10 (quoted in Erasmus *Adagia* I v 54): *Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota*; Marullus *Epigrammata* 3.17.5: *Hic dies nota meliore dignus / Leniet longas patriae querelas*

7–8 Nunc – recepto / Now, now at last – my desires] Cf *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 91:154–5 / CWE 27 73, where the personified country tells Philip that his return has 'restored me to myself.'

8 mea spes / my hope] A term of endearment; see for instance Plautus *Rudens* 247; *Stichus* 583; Allen Ep 9:43 / CWE Ep 9:43–4; cf poem 109.42 and note below.

8 votorum summa = Juvenal 5.18; poem 84.9 below; cf Pliny *Letters* 7.26.3; poem 83.8 below.

9 una – diei / one gem – festive day] Cf *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 566:8 / CWE 25 245: 'What a day thrice and even four times happy, to be marked with more than a single pearl!'

11 tot – uno] Cf 56.22–3n above.

12 Lingua deest animo / My tongue is not adequate to my feelings] For the commonplace that the speaker lacks words to celebrate the ruler's virtue see Curtius ELLM 159–60; cf Erasmus *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 86:948–86 / CWE 27 67–8.

14–21 Sospes – Philippum / My Philip – re-echo the return of Philip] The insistent repetitions are intended to evoke not only the enthusiasm of the cheering crowds lining the streets, but also the echoes that the houses return.

15 cunque – Philippo / with my Philip all things have returned] Cf *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 91:154–6 / CWE 27 73: Philip's return, his country tells him, has 'restored ... the whole world along with you. For I believe that everything is restored to me now that you are welcomed home, and I think myself saved when you are safe'; cf line 41 below.

16–21 Ecce – Philippum / Lo, the people – re-echo the return of Philip] For the 'processional topos' in panegyric literature see James D. Garrison *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Berkeley 1975) 85–8.

17 Clamat io = Virgil *Aeneid* 7.400; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.728, 4.513

18 vocalia tecta] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.14.

19 fallax ... imago] Statius *Silvae* 1.3.18

19 vocis imago] Virgil *Georgics* 4.50; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.385

20–1 Saxa – Philippum / even the mute stones – re-echo the return of Philip] Cf Luke 19:40; Erasmus *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 26:32–4 / CWE 27 9: 'such ... indescribable joy, such as could bring speech from the dumb or even (I might say) from the stones themselves.'

22–41 Quum procul – reddis / When you were far away – when you return] These lines are an amplification of Horace *Odes* 4.5.5–8, addressed to the long-absent Augustus: 'Restore the light, good leader, to your country. For when your countenance shines like spring upon your people, the day passes more agreeably, the sun shines more brilliantly.' Cf Erasmus *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 91:151–92:182 / CWE 27 73–4; also ASD IV-1 50:758–63 / CWE 27 30: 'you dispersed every cloud of gloom wherever you went, shining like the sun with kindly light and bringing fair weather everywhere amid rejoicing and delight. Just as when the early spring first breathes its warm breezes over lands still frozen with winter snow, everything immediately replaces its gloomy appearance with shining brightness, so wherever your retinue appeared ... a new kind of happiness at once spread everywhere.' Folly produces the same effect upon her followers in *Moria* ASD IV-3 71:13–72:17 / CWE 27 86; so does God's Spirit when he enters man's heart: see *Ecclesiastes* LB V 1011D–E. For the commonplace cf also 100.17–18n below.

The renewal of nature at the arrival of the prince is an ancient commonplace. Besides Virgil's fourth eclogue see for instance Calpurnius 4.107–16; poem 110.325–52 below (at the birth of Christ). A similar impetus underlies many medieval and Renaissance Easter poems in which the resurrection of Christ brings back joyous spring after the dead of winter; see 112.1–21 and notes below; James D. Garrison *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Berkeley 1975) 70–2.

22 Quum – luctu / When you were far away – with grief] Cf *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 29:106–9 / CWE 27 11: 'Take the sun from the heavens, and immediately the whole bright face of nature will be dim and desolate [*squalebit horrebitque*]. Remove the prince from his country, and all that was alive and blooming must wither and decay.'

22–3 luctu ... cultu] Note the wordplay, in which the reversal of the letters *l* and *c* parallels the reversal of the sense.

24–31 Sic ubi – campi] Cf Allen Ep 542:6–12 / CWE Ep 542:9–16.

24 tristis hyems] See 2.166–7n above.

24 hyems – auras] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 3.285.

25 Nuda ... humus] Cf 106.69n below.

25 senescit humus = Ovid *Ex Ponto* 1.4.14

25 moerent sine floribus horti] Cf 95.47 below. For the tag see Virgil *Georgics* 4.109; line 29 below.

26 sine frondibus arbos = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.690, 847; poem 95.47 below

27 sine gramine campi = 104.5 below, where see note

28 Zephyris ... spirantibus] *Anthologia Latina* 576.1: *Vere tepet picto Zephyris spirantibus aer*; the phrase also occurs in poem 2.161 above, but only in the *Varia epigrammata* of January 1507; the first edition of 13 November 1506 and the *Epigrammata* of 1518 have *Zephyris redeuntibus*.

28 tepidum spirantibus] Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.10.43; cf poem 93.151 below.

29 Leta iuventa] See 95.20n below.

30 frondibus arbos = 95.39 below, where see note

31 nitent] See 95.43n below.

32–41 Sic – reddis / Just so, as soon as – when you return] For the comparison of the prince with the sun see *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 29:106–9 and 50:758–60 / CWE 27 11 and 30 (quoted in the notes on lines 22 and 22–41 above). Cf *Institutio principis christiani* ASD IV-1 171:133–4 / CWE 27 241: 'What God is in the universe, what the sun is to the world, and what the eye is in the body, that must the prince be in the state'; *Parabolae* ASD I-5 122:371–3 / CWE 23 149:23–6. See also *Adagia* LB II 109A / CWE 31 231:150–2; cf poem 4.51n and 4.55–6 above.

32 auricomus] This adjective is used as an epithet of the sun also in Valerius Flaccus 4.92 (in older editions); Marullus *Hymni naturales* 3.1.31; Erasmus *Euripidis Hecuba* ASD I-1 247:685–6.

32 se condidit aequore Titan = 8.17 above, where see note

33 nitidi ... pulcherrima mundi] Martial 10.28.1

34 Pigra quies] Statius *Silvae* 1.6.91, 2.2.7, and 2.3.66; Martial 12.62.2

34–5 nigrantibus horrida pennis Nox] For the image of Night's dark wings cf Manilius 5.60; Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 8.3.235; poem 106.41 below. For the phrase *nigrantibus pennis* cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.535; Silius Italicus 17.248.

35 Nox operit = Virgil *Aeneid* 4.352; Statius *Thebaid* 1.455; poem 112.323 below

35 mortique simillimus ... torpor] Cf Ovid *Ex Ponto* 1.2.28; Virgil *Aeneid* 6.522.

36 purpureis Aurora ... quadrigis] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.535; poem 102.38–9 below.

36 Aurora revecta quadrigis] Cf Girolamo Balbi *Carmina* 113.56 (page 195): *Inficit Eois Aurora evecta quadrigis*.

37 lumine terras = Lucretius 2.144; Virgil *Aeneid* 4.584 and 9.459 (all with reference to Aurora)

38 Cuique ... sua species] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.252

39 blandoque ... vultu = Statius *Silvae* 1.1.31

40 lumen amabile / my lovely light] Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.17.49 (of the rising sun-god); Allen Ep 8:67; *Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum* LB V 1211B; poem 109.17 below; cf 112.8. In *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 29:105, 111 / CWE 27 11 Erasmus calls Philip the country's 'sole light' (*lucem unicam*) and 'her source of light' (*lumen suum*).

41 Cuncta – reddis] Cf line 15n above.

44 iterum / once more] As far as we know, this was Philip's first voyage through France.

44 Gallia triplex / tripartite France] Fausto Andrelini *Eclogues* 4.80; cf poem 88.5 below. The source is Caesar *Bellum Gallicum* 1.1.1.

45 soceri / father-in-law] Ferdinand II, king of Aragon and regent of Castile (1452–1516); see CEBR II 20–1.

45 latissima regna] Ovid *Heroides* 2.111

46–7 tumidum – sorori / you were visiting – sister] On 11 April 1503 Philip was welcomed to Savoy by his sister Margaret and her husband, Philibert II.

47 Arva ... regnata sorori] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.623.

48–9 rapidum – pererras / you were overcoming – peoples and cities] Erasmus is alluding to Philip's stay with his father Maximilian in Innsbruck.

49 gentesque urbesque] Horace *Odes* 1.35.10

51–4 Ut mihi – equis] Cf *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 34:277–35:285 / CWE 27 16; poem 112.287n below.

54 sol fessus] Cf Manilius 2.796; Silius Italicus 1.209.

55 Impatiens ... pietas] Cf *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 36:335–6: *impatiens ... amor.*

55 Impatiensque morae = Lucan 6.424; Juvenal 6.238

56 Latrabat] Cf Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1.5.1: *Haec ubi continuato dolore delatravi*; Quintilian 8.6.9; Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 63:772.

56 convicia mixta querelis] Cf Petrarch *Eclogues* 3.39 (in the same metrical position): *iurgia mixta querelis.*

57–65 O nimium – tangunt / O prince – foreign realms] A similar prosopopoeia is inserted in *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 35:292–36:335 / CWE 27 16–18; there too the country addresses the long-absent Philip 'angrily with affectionate reproaches.'

61 adamas in pectore / Has the heart – turned to adamant] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9.614–15; Otto 17; Erasmus *Adagia* I vii 43.

62 somniferae – Lethes / Have you somewhere – Lethe] Cf Ovid *Tristia* 4.1.47. Drinking the waters of Lethe, the river of forgetfulness in the nether world, was a proverbial expression; see Otto 943; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 53:363 / CWE 66 147; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 435:31 / CWE 25 151.

62 flumina Lethes = Statius *Silvae* 5.1.161; Martial 10.2.7

63 terrae ... altricis] Virgil *Aeneid* 3.273

64 ferreus / iron-hearted] Proverbial; see Otto 655.

65 regna extera] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.350

66 bis affinis / doubly related to you] By his marriage to Joanna (1479–1555), the daughter of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella the Catholic, queen of Castile; and through his sister Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), who had been the wife of Joanna's brother, Juan (d 1497), heir to Aragon and Castile

66 tollat in aethera] Ovid *Fasti* 4.315

67 geminis ... titulis / her twofold titles] The kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, united by Ferdinand II of Aragon through marriage with Isabella of Castile

70–1 Francia – potest / France indeed – family trees] Philip was French by his maternal ancestry.

75–9 Hoc – nostro / I do not yield – crept on my bosom] Philip was born in Bruges in 1478.

76 uteri ... latebris] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.38 (of the Trojan horse pregnant with warriors). Erasmus liked the phrase, but always used it of the womb itself; see 110.317 below; *De puero Iesu* LB V 603D; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2

450:1–2; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 503:288; *De immensa Dei misericordia* LB V 568F; *Hyperaspistes* LB X 1430D; *Ecclesiastes* LB V 968D.

76 Lucina] The Roman goddess of childbirth

78 Auribus ... hausi] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.359; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.787 and 14.309

80 Qualibus – votis] Cf Statius *Silvae* 1.2.210; poem 110.353–5 below.

87–9 Nunc – tonanti / Now let the churches – Thunderer] This is a classicizing paraphrase for 'let a solemn high mass be celebrated.'

87–8 thure ... Templa vaporentur] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 11.481; Willem Hermans *Hollandia* sig b8r: *Thure ego centum templa vaporo.*

87 thure Sabaeo] Virgil *Aeneid* 1.416–17; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 12.71; cf poem 110.43–4 below.

88 luceat ara] Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 19: *novis altaria lucent / Ignibus* and page 25: *extinctis non lucent ignibus arae*; cf Statius *Thebaid* 1.556.

89 Victima / victim] The Lamb, offered as a victim to the Father. Cf Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 5.356; and the famous Easter sequence attributed to Wipo (AH 54 7) which opens with the lines: *Victimae paschali laudes / immolent christiani.* See also 9.34 above.

92–4 Perge – filis / Proceed, Lachesis – dark strands] Cf 4.149–50n and line 2n above.

96 Eque – duobus / and mix together – earthenware jars] Homer *Iliad* 24.527–33; see also Erasmus *Adagia* I vii 63 and I viii 66; Allen Epp 2192:3–6 and 3089:8–9.

96 mortalia fata = Ovid *Heroides* 12.3

101 Humanis infesta bonis] Cf Ovid *Amores* 3.10.6.

101 Ate] The Greek goddess of mischief and infatuation; see Homer *Iliad* 9.505–12 and 19.90–131; Erasmus *Adagia* I vii 13.

65 LB I 1131–2 / ASD I-1 219–20 / R 80

William Warham (c 1452–1532) became archbishop of Canterbury in 1503; he was lord chancellor of England from 1504 to 1515 and chancellor of Oxford University from 1506 until his death. Erasmus was introduced to him by William Grocyn at Lambeth in January 1506. At that time he presented the archbishop with a manuscript (no longer extant) of his translation of Euripides' *Hecuba*, together with a dedicatory epistle (Ep 188) and this poem. Since Warham gave him only a small reward for the work, Grocyn later joked that Warham might have suspected Erasmus of dedicating the same work to several patrons. Stung by the suggestion, Erasmus dedicated the combined translations of *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulis* to Warham when they were printed (implicitly in the edition Paris: J. Bade, 13 September 1506, and explicitly in the edition Venice: Aldo Manuzio, December 1507). See Epp 188, 208, and Allen I 4:29–5:32 / CWE Ep 1341A:121–64. He subsequently became one of Erasmus' chief patrons. See CEBR III 427–31.

As Erasmus recalled in his letter to Botzheim, the verses were added at the last moment in order to fill up a blank page in the presentation copy. The argument presented in these iambic verses, written 'very much on the spur of the moment' (Allen I 5:1 / CWE Ep 1341A:130–1), had already been rehearsed in Erasmus' letter to Nicholas of Burgundy, a request for help in getting money from Anna van Borssele (Ep 144, dated 26 January [1501]).

The model for both Ep 144 and the present poem is Angelo Poliziano *Letters* book 7, letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, in *Omnia opera* sig i6^{v}: *Cycno poeta similis: uterque candidus, uterque canorus, uterque fluvios amans, uterque Phoebo gratus. Sed negatur canere cycnus nisi cum Zephyrus spirat. Quid igitur mirum si taceo tamdiu tuus poeta, cum tu tamdiu non spires meus Zephyrus?* 'A poet is like a swan: both are shining white, both are melodious, both love rivers, both are favourites of Phoebus. But it is said that a swan cannot sing except when the west wind blows. Is it any wonder then if I, your poet, have been silent for so long, seeing that you have not blown for so long as my west wind?'

Our text of the poem is based on the Paris edition of 1506, with the corrections introduced in the second edition (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, December 1507).

Metre: iambic senarius

1–2 poetas – Cygnos / the learned Virgil – swans] Virgil *Eclogues* 9.29, where Virgil not only calls poets swans, but also asserts that poets can extol their patrons to the stars. The swan metaphor is traditional; see for instance Horace *Odes* 2.20.1–16 and 4.2.25; cf poem 115.13n below.

7 Musis – sacer / Both are favourites – Phoebus] Swans were sacred to Apollo and hence to the Muses as well; cf Plato *Phaedo* 85A–B; Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 1.30.73.

10–11 canorus – premit / Both are equally melodious – old age] *Adagia* I ii 55

11 seram ... senectam] Cf 102.48 below.

12–13 qui – Favonii / those who know – is whispering] In Allen Ep 144:8–10 / CWE Ep 144:11–12 Erasmus attributes this assertion to unnamed 'naturalists,' just as he does here. In passages inserted in 1515 in *Adagia* I ii 55 and I vii 22 Erasmus wrongly points to Aelian as his authority. The zephyr is mentioned in this connection, however, only in Philostratus *Imagines* 1.9.4 – Poliziano's source in his letter to Lorenzo de' Medici.

18–20 faventum ... Favonii ... favor] Erasmus plays on the root syllable of these words.

19–25 Quod si – exaudiat] For the thought cf Martial 8.56.5–6.

22–5 Vates – exaudiat] Quoted in *Adagia* I ii 55. There the lines are introduced as follows: 'I used ... [the reference to the swansong] too, in an epigram, which I threw off long ago [that is, long before 1517/18], addressed to that universal Maecenas of studies, never to be praised enough, William, archbishop of Canterbury.'

66 Ep 497 / R 104

The epitaph for Jacques de Croy was sent to Jean Desmarez in Ep 497 (November 1516?). Erasmus introduces it as follows: 'I send you an epitaph, for I cannot refuse anything to my Desmarez. If you do not like it (and I do not think you will), remember that it was written by a theologian – a class of men unpopular, as you know, with the Muses.' The epitaph was first printed in *Auctarium selectarum aliquot epistolarum Erasmi Roterodami* (Basel: J. Froben, August 1518).

Jacques de Croy (1445–15 August 1516) was the younger son of Jean de Croy, count of Chimay, and Marie de Lalaing. After the death of Hendrik van Bergen (see headnote on poem 39 above) he was elected bishop of Cambrai on 22 October 1502; but the city revolted against him. Maximilian created him duke of Cambrai on 28 June 1510. He entered Cambrai as bishop-duke on 10 February 1511. He was buried in the church of St Géry, Cambrai; in 1544 his remains were moved to the church of St Vaast. See CEBR I 368.

Metre: iambic senarius

5–7 Evectae – dies / The day consecrated – concerns] August 15, the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary into heaven

5 Evectae ad astra] Cf 120.5 below.

67

Bernard André of Toulouse (c 1452–c 1522) came to England in 1485. A blind man, he taught at Oxford, became Prince Arthur's tutor in 1496, and served as poet laureate at the court of Henry VII. In 1510 he was appointed royal historiographer and in that capacity wrote a life of Henry VII. He also composed works on grammar and rhetoric, annotations to the classics, and an extensive commentary on St Augustine *City of God*, for which Erasmus wrote a subtly ironic liminary epigram (121). See CEBR I 52–3.

The epigram was published in André's book of hymns for the liturgical year, *Hymni christiani* (Paris: J. Bade, 7 July 1517) sig A2^{v}. There it follows commendatory epigrams by Fausto Andrelini, Thomas More (CW III-2 poem 148), and William Lily. According to the dedicatory epistle, André's collection of hymns was written after Christmas 1509, during the second year of the reign of Henry VIII (which began in April 1509). Erasmus probably wrote the poem during his brief stay with Andrea Ammonio in London in April 1517. He may well have done so at the request of Ammonio, who himself provided some commendatory verses for the *Hymni christiani*; see Gilbert Tournoy 'The Unrecorded Poetical Production of Andreas Ammonius' HL 37 (1988) 260–1. The verses were first reprinted by Nelson *Skelton* 34 n69; see also Gilbert Tournoy 'Two Poems Written by Erasmus for Bernard André' HL 27 (1978) 50–1.

Metre: elegiac distich

1–2 Maeonius – modis / The Maeonian – divinities] The Homeric and Orphic hymns

1 Maeonius vates / The Maeonian poet] Homer was said to have been a native of Maeonia (Lydia) in Asia Minor.

1 Thracius Orpheus] Virgil *Eclogues* 4.55; Statius *Silvae* 5.5.54; Seneca *Medea* 358

3–4 Bernardina – metris / The lyre of Bernard – metres] This paraphrases the book's subtitle: *Hymni christiani ... multiiugo metrorum genere compositi per totius anni circulum* 'Christian hymns ... composed in various kinds of metres for the cycle of the entire year.' In the dedicatory epistle André says he has imitated the metres of Horace and Boethius.

4 omniiugis divariare] The two medievalisms vary the classical *multiiugus* and *variare.* The epithet *omniiugus* also occurs in *De copia* ASD I-6 141:864 and Allen Ep 334:143. The verb *divariare,* which has overtones of variation through deformation, here has an ironic ring to it; see A. Blaise *Lexicon Latinitatis medii aevi* (Turnhout 1975) 318.

6 Illa – animum / Those poems – the mind] Erasmus may well have intended the line to be ironic: pagan verses are not good for the soul, but are pleasant to hear; André's hymns grate on humanist ears, but are good for the soul. Erasmus had a lingering animosity toward André, whom he accused of machinations against Thomas Linacre (during Henry VII's reign, in c 1500); see Allen Ep 2422:65–73. Erasmus' epigram for André's commentary on Augustine *City of God* may also be read as ironic; see headnote on no 121 below. Thomas More's epigram, which specifically mentions the unmetrical quality of André's verses, is certainly intended to be understood this way. However, it was a commonplace that Christian poets are superior to their pagan counterparts only in their subject-matter, not their poetic skill; see Paul Klopsch *Einführung in die Dichtungslehren des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Darmstadt 1980) 9–18; Eobanus Hessus, liminary epigram for his *Heroidum christianarum epistolae* (1514): *Cedite gentiles meritis, non arte, poetae: / Ma-*

teria vates nos meliore sumus 'Heathen poets, you must yield to us in merit, not in art: we [Christian] singers are superior in our theme'; Erasmus *Virginis et martyris comparatio* LB V 594C–E. André's own epigram *Ad lectorem* (sig A3^v) draws on this commonplace, as do the other commendatory poems in the volume.

68 and 69

Concerning Jérôme de Busleyden see headnote on no 31. Jérôme died in Bordeaux on 27 August 1517, while travelling to Spain. At his death he left a large bequest for the founding of the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain, in which Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were to be taught.

A first version of the Latin epitaph was composed around November 1517 and enclosed with Ep 699 to Jérôme's oldest brother, Gilles de Busleyden. In the same letter Erasmus promised to produce other epitaphs as soon as he knew whether Gilles liked this one. In Ep 804 (c 26 March 1518) he sent a formal letter of condolence to Gilles, enclosing a Greek epitaph (68) and a revised version of the Latin one; this is the version reprinted in our text of no 69. A transcript of the two epitaphs was also enclosed in Ep 805 to Jan Robbyns, dean of Mechelen. In Epp 804 and 805 Erasmus modestly says that the poems do justice neither to Jérôme's merits nor to his own good intentions. Ep 804 and the two epitaphs were first published in *Auctarium selectarum aliquot epistolarum Erasmi Roterodami* (Basel: J. Froben, August 1518).

68 Ep 804 / R 106

Although this epitaph was specifically written to interpret the portrait of Jérôme de Busleyden affixed near his tombstone in St Rombaut's at Mechelen, it was apparently not used for that purpose. Contemporary descriptions of the funeral mention only one epitaph and do not remark that it was in Greek; see De Vocht *Busleyden* 99–100. F. Sweertius *Monumenta sepulcralia et inscriptiones publicae privataeque ducatus Brabantiae* (Antwerp: G. Beller 1613) 254–5 prints the Latin epitaph only, but with a large portion of the heading of no 68, even though this heading does not fit the Latin epitaph. The portrait and the accompanying epitaph were most probably destroyed in the iconoclastic riots of 1580; cf J. Laenen *Histoire de l'Eglise Métropolitaine de Saint-Rombaut à Malines* 2 vols (Mechelen 1919–20) I 258 and II 126–7.

Metre: iambic trimeter

Heading consiliarii Regis Catholici / councillor to the Catholic King] Charles I of Spain (the future emperor Charles V) had appointed Jérôme to the royal council on 24 June 1517.

4 **Ἀρετῶν ἁπασῶν** ... **χορόν**] Cf Cicero *De officiis* 3.33.116: *virtutum choro; Tusculan Disputations* 5.5.13: *chorus virtutum;* Erasmus' paraphrase on Rom 6:16 (LB VII 796D): *omnium virtutum chorum.*

8 **Καὶ** – **μόνος**] Cf 56.22–3n above.

69 Epp 699 and 804 / R 107

Metre: trochaic tetrameter catalectic

1 proximum primo decus / all but the highest ornament] The highest ornament of the Busleyden family was Jérôme's older brother, François de Busleyden, since he attained the rank of archbishop of Besançon and, just before his death in 1502, of cardinal.

3–4 Literae – flagitant] Cf 62.6–12 above and 71.1–7 below.

5 Nescit – finiit / Anyone – perishing] This line was added in the revised version of the epitaph sent with Ep 804. The idea that fame provides immortality is common in the epitaphs of late antiquity: see Lattimore *Themes* 241–6; cf poem 74.3–4 below.

70 LB I 1226 / R 108

On Bruno Amerbach see the note on lines 3–4 of Froben's letter to the reader at the head of the *Epigrammata* of 1518, page 407 above. Bruno died of the plague on 22 October 1519, at the age of thirty-four; his wife Anna, aged twenty-one, had died in mid-May. The epitaph was first printed in the volume containing *De recta pronuntiatione* and *Ciceronianus* (Basel: Froben, March 1528) together with nos 71, 72, 73, and 74. An autograph draft of the poem, with several variant readings, is kept at the University Library in Basel (A.N.III.15, f 95^r).

Metre: elegiac distich

1 Hic ... ante diem = 95.89 below

1 ante diem ... ereptus] Allen Ep 393:54. In the manuscript the phrase reads: *ante diem ... praereptus;* for this tautological expression cf Pseudo-Aurelius Victor *De viris illustribus* 5.5, borrowed in Allen Ep 1706:3: *immatura morte praereptum;* Erasmus *Adagia* LB II 26D: *primo aetatis flore praereptum.*

1 ante diem / before his time = Virgil *Aeneid* 4.620, 697; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.148 and 6.675; cf poem 99.10 and 11 below. Erasmus argues against the notion that one dies 'before one's time' in *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2

449:14–450:14 / CWE 25 160; cf Seneca *Ad Marciam de consolatione* 21.1–7; poem 71.9–13 below.

1 fatis ... iniquis = Virgil *Aeneid* 3.17 and 10.380; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.27; *Tristia* 5.6.23

1 fatis ereptus] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.738; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.358 (same metrical position, but different meaning); cf Erasmus *Julius exclusus* in Ferguson *Opuscula* 74:203–4; Allen Ep 1347:225.

4 Turtur – sociae] Cf 13.8n above.

5 trilingues / trilingual] Bruno Amerbach knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

6 Cana ... fides] Virgil *Aeneid* 1.292

71 Ep 1646 / R 113

This epitaph for Maarten van Dorp (1485–31 May 1525) was sent with Ep 1646 (8 November 1525) to Jan of Heemstede at the Carthusian convent at Louvain. Erasmus says that he wrote it 'extemporaneously but not without care,' adding that he held Dorp's memory sacred and would do everything in his power to keep it alive forever. The epitaph was subsequently inscribed on Dorp's tomb. It was first printed in *De recta pronuntiatione*, published together with *Ciceronianus* (Basel: Froben, March 1528). The monument with Erasmus' epitaph disappeared after the charterhouse was suppressed in 1783; see De Vocht MHL 347.

Maarten van Dorp was born at Naaldwijk, north-west of Rotterdam. He received his MA from Louvain in 1504 and a doctorate in theology in 1515. Shortly thereafter he became president of the College of the Holy Ghost and was appointed full professor at Louvain. In 1523 he was rector of the university. His interests in theology and philosophy were balanced with an enthusiasm for humanistic studies which, despite his disagreements with Erasmus, he never forsook. In September 1514 he began a famous exchange of letters with Erasmus about the *Praise of Folly* and the ongoing edition of the Greek New Testament. See CEBR I 398–404.

Metre: iambic senarius

1–7 Martinus – requirit] Cf 62.6–12 and 69.3–4 above.

4 Tristes Camoenae] Juvenal 7.2

9–14 Itan' – Dorpio] Cf Allen Ep 1646:5–9.

9 ante diem] See 70.1n above.

12 Non periit ille / He has not perished] For the commonplace see 62.17n above.

14 gratulandum est / we should congratulate] Cf 72.3 below. For the commonplace that we should rejoice when a Christian has gone to heaven see also

Oratio funebris LB VIII 560A / CWE 29 29; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 448:4–9 and 453:15–454:5 / CWE 25 159 and 162–3; Allen Ep 1027:6–8 / CWE Ep 1027:6–8, at Colet's death.

15–16 mentis hospitium ... Corpusculum / what little – pious mind] Cf *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 559B / CWE 29 28: 'Her body [*corpusculum*], which had been a dwelling [*habitaculum*] not unworthy of her most saintly soul'; *De immensa Dei misericordia* LB V 568F: *corpusculum ..., animi nostri ... domicilium* 'this body, the dwelling-place of our soul.' For the image of the body as an inn for the soul, in which it stays for a while before travelling on, cf Cicero *De senectute* 23.84 (life as an inn, not a home). Cf also 114.30n below.

16–17 Corpusculum – fide / what little – giving it back] 1 Cor 15:52

16 Corpusculum] The diminutive is pejorative here, expressing contempt for man's mortal clay. See for example Juvenal 10.172–3; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 23.6 and 24.16; *Ad Helviam de consolatione* 11.7; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 75:985; *Psalmi* 4 ASD V-2 274:612–13; *De concordia* ASD V-3 280:800–1; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 551:486; *De praeparatione* ASD V-1 344:100–1. Erasmus often uses the word of his own frail body; see Maria Cytowska 'Erasme et son petit corps' *Eos* 62 (1974) 129–38. In medieval usage *corpusculum* also meant simply 'corpse'; see J.W. Fuchs, O. Weijers, and M. Gumbert *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae medii aevi* II (Leiden 1981) C 1226:45–9.

72 R 114

This epitaph was printed in the volume containing *De recta pronuntiatione* and *Ciceronianus* (Basel: Froben, March 1528). Since it immediately follows two epitaphs for Maarten van Dorp written by Jacob Volkaerd, it is plain that the present epitaph *in Iacobum* must be intended for Volkaerd. It was not reprinted in the subsequent authorized editions, nor was it included in the Basel edition of Erasmus' collected works; cf Allen Ep 2261 headnote.

Jacob Volkaerd was born in Geertruidenberg, north of Breda. It is possible that he earned his MA at Louvain in 1519. In the following years he worked as a tutor to the sons of patrician families in The Hague. From October 1522 he was in Louvain, teaching Greek and Latin privately. Janus Secundus, his student and friend, wrote an elegy and an epitaph on his premature death; see *Funera* 7 and 8. The date of Volkaerd's death is unknown. He was reported to be seriously ill in autumn 1526; see De Vocht MHL 505–6; CEBR III 417.

Metre: iambic senarius

3 gratulamur / we ... are now joyful] See 71.14n above.

73 Ep 1900 / R 116

Johann Froben died on 26 October 1527; for his life see the headnote on his letter to the reader in the *Epigrammata* of 1518, pages 406–7 above. The two epitaphs for him, nos 73 and 74, were appended to Erasmus' *Deploratio mortis Ioannis Frobenii* (Ep 1900) and were first published in the volume containing *De recta pronuntiatione* and *Ciceronianus* (Basel: Froben, March 1528). They were engraved on Froben's tombstone in St Peter's Church in Basel, along with an epitaph in Hebrew. See Alfred Hartmann *Basilea Latina* (Basel 1931) 199–200.

Metre: elegiac distich

1 Arida ... ossa / the dry bones] Ezek 37:4; cf 9.15n above.
1 tegit – ossa] Cf 52.5 above, 78.1, 83.1, 84.1, and 85.1 below.
3 Moribus ... niveis] Cf 60.8 and 62.18 above.
5 veterum monumenta sophorum] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 3.102.
7–8 Huic – erit] Cf 62.19–20 above.
8 fama perhennis erit = Ovid *Amores* 1.10.62

74 Ep 1900 / R 117

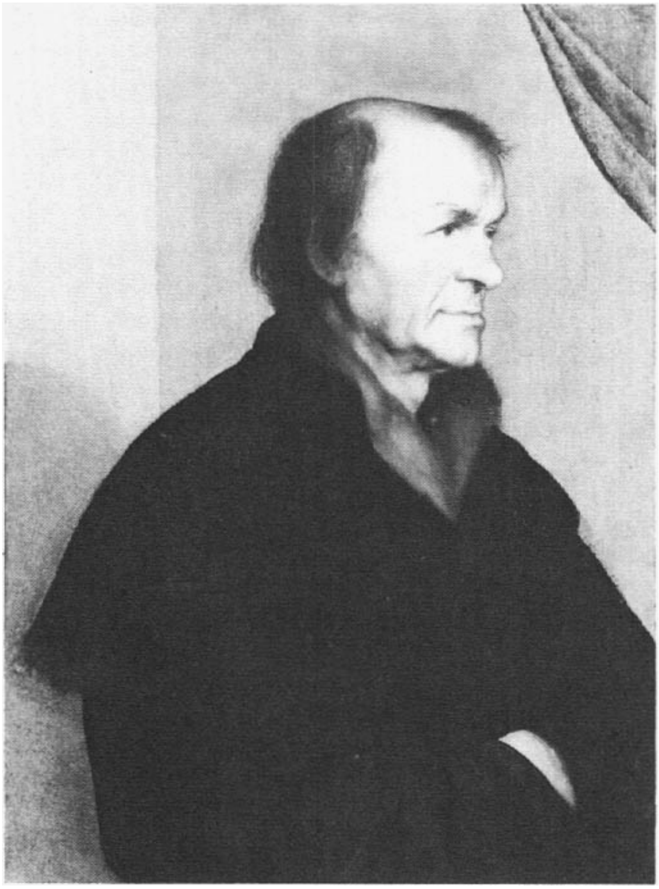
Metre: trochaic tetrameter catalectic

3–4 Μὴ νεκρὸν – λειψάνοις / Do not mourn – left behind him] For the commonplace see 69.5n.

75 Ep 1280 / R 120

Philippe Haneton, seigneur of Lindt, was appointed secretary to the Grand Council at Mechelen in 1494. From 1500 to 1522 he served as first secretary and *audiencier* (the chief official of the court who called up and heard cases in the proper order). He became treasurer of the Golden Fleece in 1520. See CEBR II 163. It is known that he died on 18 April, but the year of his death is uncertain, some documents giving 1522, others 1528. Allen supports 1522 in his headnote on Ep 1280; Reedijk in his headnote on the epitaph (pages 341–2) more persuasively argues for 1528. CWE will publish Ep 1280 in volume 14, among the letters of 1528.

Erasmus wrote the epitaph at the request of Maarten Davidts, a canon of St Gudule's in Brussels, where Haneton was buried (cf CWE Ep 532:35n). It was sent to Davidts in Ep 1280. In Ep 2571 (dated 19



Johann Froben
Portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger, c 1522–3
Hampton Court, Her Majesty the Queen
Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen

November 1531) Davidts thanks Erasmus for it, in case he had not done so earlier. This circumstance lends weight to Reedijk's argument that the poem must have been composed in 1528 rather than 1522.

The epitaph was first published in *Opus epistolarum* (Basel: Froben 1529).

Metre: iambic senarius

76 R 118

This is a commendatory poem for Joachim van Ringelberg's *Institutiones astronomicae* (Basel: Valentinus Curio, 31 October 1528). Ringelberg of Antwerp (c 1499–after 1 January 1531) studied at the University of Louvain and very probably also at the Collegium Trilingue. In 1527–8 he travelled to Germany, finally meeting Erasmus in Basel; see Allen Epp 2058:4–7 and 2079:40. See CEBR III 162.

Metre: hexameter

1 primordia ... mundi = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.67 (where the meaning is 'the origins of the universe'). For the meaning 'rudiments of the universe' cf Quintilian 1.9.1 and 12.10.3.

2–4 aethereos – secet / their orbits – dome of the heavens] The cosmological view presented in Ringelberg's book is the traditional, Ptolemaic one. The universe is pictured as a hollow globe with the earth at the centre and a series of spheres rotating around it: the spheres of the moon, Mercury, Venus, sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the fixed stars. For this concept see also 49.3n above and 110.366 below.

2 orbibus orbes = Virgil *Aeneid* 5.584 and 8.448 (different sense)

6 facilem – callem / has opened up – ascent] Cf Seneca *Hercules furens* 437: *Non est ad astra mollis e terris via* 'the path from the earth to the stars is not an easy one'; cf Otto 161. Ringelberg's book will make the ascent to the stars easy (for students of astronomy, not necessarily for pursuers of fame).

7–8 Surrige – astris / All you who creep – in the stars] Erasmus draws on the ancient idea that the contemplation of the harmony of the stars leads us to an understanding of eternal truth and God; see for example Plato *Timaeus* 47A–C; *Republic* 528E–530C; Pseudo-Plato *Epinomis* 990A–991E; Ovid *Fasti* 1.297–308; cf Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 2. In poem 94.13–14 below Erasmus does, to be sure, mention astronomy as one of man's vain pursuits; but there he means astronomy studied for its own sake, not as the path to heaven and God. A few lines later in the same moral satire Erasmus speaks of the necessity to leave earthbound things behind and contemplate our true fatherland, the starry heavens; see 94.19–22, amplified in 94.51–74.

7 patriam / your homeland] See 94.20n below.

8 Astra – astris] Cf the first line of Walther 1618: *Astra cave spernas, vitam qui ducis ab astris; / Astra regunt homines, sed regit astra Deus.*
8 levis repete astra] Cf 94.63 below.
8 genus qui ducis ab astris] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.834.

77 R 119

This epigram, rediscovered by Reedijk, was first printed in an edition of Joachim van Ringelberg's collected works: *Institutiones astronomicae. Liber de tempore. Experimenta. Geomanteia. Quaedam de urina non visa. Liber de ratione studii* (Paris: Christian Wechel 1530). It occurs at the end of *Liber de tempore* sig D2^v, where, however, there is no diagram in sight. The earlier edition of the *Institutiones* also does not contain the sort of astronomical diagram lauded here. Reedijk surmises that this may have been the reason why Erasmus' epigram was not immediately used in the Basel edition of 1528.

Metre: iambic senarius

78 Ep 2093 / R 121

Nos 78 and 79, the epitaphs for Nicolaas Uutenhove, occur at the end of Ep 2093 (1 February 1529). This letter is addressed to Uutenhove's son, Karel, who lived at Erasmus' house in Basel from July 1528 to February 1529; see CEBR III 362–3. The letter with the epitaphs was published as the preface to Erasmus' edition of *Aliquot opuscula divi Chrysostomi Graeca* (Basel: Froben 1529).

Nicolaas Uutenhove of Ghent, lord of Marckeghem, was a member of the Council of Flanders from at least 1498 and its president from 1515. He died on 11 February 1527. Erasmus praises him highly in Allen Ep 2093, especially lines 29–40. See CEBR III 363.

Metre: hendecasyllable

1 Hoc saxo tegitur] Cf 73.1n above.
5 turba liberorum / flock of his children] Nicolaas was survived by one son, Karel, and two daughters; he was also foster-father of the two sons of his brother Antoon (d 1524).
10 Haeret mentibus omnium] Cicero *In Catilinam* 4.22
10–11 nec ulla – vetustas] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.872.

79 Ep 2093 / R 122

See headnote on no 78 above. For the dialogue form see headnote on no 60.

Metre: iambic trimeter

80 Ep 2202 / R 125

When Erasmus was about to depart from Basel on 13 April 1529, he left behind a token of friendship for the new tenants of his house, Nicolaus and Justina Episcopius (Bischoff). The gift consisted of a rooster, a hen, and their young, for that was all that was left of Erasmus' belongings in Basel. The gesture was frustrated, however, when Erasmus' housekeeper Margaret gave the birds to someone else; see Ep 2202. The newly-weds at least received the epigram, for which they were deeply grateful. The verses were first published as part of Ep 2202 in *Opus epistolarum* (Basel: Froben 1529).

Nicolaus Episcopius (1501–64), a native of Rittershoffen in Lower Alsace, became a citizen of Basel in 1520. In the summer of 1529 he married Johann Froben's daughter, Justina (1512–64), and entered the Froben firm. See CEBR I 437–8 (Nicolaus) and II 64 (Justina Froben).

Metre: hexameter

1–2 Gallus – foetus] The word *Gallus* means among other things 'rooster' and 'Frenchman.' For the punning cf *Colloquia* ASD I-3 381:205–6 and 137:405–9. As an Alsatian Nicolaus could be considered French.

2 coniunx – foetus / whose consort – offspring] For the image cf Matt 23:37.

81 Ep 2196 / R 123

In a letter to Willibald Pirckheimer of Nürnberg (Ep 2196, dated 15 July 1529) Erasmus inserted two epigrams. The first (81) had been composed at his departure from Basel on 13 April 1529; the second one (82), written some time later at Freiburg, was prompted by the dismal weather there. The letter with the two epigrams was first printed in *Opus epistolarum* (Basel: Froben 1529). Concerning Erasmus' motives for leaving Basel, now a Protestant city, to seek refuge in Freiburg see Ep 2158; Cornelis Reedijk 'Erasmus' Final Modesty' *Actes du congrès Erasme* (Amsterdam 1971) 180–1.

Christian Wurstisen, after quoting the epigram, translates it as follows in his *Baszler Chronik* (Basel: S. Henricpetri 1580) 574–5:

> Nun bhüt dich Gott, fürgliebte Statt,
> Die mich so lang bherbergen that:
> Ich wünsch dir Heil, und das kein Gast
> Dir mehr bring dann Erasmus Last.

Metre: elegiac distich

1–2 Iam – hospitium] Cf Allen Epp 2151:6–8 and 2196:21–31.

1–2 multis Annis / many years] Seven and a half years, from November 1521 to April 1529; cf Allen Ep 2196:22–4.

4 Hospes – adveniat / may no guest – at his departure] The phrase 'at his departure,' which does not actually occur in the Latin text, is easily supplied from the paragraph that precedes the epigram in Ep 2196. Christian Wurstisen, in the translation quoted above, interprets the verse to mean: 'may no guest ever bring you [Basel] more trouble than Erasmus did.' This interpretation, however, is not borne out by the context, for in introducing these verses Erasmus comments: 'if I am not mistaken, I was not a burdensome or unwelcome guest' in the city. And afterwards he adds: 'Certainly, I think, there is no one in this city who has any reason to complain about me.'

82 Ep 2196 / R 124

For the background see headnote on no 81 above. Erasmus also had occasion to write about the heavy rains earlier, in 1515 (see no 59). In those days, however, he could still make light of the weather. Now that the religious upheavals of the age have once more uprooted him and driven him from Basel, the rains seem to him a sign of heaven's grief.

Metre: elegiac distich

1 ingens ... nymbus] Virgil *Aeneid* 9.110–11

1 ab aethere nymbus] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.269

2 Noctes atque dies = Lucretius 2.12; Virgil *Aeneid* 6.127; poem 112.277 below; cf 112.283n.

2 sine fine ruit] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.771

3 sua crimina flere = Alcuin *Carmina* 90.6.3

4 solvitur in lacrymas = Bede *Vita S. Cuthberti* 2 and 14 (PL 94 577C and 583B); cf Lucan 8.106–7.

83 R 126

Nos 83, 84, and 85 were sent along with Ep 2260 (dated 28 January 1530) to Erasmus' friend Pieter Gillis of Antwerp (c 1486–1533). Pieter married Cornelia Sandrien in July 1514. Erasmus marked that occasion with an epithalamium; see the headnote on no 132 below. Cornelia died at about age thirty, around August 1526. After her death Pieter married Maria Denys, a widow, who probably died in the winter of 1529–30. On Pieter Gillis see CEBR II 99–101; on Cornelia Sandrien see CEBR III 193; on Maria Denys see CEBR I 388.

The epitaphs for Pieter's wives were printed only once, at the end of Erasmus' translation of Xenophon *Hieron sive tyrannus* (Basel: Froben 1530) sig F3. Nos 83 and 84 bear some similarities in structure and language to no 12 above, also cast in the first person.

Metre: iambic senarius

1 hoc sub lapide] Cf 73.1n above.
1 dormio] Cf Lattimore *Themes* 164–5 and 306–10; poem 52.13 above (mock epitaph).
3–4 Cui – dedi / on whom – name of father] Cf 51.7–8 above and 84.3–4 below. According to CEBR III 193 Cornelia bore Pieter nine children, not eight.
4–8 Domum – fuit / To take care – my desires] Cf 12.6n above.
4 Domum atque dulces liberos] Horace *Epodes* 2.40; cf poem 85.6 below.
8 summa votorum] See 64.8n above.
9–10 mors – pectora] Cf 10.5–16n above.
13–14 umbris ... fumus / shadows ... smoke] Traditional images for the brevity of life and the vanity of things human; see Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 7.12.60: *fumus et umbra sumus*; Walther 32114a; Erasmus *Enchiridion* LB V 57E / CWE 66 115; *Adagia* LB II 501B–C / CWE 33 157–8; *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 216:701. For *umbra* see for instance Job 8:9 and 14:2; Pss 102:11 and 144:4; Horace *Odes* 4:7.16. For *fumus* see for example Ps 102:3; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 52:336–7 / CWE 66 146; and poem 95.33n below. Cf also 85.7n and 108.9n.

84 R 127

For the background see headnote on no 83.

Metre: elegiac distich

1 condita petra] Cf 73.1n above.
1–2 petra, Petro] The wordplay derives from Matt 16:18 and thence made its way also into medieval epitaphs. The first distich of an epitaph for Pierre

d'Ailly (d 1425) in the cathedral of Cambrai, for example, ran as follows: *Mors rapuit Petrum, petram subiit putre corpus, / Sed petram Christum spiritus ipse petit.* See A. Le Glay *Recherches sur l'église métropolitaine de Cambrai* (Paris 1825) 60 and *Gallia christiana* ed Dionysius Sammarthanus, revised by Paul Piolin, III (Paris 1876) col 49.

3–4 huic – Donavi] Cf 51.7–8 and 83.3–4n above.
4 fruitura diu] Cf 85.5 below.
5 sextum ... claudere lustrum] Cf Horace *Odes* 2.4.23–4.
6 Filum – mei] Cf 2.29–35n above.
7 Cura – pignora] Cf 12.6n above.
9 votorum summa = 64.8, where see note

85 R 128

For the background see headnote on no 83.

Metre: iambic senarius

1 Hic – habet] Cf 73.1n above.
5 diu frui] Cf 84.4 above.
6 dulcibus ... liberis] See 83.4n above.
7 vapor / mist] James 4:14; cf 83.13–14n above, 95.29, 95.101n, and 108.9n below.

86 R 129

On Antonius Clava of Bruges, the friend of Pieter Gillis and Robert de Keysere, see the headnote on no 32 above. He died on 31 May 1529. Erasmus' epitaph for him may have been sent, together with nos 83, 84, and 85, to Pieter Gillis in Ep 2260. At any rate it was first printed with them at the end of Erasmus' translation of Xenophon's *Hieron sive tyrannus* (Basel: Froben 1530) sigs F3^v–F4^r. For the dialogue form of the epitaph see the headnote on no 60 above.

Metre: iambic senarius

4 dulce praesidium ac decus] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.1.2; poem 7.3n above.
5–7 Vixi – parum diu / I lived long enough – too short for learning] Cf *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 674: 9–11 / CWE 28 421 (of François Deloynes): 'Death recently removed him from this earth – a death timely enough for him, for he died an old man, but premature for the studies which this excellent person was ... born to advance and adorn.'

87 R 130

This 'Dialogue between a scholar and a bookseller' was first printed on the title-page of Simon Grynaeus' edition of *Aristotelis opera* (Basel: J. Bebel, 13 May 1531), to which Erasmus also contributed the preface (Ep 2432). From Allen Ep 2433:28–33 it appears that the epigram, despite its attribution to Erasmus on the title-page, was at least in part composed by Grynaeus. In that letter Grynaeus discusses some readings in the epigram, speaking of them as 'our limping iambs' (*scazontibus nostris*); Erasmus responds in Allen Ep 2434:34–7.

Simon Grynaeus (c 1494–1541) of Veringendorf in Swabia became professor of Greek at Heidelberg in 1524. In May 1529 he was appointed professor of Greek at Basel. There he became personally acquainted with Erasmus. See CEBR II 142–6.

Metre: iambic trimeter

2 Χρυσοῦ ῥέεθρα / Streams of gold] Cf Cicero *Academica* 2.38.119: *flumen orationis aureum fundens Aristoteles* 'Aristotle, pouring forth a golden stream of eloquence.' For the image see also Allen Epp 149:20, 396:358, and 1604:6 / CWE Epp 149:24, 396:384; *De copia* ASD I-6 26:4 / CWE 24 295:7–9; *Vita Hieronymi* in Ferguson *Opuscula* 179:1221–2 / CWE 61 53; *Ratio* LB V 82A. Grynaeus and Erasmus discuss the Greek phrase in Allen Epp 2433:32–3 and 2434:34–7.
3 Σταγειρίτην / the Stagirite] Aristotle was born in the town of Stagira.
6 ἀληθέως] The copy-text reads ἀληθῶς, a possible form that does not fit the metre.
6 Ἀμαλθείας κέρας / a horn of plenty] Literally 'Amalthea's horn.' For the story and its proverbial application see *Adagia* I vi 2.
9 Βεβέλλιος / Bebel] The Basel printer Johann Bebel; see CEBR I 112–13.
11 τι χρυσοῦ – προφερέστερον / far better than gold or precious stones] The comparison is proverbial; see 2.118–19n above.

88 LB V 1335–8 / R 131

In Allen Ep 50:3–7 / CWE Ep 50:4–8, written at Paris in January 1497, Erasmus tells his prior at Steyn, Claes Warnerszoon (Nicolaus Wernerus): 'Lately I fell into a quartan fever, but have recovered health and strength, not by a physician's help (though I had recourse to one) but by the aid of Ste Geneviève alone, the famous virgin, whose bones, preserved by the canons regular, daily radiate miracles and are revered: nothing is more worthy of her, or has done me more good.' On 12 April 1500, once more suffering from the fever, he again alludes to the incident (Allen Ep 124:13–17 / CWE Ep 124:15–19), telling his friend Jacob Batt: 'I do not altogether despair, for I trust in Ste Geneviève, whose ready help I have more than once enjoyed; particularly since I have obtained the services of Wilhelm Cop, a physician who is not merely highly skilled in his profession but friendly and loyal and, a most uncommon thing, devoted to the Muses.' From lines 91–9 of the present poem it appears that Cop had treated Erasmus also during the earlier attack of the fever, in the winter of 1496–7. Erasmus held him in high esteem and dedicated the 'Poem on the troubles of old age' to him; see the headnote on no 2 above.

According to line 73, Erasmus made a vow during that first attack in the winter of 1496–7 to sing Ste Geneviève's praises if she would help him recover. The votive poem to her was, however, not published until 1532, in a separate booklet entitled *Des. Erasmi Roterodami divae Genovefae praesidio a quartana febre liberati, carmen votivum, nunquam antehac excusum* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Io. Emmeus 1532). Renaudet *Préréforme* 279 and Roland H. Bainton *Erasmus of Christendom* (New York 1969) 256 assume that Erasmus wrote the poem in early 1497. This assumption, however, is contradicted by internal evidence. In lines 91–7 Erasmus says that his physician Cop is now an old man at King Francis' court; and in lines 110–11 he expresses regret that so many years have elapsed between his miraculous cure and the fulfilment of his vow.

Why Erasmus waited so long to compose the poem has been a matter of much conjecture. No doubt he was at first simply too busy and so put off the writing to some time of leisure that never seemed to come. What then prompted him to return to his old vow? Reedijk thinks that a coincidence of events might have jogged his memory. Both in January 1497 and in January 1531 the Seine flooded its banks. As was the custom whenever disaster struck Paris, the shrine of Ste Geneviève was carried in solemn procession to the cathedral of Notre Dame; see Allen Ep 50:8–14 / CWE Ep 50:10–16; *Adagia* IV ix 56. It is thus indeed possible that the event in January 1531 might have reminded Erasmus of the similar event in 1497 and hence of his vow. Nicolaas van der Blom agrees in essence with this theory. From a letter by Erasmus to Cop (written in June 1531 but not extant) and other clues he infers that it may well have been Cop who in an earlier letter, also lost, first told Erasmus about the flooding and the solemn procession and gently reminded his friend about the votive poem he had promised to write so long ago. If so, the poem would have been written in about May 1531 and sent with the now-lost letter to

Cop in June. See Nicolaas van der Blom '"Remitte exemplar epistole ad Copum": On Allen, Epistle 2509' ERSY 5 (1985) 52–64, especially 62–3; 'Erasmus' "Carmen Votivum" ter ere van Ste-Geneviève' *Hermeneus* 58 (1986) 191–8 (with an iambic verse translation of the poem into Dutch), and 'Rotterdam and Erasmus. Some Remarks' in *Erasmus of Rotterdam: The Man and the Scholar* ed J. Sperna Weiland and W.Th.M. Frijhoff (Leiden 1988) 251 n2.

Concerning Erasmus' sincerity in writing a votive poem to a saint there has likewise been a good deal of debate. Some see Erasmus – the Erasmus of the *Moria* and *Colloquia* – as a liberal theologian who had little use for the traditional veneration of the saints. Others regard him as one who wanted to curb the excesses of popular belief and redirect Christianity back toward Christ. The latter view is surely correct; see for example *Enchiridion* LB V 26E–27A and 31C–33E / CWE 66 63–4 and 71–5; *Psalmi* 85 ASD V-3 358:782–95; *Apologia contra Stunicam* LB IX 366D–E and 368B; Allen Ep 2037:306–16. It should be kept in mind that Erasmus also wrote a votive poem to Our Lady of Walsingham (51) in 1512. And after suffering a severe back injury in 1514 he made a vow to St Paul to complete a commentary on the Epistle to the Romans if he should recover; see Allen Ep 301:18–20 / CWE Ep 301:20–2 and CWE 42 introduction xiii–xiv.

In winter–spring 1531 – the very time he appears to have composed the present poem – Erasmus was being questioned closely regarding his attitude toward the saints. He defends his views in Allen Epp 2443:196–249 (dated 7 March 1531) and 2465:310–36 (dated 27 March 1531); see also *Psalmi* 33 ASD V-3 118:886–120:941 and 123:88–124:92 (published in March 1531). The saints, he asserts, may be justly praised and revered as long as the praise redounds to the greater glory of God. They must not, however, be allowed to usurp the place of Christ. Accordingly we may see this votive poem as Erasmus' way of demonstrating how a Christian may revere a saint without falling into superstition and deviating from a Christocentric theology. On this question see particularly lines 100–8.

On the poem see also: Jean-Claude Margolin 'Paris Through a Gothic Window at the End of the Fifteenth Century: A Poem of Erasmus in Honor of St. Geneviève' *Res Publica Litterarum* 1 (1978) 207–20, repr as article 2 in his *Erasme dans son miroir et dans son sillage* (London 1987); Cornelis Reedijk 'Erasmus' Final Modesty' in *Actes du Congrès Erasme* (Amsterdam 1971) 181–2; and Clarence H. Miller 'Erasmus's Poem to St. Genevieve: Text, Translation, and Commentary' in *Miscellanea Moreana:*

Essays for Germain Marc'hadour (= *Moreana* 100 vol 26) ed C.M. Murphy, H. Gibaud, and M.A. di Cesare (Binghamton 1989) 481–515. C.H. Miller's article also provides the text of a French translation of the poem by Paschal Robin (1586) as well as the complete text (with English translation) of an anonymous scholion on lines 66–7 arguing that saints are more powerful in heaven than on earth. This note was first printed in *Des. Erasmi Roterod. Carmen D. Genovefae sacrum ... Scholion ad idem Erasmi carmen de ss. precibus* (Paris: apud viduam Guil. Morelii 1566) sigs b2^{v}–b4^{v}.

Metre: hexameter

1 pii vatis] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.662

2 aspirans / Look with favour] The verb *aspiro* is used of poetic inspiration in Virgil *Aeneid* 9.525; *Ciris* 99; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.3; cf poem 93.217 below. The idea that God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, or a saint should be the muse of Christian poets is a commonplace in Christian poetry since Iuvencus (see line 3n below). See Curtius ELLM 235–7; Paul Klopsch *Einführung in die Dichtungslehren des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Darmstadt 1980) 21–30. The Christian poets of the Renaissance continued this tradition; see for instance Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 19 and *Parthenice Mariana* 1.6–28; Cornelis Gerard *Marias* prologue f 8^{r} (see 93.122–4n below); see also poems 2.211–30n, 2.231, and 36.5–6 above, 112.220–7 below; cf 110.1–12n. In *Virginis et martyris comparatio* LB V 594C–E Erasmus says that Christian poets and orators who praise martyrs and virgins are superior to their pagan counterparts because the Christians are inspired by the Holy Spirit. He also discusses the question at some length in *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 301:283–303:340.

2 sterilem ... venam / depleted poetic vein] For the modesty formula cf Ovid *Tristia* 3.14.34; *Ex Ponto* 2.5.21; Curtius ELLM 83 and 411; poem 93.199n below. For the image of the poetic vein see 56.15n above. The epithet *sterilem* is also intended to remind the reader of the poet's old age, as N. van der Blom points out in *Hermeneus* 58 (1986) 192.

3 ut – vires / lend him – suitable poem] Cf 112.226–7 below, addressing his muse, Christ. The model, both here and there, is Iuvencus preface 25–7: *sanctificus adsit mihi carminis auctor / Spiritus ... / ... ut Christo digna loquamur* 'let the sanctifying Spirit be present as the author of my poem, so that I may sing of Christ in suitable words.'

4 Protectrix / protectress] Ste Geneviève is the patron saint of Paris and hence, by extension, of France as well.

5 triplici discrimine secta / divided into three sections] Cf 64.44n above.

7–25 Sequana – flumen / where the Seine – unwilling to depart] The description of the Seine is inspired not only by Erasmus' own memories but also by Ausonius' *Mosella*. For the description of the confluence of the Seine with the Marne cf *Mosella* 354–8 and 418–30; for a verbal borrowing from Ausonius' poem see line 22n below.

10 Vitiferos colles] Pliny *Naturalis historia* 3.9.60; Ausonius *Epistulae* 24.84; cf poem 53.11n above.

11 Vitreus / glassy-smooth] Lakes and rivers are conventionally 'glassy' because of their greenish sheen, their smooth surface, or their translucency; see for instance Virgil *Aeneid* 7.759; Ausonius *Mosella* 28; Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 65:822 / CWE 24 336:1; poems 102.17 and 106.102n below.

13 Arcem ... tuam / your citadel] Mont Ste-Geneviève, the site of the church where she was buried

13–15 brachia – divam] Cf *Colloquia* ASD I-3 481:391–2 (of the Seine as it flows around Notre-Dame): *amnis ipse videtur honoris gratia decedere numini Virginis.*

15 veneratus supplice = Statius *Achilleid* 1.365 (in one manuscript tradition)

16 In sese redit adque] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.444 (Proteus returning to his usual form): *in sese redit atque ...*; Allen Ep 1342:400 (of the Rhine river after it has flowed around an island bearing 'a well-known house of nuns'): *in sese coiens*; Eobanus Hessus *Urbs Noriberga* 369 (of the Pegnitz river after it has flowed around an island): *Inde in se rediens unum coit amnis in alveum.*

19 Viculus – beatus / The village – such offspring] Cf Micah 5:2; Matt 2:6. The reference here is to Nanterre.

21 Celtarum lux Dionysi / Denis, light of the Celts] St Denis, the apostle to the Gauls and the first bishop of Paris (third century), is the patron saint of France. In the seventh century his relics were moved to the Benedictine abbey at St Denis.

22 sinuosis flexibus errans = Ausonius *Mosella* 285; cf Claudian *De sexto consulatu Honorii* 175.

26 Namethodorum / Nanterre] Ste Geneviève was born there about 422; cf line 19 above. As a young girl she accepted St Germain's call to dedicate her life to Christ. After her parents' death she went to live with her godmother in Paris. She was buried around the year 512 in the church of the Holy Apostles in Paris, later popularly known as the church of Ste Geneviève; cf line 13 above. In the Renaissance period this church belonged to Erasmus' own order, the canons regular of St Augustine. Erasmus may have preached some sermons there in honour of the saints; see Allen I 37:14–16 with note / CWE Ep 1341A:1460–3 with n351. From 1764 to 1790 a new church was built over Ste Geneviève's grave; this church was turned into the Panthéon in 1791.

28–9 fontemque – Undantem / and your spring – waters] According to the legend, Ste Geneviève performed her first miracle with water from this well. Her mother had slapped her for insisting on going to church on a feast-day and was immediately struck blind. After nearly two years Geneviève was told to get water from the well. There, blaming herself for her mother's blindness, she wept bitter tears. But having collected herself, she brought the bucket of water back and made the sign of the cross over it. When her mother had washed her eyes with the water several times, her sight was restored.

29–30 terque quaterque ... felix] Cf 1.83–4n and 6.58 above, 110.291n below.

33–4 in alta sublimis specula / high in your lofty watch-tower] Cf *Adagia* IV iii 95; *Moria* ASD IV-3 106:655 / CWE 27 105; Allen Ep 1819:154. From heaven Ste Geneviève now watches over all of France.

36 fovet gremio / fondles ... in her bosom] A stock expression; see 10.4n above.

36 mediamque per urbem = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.689

39 Sponsa – sponsum / espoused – represent your spouse] When St Germain picked her out of a crowd as a young girl, he asked her whether she wished to become 'the bride of Christ.' This common title of virgin saints was very often applied to Ste Geneviève in hymns; see for instance AH 8 168.5a, 8 171.1b, 8 174.2b, 11 245.6, and several times in 18 26 (pages 77–80).

41–2 Germanos – regem / the true teachers – Christ-loving king] Erasmus is referring to the ecclesiastical establishment of Paris, the Parliament of Paris, and the king of France. Cf *Elenchus in N. Bedae censuras* LB IX 513B: *Christianissimum Galliarum regem Franciscum, senatum Parisiensem, ordinem theologorum appello.*

41 Germanos Druidas / the true teachers of religion] Reedijk and others assume that the unusual phrase *germanos Druidas* 'the genuine Druids' harbours an ironic barb at the Paris theologians, who had condemned a large number of Erasmus' pronouncements in December 1527 (not published until 7 July 1531). Sarcasm, however, would be quite out of place in this passage, an encomium of Paris, her priests and theologians, her Parliament, and her 'most Christian king.' The Virgin Mary and Ste Geneviève of course extend their protection only to those in Paris who are genuinely Christian. Though the Paris theologians condemned many of his positions, Erasmus maintained publicly that they were being misled by a few fame-seeking fanatics like Noël Béda. See for example Allen Ep 1902:52–5; *Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatas* LB IX 815B–816C.

The word 'Druid' in the sense of 'priest' or 'teacher of religion' was in contemporary usage entirely honourable in connotation; see Noel L. Brann 'Conrad Celtis and the "Druid" Abbot Trithemius: An Inquiry into Patriotic Humanism' *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* n s 3, o s 15 (1979) 16–28; and Vredeveld 'Notes' 611–13. It is understood in this positive sense also by Paschal Robin in his 1586 translation (my italics): 'vous defendez ensemble en voeux pareils / *Les saincts estats vnis*, le Conseil des Conseils, / Le Parlement sacré.'

In 'Erasmus' "Carmen Votivum" ter ere van Ste-Geneviève' *Hermeneus* 58 (1986) 193 and *Moreana* 106–7 (1991) 179 Nicolaas van der Blom argues that the phrase *germanos Druidas* in line 41 does not consist of an adjective and noun ('genuine Druids'), but rather of two nouns in apposition: 'the brethren, the Druids.' To buttress this interpretation he adduces Cicero *Pro Caelio* 11.26: *Fera quaedam sodalitas et plane pastoricia atque agrestis germanorum Lupercorum, quorum coitio illa silvestris ante est instituta quam humanitas atque leges.* But Cicero's phrase *sodalitas ... germanorum Lupercorum*, which Reedijk had earlier cited to support his view that *germani* in line 41 means 'genuine,' probably does not have the somewhat tautological sense: 'the fraternity ... of the brethren, the Luperci,' as Jean Cousin translates it in *Cicéron: Discours* XV (Paris 1962) 104: 'confrérie ... de ces frères Luperques.' R.G. Austin *M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro M. Caelio oratio* 3rd ed (Oxford 1960) 81 renders the passage as follows (my italics): 'a quite savage brotherhood this, downright rustic and uncouth, consisting of those *genuine* wolf-men, whose famous woodland pack was founded long before civilization and law.' James

George Frazer *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum libri sex* II (London 1929) 339 translates: 'a sort of wild and thoroughly pastoral and rustic brotherhood of regular Wolves'; and R. Gardner in *Cicero. The Speeches: Pro Caelio – De provinciis consularibus – Pro Balbo* (Cambridge, Mass 1965) 439 takes the meaning to be: 'The genuine wolf-men were a sort of savage fraternity.'

Erasmus himself commonly uses *germanus* as an adjective in the familiar sense of 'true,' 'genuine.' See for example Allen Ep 1885:147–8: *germani ... Ciceroniani* 'genuine Ciceronians'; Allen Ep 2441:99–100 and *Psalmi* 4 ASD V-2 232:246: *germani Christi discipuli* 'the genuine disciples of Christ'; *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 74:862: *veri germanique Christi discipuli* 'true and genuine disciples of Christ'; ASD V-4 374:190: *veros ac germanos Dei filios* 'true and genuine sons of God'; and *De immensa Dei misericordia* LB V 585E: *si volumus ... [Dei] germani videri filii* 'if we want to appear as [God's] true sons.'

The ancient Druids he regarded as false teachers of religion, opposed to the genuine faith of Christianity. See *De concordia* ASD V-3 266:280–1, published in 1533: *Habebat et Gallia Druidas propriae cuiusdam religionis magistros, sed cum vera religione pugnantes* 'Gaul had her Druids, the teachers of its own kind of religion, but who clashed with true religion.' Over against the false Druids of ancient Gaul Erasmus is now setting the 'genuine Druids' of modern France – 'genuine' because they teach the true faith and 'reveal to the people the mysteries of the divine mind.'

42 Christophilum ... regem / the Christ-loving king] Francis I. Erasmus alludes to the customary title of the French kings, *rex Christianissimus* 'most Christian king.'

43 reserent oracula mentis] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.145

45 Est vestri muneris] Cf Horace *Odes* 4.3.21; Ovid *Tristia* 1.6.6; Erasmus *Psalmi* 85 ASD V-3 344:390 and 421:479; lines 102–3 below.

47 tempus adest = Virgil *Aeneid* 12.96; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.607

47–8 grates Persolvam] Virgil *Aeneid* 1.600 and 2.537

49 paeana / a paean] A *paean* was originally a hymn to Apollo as god of healing; later it was used more generally also as a hymn of praise. N. van der Blom points out in *Moreana* 106–7 (1991) 179 that both senses of the term reverberate here. Erasmus' poem is a hymn of praise to a saint who, through *Christus medicus*, has brought healing.

49 multis e millibus unus] Cf Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.3.11.

51–2 quarto ... die / every third day] The quartan fever, as N. van der Blom notes in *Hermeneus* 58 (1986) 198 n16, recurs every four days according to the Roman system of *inclusive* reckoning: **1** – 2 – 3 – **4** – 5 – 6 – **7** and so forth; cf line 79 below.

52 miseros ... artus = Virgil *Aeneid* 2.215; cf *Georgics* 3.483.

54–5 morbum Lentum] Cf line 71 below.

56 sol occidat] Cicero *De divinatione* 1.14.24; Catullus 5.4; Isa 60:20 (Vulg); and elsewhere; poem 111.76 below, in a wordplay on the two senses of the verb: 'set' and 'die'

57 renovata cicatrix / opened up an old wound] Cf *Adagia* I vi 80.

59 Quod – anno / when as a lad – a whole year] See Allen Ep 447:240–4 / CWE Ep 447:262–6; *Compendium vitae* Allen I 49:57–62 / CWE 4 406:64–9; Allen Epp 1436:35 and 2997:80–2. From these passages it appears that Eras-

mus first suffered from the quartan fever during 1486–7. He was then nineteen to twenty years old.

60 erat – mors] Allen Epp 1411:6 (during an attack of stone in January 1524), 1422:20, 1423:2, 1426:16, and 1434:32

60 erat in votis = Horace *Satires* 2.6.1; cf Allen I 21:34: *illud erat in votis.*

63 tacitoque ... pectore = Ovid *Heroides* 13.89; cf *Heroides* 20(21).201; *Ars amatoria* 1.110; Virgil *Aeneid* 1.502; Silius Italicus 11.309: *tacito volvebat pectore;* poem 110.243–4 below.

63 haec pectore volvo] Cf Lucan 8.621.

65 miseris succurrere = Virgil *Aeneid* 1.630; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.632

66–7 Et nunc – vicinior / and now you can – your spouse Christ] Erasmus is here contrasting Ste Geneviève's former power as a saint on earth with her far greater power as Christ's bride in heaven. That is how the anonymous author of the scholion in the 1566 edition understands the passage (sig b2^v, quoting St Bernard *Sermo in Vigilia Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* 2): 'whoever was powerful on earth is more powerful in heaven before the face of the Lord God.'

66 regia coeli = Virgil *Aeneid* 7.210; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.257 and 2.298

68 Flecte oculos] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.696 and 10.57

68 corpore febrim = Line 87 below; cf Lucretius 2.34; Horace *Epistles* 1.2.48.

69 studiis – est / my studies – no sweetness] Cf Allen Ep 1311:2–3 / CWE Ep 1311:3–4; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 82.3 (quoted by Erasmus in *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 244:8–9 / CWE 25 32).

70–1 vitam Exhalare] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.562; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.62; cf poem 112.104 below.

71 lento ... morbo] Cf lines 54–5 above.

71 arescere / to shrivel away] Fever was believed to dry out the body and its vital fluid, much as excessive heat causes a plant to wither; see Peter H. Niebyl 'Old Age, Fever, and the Lamp Metaphor' *Journal of the History of Medicine* 26 (1971) 351–68; cf Job 30:30 (Vulg). Ageing was thought to have the same effect on the body; see 2.19–20n above.

72 nec tu indiga nostri es] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 2.428: *opisque haud indiga nostrae;* poem 4 dedicatory letter 53–4 above: *superi ... nullis mortalium opibus egent.*

73 grato ... carmine] Horace *Odes* 3.11.23–4

73 carmine laudes = Virgil *Aeneid* 8.287

74 Vix ea fatus eram = Virgil *Aeneid* 2.323, 3.90; cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.843.

75 arcanae ... penetralia mentis] Cf 34.2n and 49.96 above.

76–7 stratis Exilio] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.34–5; Lucan 5.791

78 languoris] Cf 110.390 below.

79 Septima lux aderat / The seventh day dawned = Claudian *Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii* preface 15. For an explanation why Erasmus mentions the *seventh* day see lines 51–2n above.

86 quis deus / what god] Virgil *Georgics* 4.315; *Aeneid* 9.77; and elsewhere. Cf Erasmus *Adagia* LB II 54C–D / CWE 31 113:33–5: 'In common parlance ... people who are preserved in desperate and involved situations, or in deadly peril, say that some god has preserved them.'

87 Te ... fecit alium / has ... made you into another person] Cf Plautus *Trinummus* 160–1: *quam cito / alium fecisti me.*

87 corpore febrim = Line 68 above, where see note

88 quo de] The preposition *de* is here put after the relative pronoun so as to avoid the repetition of sounds in *me, de.*

89 arte medendi = Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.735; *Metamorphoses* 7.526

91–2 Guihelmus Copus / Guillaume Cop] See note on the heading of no 2 above.

92 iuvenilibus annis = Ovid *Fasti* 5.273; Statius *Thebaid* 1.486; poem 95.69 below

93 perfectus ad unguem / honed razor-sharp] *Adagia* I v 91

94 Dotibus ingenii = Tito Strozzi *Eroticon* 3.11.132: *Ornatus tantis dotibus ingenii;* Eobanus Hessus *Bonae valetudinis conservandae rationes aliquot* 10; cf Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.112.

95 Senio ... fessus = Statius *Silvae* 2.4.36; cf Erasmus *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 30:115; *Luciani dialogi* ASD I-1 527:12; *Adagia* LB II 47D and 367E; Allen Epp 1885:2 and 2209:30.

96 Francisci] Francis I (1494–1547), king of France from 1515. Guillaume Cop was royal physician from 1512 until his death in 1532; see CEBR I 337.

98 testis ... locuples] Cicero *De officiis* 3.2.10; *Pro Flacco* 17.40

102–4 Muneris – Praesidio es / It was his gift – sick people] Cf *Virginis et martyris comparatio* LB V 590B: *Quidquid ... in sanctis gloriosum est, Christi munus est.* Erasmus is careful to emphasize the grace of God and to stress that the saints are only instruments in his hands.

106–8 veluti lux – canales / just as the burning – clean conduits] The comparisons draw on Biblical and traditional metaphors. Christ is the 'light' (see 43.39n above; cf 112.244–56 below), the 'sun of righteousness' (Mal 4:2), the 'true sun' (111.76n below). The miracle of the virgin birth is traditionally likened to a beam of sunlight, which, in passing through glass, does not violate it; see 110.273–4n below. The colouring of light as it passes through tinted glass was likewise traditionally used as an analogy to explain how Christ, the sun, took on human flesh without changing his essential nature. See Salzer *Sinnbilder* 74:25–9 (vernacular examples are listed on page 72:15–21, 24–8 and page 73:7–18, 24–9). Likewise Christ is the well of living water (cf John 4:10 and 7:37–8), and from his wounds flow the water and blood of grace (cf 9.36 and 11.15–16 above). Mary is also commonly likened to a well or spring; see Salzer *Sinnbilder* 9–10, 322–4, and 520–3; but she was also the conduit or 'aqueduct' through whom Christ's grace flowed to mankind; cf Sir 24:30 (Vulg 24:41); Salzer *Sinnbilder* 9:39, 533–4, 567:1–2, and 597:4–7; Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1233B.

107 Per vitrum splendet iucundius / shines through glass more pleasantly] The art of making clear glass, lost in the Middle Ages, was rediscovered in Venice during the fifteenth century; but most of the window glass in Erasmus' day was still tinted.

107–8 fons – canales / a spring – clean conduits] Cf Albertus Magnus *Enarrationes in Evangelium Lucae* 1:28 in *Opera* 22 57, speaking of the Virgin Mary: *Canalis autem munda esse debet, ne aquam mundam turbet* 'A conduit should be clean, lest it sully the pure water.'

111–12 accedere ... titulis] Ovid *Heroides* 9.1 and *Fasti* 3.420

89 Ep 2720 / R 132

The epigram is contained in Ep 2720 to Pierre Du Chastel (Freiburg, 24 September [1532]). Du Chastel had on several occasions sent Erasmus some partridges. In the letter Erasmus asked him to stop sending the birds, because his health no longer permitted him to digest them. This distich is Erasmus' thanks for the gift.

Pierre Du Chastel had lived for several months in Erasmus' house at Basel in 1527. The two renewed their acquaintance in June 1532 when the young man matriculated at Freiburg. He later became a favourite of King Francis I and was appointed successively bishop of Tulle (1539), Mâcon (1544), and Orléans (1551). He died in 1552. See CEBR I 409–10.

Ep 2720, which also contains poem 90, was first published at the end of *De praeparatione ad mortem* (Basel: H. Froben and N. Episcopius 1534).

Metre: elegiac distich

90 Ep 2720 / R 133

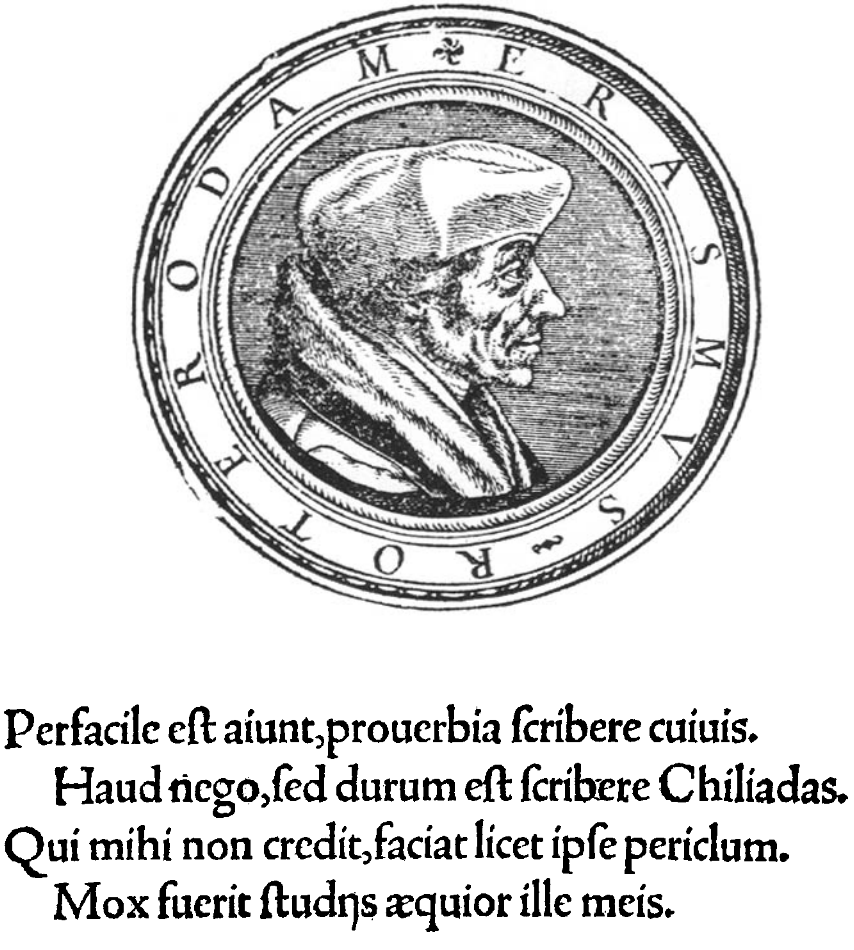
Like the preceding epigram, this one was sent in Ep 2720, dated 24 September [1532]. Erasmus introduces it by saying that 'there are people who think it is easy to write apophthegms or proverbs; but writing books of them and thousands of them is difficult.' He is, of course, referring to his own *Apophthegmata* and *Adagia*. The epigram was later expanded to four lines; see no 91 below. The model is Martial 7.85.3–4 (partially quoted in Allen Ep 27:65 / CWE Ep 27:69–70): *facile est epigrammata belle / scribere, sed librum scribere difficile est* 'it is easy to write epigrams prettily, but to write a book of them is hard.'

Metre: elegiac distich

91 LB II sig $*2^v$ / R 134

The epigram, an amplification of no 90, was first published on the verso of the title-page of *Adagiorum opus* (Basel: H. Froben and N. Episcopius, March 1533).

Metre: elegiac distich


ERASMVS ROTERODAM

Perfacile eſt aiunt,prouerbia ſcribere cuiuis.
Haud nego,ſed durum eſt ſcribere Chiliadas.
Qui mihi non credit,faciat licet ipſe periclum.
Mox fuerit ſtudijs æquior ille meis.

Adagiorum opus (Basel: Froben and Episcopius, March 1533), title-page verso, with roundel portrait of Erasmus by Holbein and Erasmus' liminary epigram
Universitätsbibliothek, Basel

92 LB I 1226 / R 135

Udalricus (Ulrich) Zasius of Constance (1461–24 November 1535) received a doctorate in civil law from Freiburg (1501). He was appointed professor of civil law at Freiburg in 1506, a position he held until his death. Maximilian I made him imperial councillor in 1508. A gifted teacher and eminent legal scholar, Zasius maintained extensive contacts with the humanists of his day. His correspondence with Erasmus began with his letter of 7 September 1514 (Ep 303). The two men met in the summer of 1518, probably at Basel. See Epp 857 and 859; CEBR III 469–73.

A manuscript copy of the epitaph, corrected by Erasmus himself, is extant in the University Library, Basel (Erasmuslade C 8). This manuscript, which also contains poem 127, is reproduced in Reedijk's edition, before page 357. The epitaph was first printed in Udalricus Zasius *In tit. institutionum de actionibus enarratio* (Basel: Joh. Bebel and Michael Isengrin 1536). Our copy-text is the printed version of 1536.

Metre: hexameter

1 mors ... invida] See 38.15n above.
3 Paucissima] The manuscript reads *parcissima.*
5–6 cuius – suavior omni / from his mouth – any honey] Cf Homer *Iliad* 1.247–9, translated by Erasmus in *Adagia* I ii 56; poem 4.41n above.
5–6 ab ore Manabat] Statius *Silvae* 5.5.37 (an epicedion for his son)
9 sine fine beata] Ovid *Ibis* 205
11 pone modum lachrymis] Petrarch *Africa* 5.683: *Pone modum lacrimis metamque impone querelis;* Walther 21907a
11 pone – dolori] Cf 62.15 above.
13 ingenii monumenta] Poliziano *Epigrammata Latina* 90.4; *Elegiae* 6.4
13 perennia] Erasmus first wrote *insignia.*
15 Spirat – semper] Erasmus originally wrote: *Nec prorsum tibi mutus erit nec mortuus ille* 'to you he will be neither silent nor dead at all.' This line is crossed out in the manuscript and replaced with the version here printed.

93–7

Snoy's preface to the reader

Reyner Snoy of Gouda (c 1477–1537) studied at Louvain and subsequently at Bologna, where he received a doctorate in medicine. After returning to Gouda not long before 1509 he became personal physician to Adolph of Burgundy, lord of Veere. Deeply interested in literature and himself the author of a (posthumously printed) history of Holland, he soon became the patron of Erasmus' old friend, Cornelis Gerard. See CEBR III 261–2. A few years later Snoy published *Herasmi Roterodami Silva carminum antehac nunquam impressorum* (Gouda: Aellaerdus Gauter, 18 May 1513; reproduced photolithographically by Ch. Ruelens, Brussels 1864). Besides Snoy's preface, the little volume contains nos 93–7 as well as Willem Hermans' *Prosopopoeia Hollandiae.*

It is not known when Snoy first met Erasmus or how he obtained a manuscript containing Erasmus' early poems. Erasmus does not mention Snoy in his correspondence until 1506; see Allen Epp 190:10–11 and 202:5–6 / CWE Epp 190:14–15 and 202:8. That they met in Gouda or at Steyn by 1492, as is suggested in CEBR III 262, cannot be ruled out. It must be remembered, however, that Snoy in his boyhood demonstrated so little intellectual promise that for a while he was made a blacksmith's apprentice; but later he became a brilliant student in school. Alaard of Amsterdam does seem to say in his edition of poem 102, *De vitando pernitioso libidinosoque aspectu carmen bucolicum* (Leiden: P. van Balen 1538) sig B1^r, that the *Carmen buccolicum* and other early poems by Erasmus lay unpublished among Snoy's papers for over forty years before his death in 1537. It is hard to believe, however, that Snoy actually acquired the manuscript when he was still a teenager in Gouda and Erasmus not yet a famous figure. More probably he obtained it after Erasmus' rise to fame had created an interest in his juvenilia. Perhaps Snoy found the manuscript among the papers that he obtained after Willem Hermans' death in 1510; see Tilmans *Aurelius* 58–9.

From lines 17–18 of the prefatory letter we learn that Snoy was eager to publish more of Erasmus' early poems if his first edition should prove to be a success. But the book, printed in an unattractive black letter, evidently did not sell as well as expected (very few copies are still extant). Erasmus' return from England in summer 1514 may also have deterred Snoy from further publication; see Allen I 6:1–2 / CWE Ep 1341A:168–9. At any rate, he prepared no further edition of Erasmus' juvenilia. After Snoy's death the manuscript with other early poems by Erasmus came into the hands of Alaard of Amsterdam, who used it to prepare his text of *Carmen buccolicum* (102).

A somewhat different version of Snoy's letter to the reader, copied by a monk at Steyn in about 1524, is contained in Gouda MS 1324, ff 50^v–51^r (Librije coll. 1324 in the Town Archives of Gouda). In the margin beside the first sentence is the following note: *praefatio honorifica in aedicionem carminum Erasmi et Guielmi* 'laudatory preface to the edition of poems by Erasmus and Willem.' At the end is the postscript: *Goudae: ex officina chalcographica* 'Gouda, from the printing shop.'

1 primam feturam] Cf Pliny *Naturalis historia* preface 1: *proxima fetura.*
3 ingenii sui primitias] Cf Conrad Celtis *Amores* preface 1: *primitias ... mei ingenii.*
3–4 nondum annum agebat vigesimum / he was not yet twenty] The earliest poem in Snoy's anthology, no 93, was composed in winter–spring 1489, when Erasmus was twenty-two. Nos 94–7 were written in 1490–1.
6 Guielmus noster Goudanus / our friend Willem of Gouda] For Willem Hermans see headnote on no 30 above.
6 Theseus] This legendary king of Athens was so attached to his friend Pirithous that he became a byword for true friendship; see Otto 1779.
8 annis ferme decem / about ten years] This statement is inaccurate. Willem Hermans and Erasmus had known each other at least since their school days at Deventer, but they were together at Steyn only from 1487 to autumn 1490.
11 Utroque dicendi genere / In both kinds of composition] Prose and poetry
13 suffragium Minervae / the accolade of Minerva] *Adagia* III iv 53
14 sit] Following the Gouda manuscript; the printed version has *est.*
14 palmariam – navaverit / winning the prize] Cf *Adagia* I iii 4.
15–16 nam tibi – trahit nemo / for no one secretly – choice you made] The phrasing is obscure and the translation of necessity conjectural. The verb *supposcens* cannot be documented in ancient or medieval Latin; but the Gouda manuscript here reads *poscens* 'demanding.' One may imagine therefore that *supposcens* means 'secretly asking.'
17 carthaceo munere] Cf 28.1n above.
18 susque deque / neither here nor there] *Adagia* I iii 83
19 in spongiam ... incumbent / they will ... fall on the sponge] Following the Gouda manuscript we read *spongiam*; Snoy's printed text has *spongia.* According to Suetonius *Augustus* 85.2, Augustus began writing a tragedy on Ajax, the Greek hero who went mad and committed suicide by falling on his sword. Before long, Augustus grew dissatisfied with his rough draft and wiped the slate clean with a sponge. When friends inquired how the tragedy was progressing, he told them that 'his *Ajax* had fallen on his sponge.' The story is also told in Macrobius 2.4.1–2; cf Erasmus *Adagia* I v 58.

93 LB VIII 567–70 / R 14

The poem in its present form is the product of collaboration between Erasmus and his friend Cornelis Gerard. Its genesis is described in Epp 19 and 20 (early and mid-May 1489?). In Ep 19 Cornelis says that he has finally received a copy of a poem by Erasmus 'lamenting the neglect of the art of poetry.' He liked it so well that he decided to turn it into an apologetic dialogue between the two of them (Allen Ep 19:17–28 / CWE Ep 19:16–28):

> I have made an effort to divide up your poem, which deserves all due commendation, into a dialogue between us, however rough-shaped; and so I have produced an apologetic dialogue, as the title prefixed to this little work, in which we share, may easily show. I hope you will not be offended, because I have in places changed your verses to the extent of a very few words ... I should like it to be clear that this was done with the most careful consideration and under a kind of sweet presumption of mutual affection between us. For, in order to make the poem, composed in your elegant style, give still greater pleasure to all and sundry, I took pains to see that it could be recited aloud with pleasant effects of sound if one wished to do so, and, in order to achieve this more readily without impediment, I carefully excised all hiatus of vowels.

In his response Erasmus says that he wrote the poem expressly to win Cornelis' friendship, but that unfortunately it was not delivered as soon as it should have been. Now that Cornelis has not only received and approved of the poem but has interspersed it with his own verses (Allen Ep 20:45–9 / CWE Ep 20:44–9), Erasmus expresses his delight at this act of friendship (Allen Ep 20:65–70 / CWE Ep 20:64–70):

> And as, in a charming proof of your good will towards me, you have put together a single Apologetic out of your verses and mine, so, admitting the possibility that we may find anything divided between friends, may the hearts of both be linked by a single bond of mutual love to the end that, just as your verses have been woven into the fabric of my poem and mine into yours, so your spirit may ever dwell in me and mine in you.

Reedijk 161 interprets Cornelis' comments to mean that the latter's 'share in the undertaking was limited to casting the poem into the form of a dialogue and to a few slight alterations in the text.' Béné *Erasme* 48–52 has shown, however, that this view greatly underestimates Cornelis' share in the poem. In its original form, as we learn from Allen Ep 19:5–6 / CWE Ep 19:5–6, the poem lamented 'the neglect of the art of poetry.' In Cornelis' hands the lament becomes 'an apologetic dialogue' defending Christian poetry and exhorting poets to adorn God's temple with their art. Cornelis therefore did more than just touch up a few of Erasmus' verses. He must also have contributed many verses of his own, indeed quite probably the three sections labelled as his.

Béné's argument finds ample support in the correspondence. In Allen Ep 19:30–1 / CWE Ep 19:30–1 Cornelis tells Erasmus that the latter's 'poem' has now become a *libellus* 'booklet'; Cornelis, in other words, must have added numerous lines. Erasmus acknowledges Cornelis' contributions to the poem in Allen Ep 20:3 / CWE Ep 20:3 when he refers to the revision as *libellus tuus* 'your booklet' – a phrase which certainly does not refer to his friend's *De morte*, as a note in CWE explains, since Erasmus says later on in the letter (Allen Ep 20:107–8 / CWE Ep 20:104–5) that he had 'long since' read *De morte*, while at the beginning of the same letter he expresses surprise and delight that the promised booklet is now finished. In Allen Ep 20:49 / CWE Ep 20:49 Erasmus thanks his friend for 'blending it with your own brilliant lines.' In Allen Ep 22:30–4 / CWE Ep 22:32–6 he quotes lines 181–4 from Cornelis' section of the poem and praises them as 'your own witty verses.' And in Allen Ep 23:31 / CWE Ep 23:34 Erasmus calls the poem, which has afforded him incredible pleasure, 'your *Apologeticus*.'

A close reading of Cornelis' sections of the poem confirms Béné's view that they are indeed additions to the original ode. Cornelis' replies are invariably an amplification and redirection of Erasmus' themes:

1/ In lines 33–64 Erasmus' lament about the present-day barbarians is echoed by Cornelis and then transformed into an attack on them, in part with the help of biblical and patristic exempla.
2/ In lines 97–128 Cornelis amplifies Erasmus' verses concerning the power of song in antiquity (note the phrase *Plus dicam* in lines 97 and 117). He then transforms Erasmus' argument by adding three Old Testament exempla of the power of song. These exempla also occur in the prologue of Cornelis' *Marias*, where they are likewise introduced by the phrase *Plus dicam*.
3/ In lines 161–92 Cornelis repeats Erasmus' attack on the malicious envy of the barbarians and urges Christian poets to imitate the literary masters of antiquity. The argument is buttressed with some Old Testament exempla traditionally used to defend Christian poetry.
4/ The last of Cornelis' sections, which answers Erasmus' fourth section and serves as an epilogue to the dialogue as a whole, is the 'Judgment of St Jerome.' This part is poem 135 below.

Cornelis' three central portions are characterized by the use of biblical exempla. Erasmus' sections – even his last one, which follows Cornelis' call for producing Christian poetry – contain only classical allusions. It was indeed not until winter 1490–1 that Erasmus began following Cornelis' lead in choosing sacred themes for his song. See Allen Ep 28:8–10 / CWE Ep 28:8–11; for the date of this letter see headnote on poem 50 above. We might add here that Cornelis' style, in contrast to Erasmus', is in several places quite turgid, causing many difficulties for the interpreter. The close imitation of other poets that marks Cornelis' *Marias* is also found in the present poem, particularly in lines 97–120. Note also the awkward repetition of *Plus dicam* (lines 97 and 117), the unusual neologisms in line 61 (*moricanis*) and line 98 (*Eagrides*), and the metrical error in line 184 (*pulices*).

If it is admitted that Cornelis' sections were in fact written by him, we can reconstruct much of Erasmus' original poem by simply removing Cornelis' insertions. Cornelis, as he himself indicates, apparently altered only a very few of Erasmus' own verses. These must have included lines 65–8 (*Et quid? – iudice*) and 129 (*Quid ni? Vera refers*). The argument of Erasmus' original ode was thus as follows:

1/ I am writing to you, brother, to lament my misfortune: the malicious envy of present-day barbarism has caused me to abandon poetry (lines 1–32).
2/ The modern barbarians scorn the great poets of antiquity who were formerly revered everywhere, both here on earth and in the underworld – witness the example of Orpheus (lines 65–96).
3/ Alas, the present-day barbarians are more hard-hearted than the underworld; Pluto at least was moved by Orpheus' song. They have exiled the Muses and laugh Apollo to scorn. That is why I have given up poetry, my poetic friend (lines 129–60).
4/ But you, my dear friend, dispel these gloomy thoughts; for just as Hercules once stirred Orpheus to song, so you, a second Hercules (*Tyrinthius alter*), move me to take up the lyre again. In poetry you are a Virgil, in prose a Cicero. May you live a long and happy life and enjoy immortal fame after death! Farewell (lines 193–224).

With this we have recovered most of Erasmus' 'Ode to Cornelis lamenting the neglect of the art of poetry' that Cornelis acknowledges receiving in Ep 19 and that Erasmus explicitly mentions in Allen Ep 23:111–16 / CWE Ep 23:117–22. Its underlying argument is not original with Erasmus but derives from the preface to the second book of Claudian's *De raptu Proserpinae*. There Claudian relates how Orpheus had for a long time stopped singing and how he was subsequently moved by Hercules' great deeds to take up the lyre again. Claudian, like Orpheus, has long let his muses slumber; but now his patron Florentinus – a second Hercules (*Tirynthius alter*) – stirs him to take up the lyre once more. Erasmus uses the argument also in the preface to the first draft of his *Antibarbari*, addressed to Cornelis (Allen Ep 30:1–30 / CWE Ep 30:2–32), and in a letter to Willem Hermans (Allen Ep 39:125–47 / CWE Ep 39:139–61). The underlying pattern is similar to that of the earlier no 109, to an unnamed friend, as well as to that of the later no 7, to Gaguin. In those two poems Erasmus adopts the persona of the man dejected, at odds with himself and the world, the victim of fate and omnipresent malice, who is subsequently healed and restored to his own true self by the help of a friend. Cf also the contemporaneous verse letter to Engelbert Schut (98), which bears particularly close similarities to the present poem in phrasing and motifs.

Since both Erasmus and Cornelis express regret that the 'Ode to Cornelis' did not arrive at its intended destination until 'long' after Erasmus had sent it (Allen Epp 19:1–6 and 20:15–43 / CWE Epp 19:2–6 and 20:16–43), we may estimate that the original ode was composed in early 1489. Cornelis then turned this poem into a dialogue in April–May.

Cornelis (Cornelius) Gerard (c 1460–1531) was a native of Gouda; since Dutch 'goud' means 'gold' (*aurum*), he also styled himself *Aurelius*. After studying in Deventer, Cologne, Louvain, and Paris (where he earned a baccalaureate in 1484 and a master's degree in 1485), he returned to Holland in the winter of 1485–6. He became a monk, probably in 1486, at Sint-Maartensdonk (Hemsdonk) near Schoonhoven; but by 1488 he was an Augustinian canon at Sint-Hieronymusdal (Lopsen) outside the walls of Leiden. Around 1489–90 he exchanged a series of letters with Erasmus, full of mutual admiration and love, filled too with discussions about classical literature and the 'barbarians' who feared and opposed it; see Epp 17–30. The first version of Erasmus' *Antibarbari* was a declamation put in the mouth of Cornelis; it was inspired by their contempt for the barbarians (Ep 30). Cornelis, however, is most probably not to be considered the author of *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei*; see headnote on no 128 below. The friends remained in touch throughout the 1490s. Later they went their separate ways. See CEBR II 88–9; Tilmans *Aurelius* 15–51.

The present poem is also found in MS Scriverius. In this manuscript – but not in Snoy's *Silva carminum* – it is completed by the 'Judgment of St Jerome,' an epilogue written in hexameters and ascribed to Cornelis. This epilogue is reprinted as no 135 below.

Metre: second Asclepiadean strophe

2 fama ... splendida / illustrious reputation] Cornelis' fame is hailed again in lines 205–12 below. By early 1489 he had written a history of the civil war in the diocese of Utrecht, a 'tale of St Nicholas,' and a lengthy *Carmen de morte*. The first two of these works are lost, but the third is still partially extant; see headnote on no 94 below. In Allen Ep 20:107–11 / CWE Ep 20:104–7 Erasmus says that he has read all three of them.

3–4 Tuas ... Aures questibus impleam] Prosper *Carmen de ingratis* 1.148 (PL 51 105); cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.515; *Aeneid* 9.480.

7 livor edax] Ovid *Amores* 1.15.1; *Remedia amoris* 389; lines 21 and 168 below

9 tero limina] Martial 10.10.2

10 secreta ... domus] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.299–300

11 amat] This is the reading in MS Scriverius. *Silva carminum* has *ornet* 'adorns,' which fits the sense, not the metre.

14–15 bifidi iuga Montis / the double-peaked mountain] Mount Parnassus, sacred to Apollo and the Muses, was said to have two peaks; see for example Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.316–17 and 2.221; cf poem 102.42 below.

16 amnes Helyconios / the streams of Helicon] Aganippe and Hippocrene on the Helicon, sacred to the Muses

17 non sine lachrimis] Horace *Odes* 3.7.7–8; Allen Ep 4:10; *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 42:49

18 perpetuum vale] Alcuin *Carmina* 12.10 and 48.4; cf Catullus 101.10: *in perpetuum ... vale*; poem 102.35n below.

21–2 Cogit – collacerantium / I am forced – to shreds] The idea that the barbarians carp at liberal studies because they are ignorant of them is discussed at length in *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 71:18–78:32 / CWE 23 46:6–55:28. See also *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 46:13–47:1, 46:39–47:9–11 / CWE 23 25:10–13; Allen Epp 20:86–7 and 30:24–30 / CWE Epp 20:85–7 and 30:25–32; *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei* LB I 892E: *Haec tui quum nesciant, lacerant, mordent, invident* 'Since your followers do not understand these things, they tear them to pieces, carp at them, look on them with malice'; cf LB I 892E, where Barbarism uses the same argument: 'Since they don't know anything about our poems, they can't do anything but mock and ridicule them'; *Parabolae* ASD I-5 284:29–30 / CWE 23 252:20–1: 'barbarians criticize and condemn whatever they do not understand.' Cf also lines 29–32 below.

21 livor edax] See line 7n above.

21 diva poemata = Line 59 below

23 Archadiae cohors / a host of bumpkins] The Arcadians were proverbially stupid and uncultivated; see Otto 156; Erasmus *Adagia* III iii 27. They did breed fine asses, however. Erasmus thus seems to be calling the barbarians both a host of bumpkins and a herd of asses. Cf Persius 3.9. Erasmus often refers to the barbarians as 'asses'; see for instance *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 51:1–2, 14–16, and 73:1 / CWE 23 28:16–19 and 47:4; *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei* LB I 891F; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 258:9 / CWE 25 41, of an ignorant schoolmaster: 'some Arcadian ass, dressed up in a lion's skin.'

24 stellis numerosior] Cf 50.186–8n above.

26 Priscis ... seculis] Allen Ep 23:86, where Erasmus laments that the eloquence which flourished in ancient times has disappeared with the rise of barbarism

27 Calliopen] This is the reading in MS Scriverius; Snoy prints *Calliopem*, an unclassical form.

29–30 invidiae ... facibus] Cicero *Pro Milone* 35.98

29–30 nigris ... facibus] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 9.74: *facibus ... atris*. Ovid associates Envy with the colour black; see *Metamorphoses* 2.760–4.

30–1 dente ... rodere] Cf *Adagia* II ii 55 and II vi 32; Otto 507.

31–2 Nunquam – desinit] Closely paralleled in *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei* LB I 890E: *Nunquam invidere nobis, nunquam lacerare desinit*

39 Iovis ... filiae / daughters of Jove] *Moria* ASD IV-3 106:623. The Muses are the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne.

40 locus exigit] Ovid *Fasti* 4.417

43–64 O sensu – Leo / O brainless blockhead – their elegant styles] Cornelis may be singling out one barbarian in particular. Judging from other lines that Cornelis addresses to him he might have been a poet who, in his mad envy, has turned against the Muses and maligned Cornelis and Erasmus. See lines 47–8 (he is urged to take up the lyre once more); 126–8 (he is a man of talent who nevertheless continues in his disparagement of poetry); also lines 169–73. In lines 187–8 Cornelis threatens to ridicule him with a lampoon. This barbarian may perhaps be identified with the loathsome person to whom Cornelis and Erasmus refer in Allen Epp 19:35–6 and 20:76–8 / CWE Epp 19:35–6 and 20:76–8 as one who has tried hard to stir up envy and rivalry between the two poet-friends.

43 sensu vacuum] Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 1.303

43 vacuum ... cerebro caput] Juvenal 14.57–8; Erasmus *Adagia* III iv 40

45–6 confert – comprimit / she confronts – subdues the demon] Cornelis is thinking specifically of David, whose singing soothed Saul whenever the evil spirit came upon him; see 1 Sam 16:14–23. Cf Erasmus *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 174:135–6; line 123 below.

47 Tu qum sis similis] Cf Horace *Satires* 1.4.69.

48 repetens lyram] Cornelis borrows this phrase from Erasmus; see line 200n below.

49 pectoris abdita] Prudentius *Amartigenia* 537

50 Invasit rabies] Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 4.144 (of the seven devils that Christ cast out of Mary Magdalen)

50 rabies – iecur / rage has ... so totally suppressed your understanding] Cf Juvenal 6.648: *rabie iecur incendente.* The liver (*iecur*) was regarded as the seat of the feelings, sometimes also of understanding.

51 Peonia ... manu / the healing Paeonian hand] Paean was a god of healing; later he was often identified with Apollo.

51 disperiat] This spelling occurs both in Snoy's printed edition and in MS Scriverius. In ancient colloquial (vulgar) Latin as well as in medieval Latin the short *e* and short *i* in hiatus were often interchanged. So we find *iamus* for *eamus, aleum* for *alium,* and *syderius* for *sydereus* (as in line 147 below). See C.H. Grandgent *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (1934; repr New York 1962) par 224, pages 93–4.

58–64 En scribens – Leo] Cf *Ratio* LB V 82D–E.

58–60 En scribens – gulam / See how the apostle – gluttony] This puzzling passage has been explained in various ways. Reedijk understands it 'in the general sense that even when holding forth against the sins of the flesh, the Apostle does not shrink from expressing himself in poetical language' in Galatians 5. N. van der Blom 'On a Verse of Erasmus' ERSY 1 (1981) 152–3 n4a, disagrees: 'in my opinion Cornelius thinks of the quotation from Epimenides in Titus 1,12: "The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies," the "bellies" forming the bridge to the *ebrietates* and *commessationes* of Galatians 5,21. But one has to ask: was this verse ever ascribed to Homer?'

In 1489 neither Erasmus nor Cornelis could read much Greek. There was a Latin prose translation of the *Iliad,* books 1–16, by Lorenzo Valla (first printed at Brescia in 1474 and not reprinted until 1497), but the two young monks nowhere mention this work in their writings and correspondence of 1489–91. What they knew of Homer at that time must have been at second hand, derived from summaries such as the *Ilias Latina* and especially from references in ancient and patristic literature that interpreted the Homeric epics allegorically and regarded their author as the 'father of all knowledge.' It is thus entirely possible that Cornelis, in mentioning that Paul 'brings in Homer,' was in fact thinking in particular of the method of allegorical interpretation that Paul introduces in Gal 4:21–31. There Paul interprets the Old Testament story of Hagar and Sarah allegorically – the same method that in his day was already widely used to interpret Homer. Jerome, in his commentary on Gal 4:24 (PL 26 416), makes the same connection between Paul's allegorism and his knowledge of ancient poets. Cf Erasmus *Enchiridion* LB V 7E–F / CWE 66 33: 'just as the divine Scriptures themselves do not bear much fruit if you persist in adhering to the letter, so the poetry of Homer and Virgil is of no little profit if you remember that it is entirely allegorical'; and LB V 29F / CWE 66 69: 'It was the Apostle Paul who, after Christ, opened up certain sources of allegories.' See further Vredeveld 'Notes' 590–3.

59 Meonii / Homer] Homer was said to have been a native of Maeonia (Lydia) in Asia Minor; cf line 197n below.

59 diva poemata = Line 21 above

60 gulam / gluttony] The vice of gluttony here stands for many other sins of the flesh that Paul castigates in Gal 5:16–21.

61–4 Quin – Leo / Indeed, the teachers – elegant styles] Cf *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 80:97–9 / CWE 66 170: 'If we enjoy truth ... ennobled ... by the lustre of eloquence [*eloquentiae nitore*], we quickly turn to Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Cyprian, and similar authors.'

61 moricanis] The word seems to be a neologism, a cross between *morigerus* and *faticanus* (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9.418).

63 nitidi scematibus stili / the rhetorical patterns of their elegant styles] Cf 135.17–18 below. *Schemata* are the figures of speech as taught by the rhetoricians. When properly used such ornaments confer elegance and polish upon style (*nitidi ... stili*); see Lausberg 600–4; Chomarat 562–79; Allen Ep 27:35 / CWE Ep 27:36: 'the brilliant effect created by rhetorical devices [*colorum ... splendor*]'; poem 2.92n above.

64 Lucas / Luke] Jerome praises Luke's Greek style in *Commentarii in Esaiam* 6:9–10 (CCSL 73 91–2); see also *Letters* 20.4; Isidore *Etymologiae* 6.2.37. The idea that the Bible (not just Luke) furnishes numerous examples of all sorts of rhetorical figures is a patristic and medieval commonplace; see Curtius ELLM 46–8; R.R. Bolgar *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (New York 1964) 53–4.

64 Iheronimus / Jerome] St Jerome (c 347–c 419), an elegant stylist, is one of the Doctors of the western church.

64 Leo] St Leo I, known as the Great, was pope from 440 to 461. He too ranks among the Doctors of the western church. Like Cornelis, Erasmus regarded him as an eloquent writer; see *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 660:26–8 / CWE 28 413; *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 268:469–70.

74–5 Lucanus – Scribens / where is Lucan – the son-in-law] Pompey's death is described in Lucan 8.610–36. He was Julius Caesar's son-in-law, having married Julia in 59 BC.

75 Pindarico ... organo] Cf Propertius 3.17.40: *Pindarico ... ore;* Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.16.28 and Statius *Silvae* 5.3.152: *Pindaricae ... lyrae.* The noun *organo* in the present line refers to the voice or tongue; cf Prudentius *Peristefanon* 10.2; Erasmus *Apologia de 'In principio erat sermo'* LB IX 117B: *oris organo;* poem 107.2 below.

75 concrepat] In patristic and medieval Latin this verb often has the sense 'sing' or 'chant'; see for example AH 11 246.2: *voce hymnidica / Concrepet carmina dicens,* 50 121.1, and 50 156.1; poem 135.7 below (Cornelis' epilogue to no 93); cf line 120n below: *concrepitans.*

80 pede / feet] With a pun on 'metrical feet'

81–90 Indus – Thyle / The fat-lipped – outermost Thule] The model of this passage may be Alexander Hegius *In habendi amorem* in *Carmina* sig A7^r^:

Indus, eoo rubicunda ponto
Ora qui solem videt exerentem,
Decolor vultum tumidisque labris
        Vincula gestat,
Tuque Gaditane propinque Phaebo,
Cerulas cum Tethyos intrat undas,
Lora captivo perhibere collo
        Turpia ferre.

The dark-skinned and fat-lipped Indian who sees the sun lift up his ruddy face from the eastern sea bears the chains [of avarice]; you too, inhabitant of Gades close to Phoebus as he enters the dark-blue waves of the ocean, are said to suffer those shameful reins on your captive neck.

After another stanza, Hegius goes on to speak of *Ultimae Tyles habitator* 'the inhabitant of outermost Thule.' Cf poem 110.41–8 below.

81 Indus ... decolor] Propertius 4.3.10; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.130; *Tristia* 5.3.24

81 labra – decolor] Cf Pseudo-Virgil *Moretum* 33: *labroque tumens et fusca colore.*

83 cornua / horns] The horns signify the first rays of the sun at dawn. Cf Hab 3:4 (Vulg); poem 111.83–4 below.

85 Thespiadum / the Muses] Literally 'the Thespians,' 'daughters of Thespiae.' The Muses are so called because the town of Thespiae lay at the foot of Mount Helicon.

86 occiduis ... solibus] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.63; *Fasti* 5.558.

89 Et quid plura = Statius *Thebaid* 9.799: *et – quid plura loquar?*

89–90 ultima Thyle / outermost Thule] Proverbial for 'extreme north'; see Otto 1781.

90 vacua ... Styge] Cf 112.153n below.

92 vates Rhodopeius / the Rhodopeian poet] Orpheus is meant, as in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.11–12.

94 Mulcebat – cantibus] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.11.23–4 (of the power of Mercury's song in the underworld).

97 Plus dicam = Line 117 below. The phrase also introduces the biblical exem-

pla of the power of song in Cornelis Gerard *Marias* prologue f 8^r; see note on lines 122–4 below.

97–120 Rapidis – onus] The chief model for these lines detailing the wonders worked by Orpheus' music is Silius Italicus 11.459–74, as the close verbal and thematic parallels show:

... quos pulsabat Riphaeum ad Strymona, nervi,
auditus superis, auditus manibus Orpheus,
emerito fulgent clara inter sidera caelo. [...]
cum silvis venere ferae, cum montibus amnes,
immemor et dulcis nidi positoque volatu
non mota volucris captiva pependit in aethra.
quin etiam, Pagasaea ratis cum caerula, nondum
cognita terrenae, pontumque intrare negaret,
ad puppim sacrae, cithara eliciente, carinae
adductum cantu venit mare. pallida regna
Bistonius vates flammisque Acheronta sonantem
placavit plectro et fixit revolubile saxum.

Cf also Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.1–144; Seneca *Hercules Oetaeus* 1031–82; Virgil *Georgics* 4.453–84; Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2 preface 17–28; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 3 metrum 12.5–51.

97–8 Strymona – Eagrides / with his verses – river Strymon] For the ancient motif of Orpheus' stopping rivers see 6.46n above. Renaissance poets sometimes intensify this motif by saying that Orpheus turned rivers back to their source; for this feat, which is otherwise the preserve of magicians (cf 2.147 and notes above), see Poliziano *Sylvae* 4.285–6 (first published in 1491) and Janus Secundus *Odes* 7.2–3.

100 Sedem commeruit poli / he earned a place in the firmament] Orpheus' lyre was regularly identified with the constellation of the Lyre. The neigbouring constellation of the Kneeling Man (Engonasin) was sometimes identified with Orpheus falling down before the onslaught of the women; see Hyginus *De astronomia* 2.6.3.

101–2 Apolline – lyram / when Apollo – to his son] Orpheus' father was Oeagrus (see line 98), but some authors say allegorically that his true father (like that of all singers and lyre-players) was Apollo; see for example Hesiod *Theogony* 94–5; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.89 and 167. According to one story, the lyre was invented by Mercury who then allowed Apollo to claim credit for the discovery. Apollo in turn gave it to Orpheus; see Hyginus *De astronomia* 2.7.2–3.

103–4 Traxit ... Silvas] Ovid *Tristia* 4.1.17; Seneca *Medea* 229

104 nemorum deas] This is also mentioned by Seneca *Hercules Oetaeus* 1052–3.

111 volis / wings] For this sense cf Isidore *Etymologiae* 12.7.4: *in avibus vola [dicitur] pars media alarum, quarum motu pinnae agitantur.*

113 velivolam ratem] Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.5.42

117 Plus dicam = Line 97 above, where see note

117 regna ... pallida] Lucan 1.456

119–20 Sisiphi – onus] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.44.

120 concrepitans] Prudentius *Peristefanon* 11.56, in a somewhat different sense. The verb is a relatively rare intensive form of *concrepo* (which does not fit the metre here); cf line 75n above.

122–4 Victor – rogus / Gideon – its flames] In *Marias* prologue f 8^r^ Cornelis invokes the Holy Spirit, who once inspired Old Testament singers and musicians such as Miriam (Exod 15:20–1) and Judith (Jth 16). He goes on to mention Gideon, David, Elisha (the son of Shaphat; cf 2 Kings 3:15), and the three young men in the fiery oven:

Plus dicam. Tu castra tubis inserte canoris
  Vincis, et hymnidica voce triumphus adest.
Per Davidis cytharam demulces principis iram
  Dum solet insanum precipitare furor.
Psaltis in officio superum deductus ab arce
  Imples Saphatidem rege petente pio
Tuque in Chaldei positis fornace tyranni
  Carmine sparsisti robur ab igne procul.

I will add to that. Mingled with the sonorous trumpet-blasts, you conquered the [enemy's] camp, and the triumph was celebrated with hymn-singing voices. Through David's lyre you soothed the king's anger, whenever the fury maddened him. Sent down from heaven to serve as minstrel, you inspired the son of Shaphat, as requested by the pious king. And through song you kept the fire's power far away from the men cast into the furnace of the Chaldean tyrant.

122 Victor – tuba / Gideon – trumpet blew] Judg 7:15–23

123 David – mitigat / through song David soothed Saul] See lines 45–6n above.

123–4 carmine ... flammas posuit rogus / through song ... the funeral pyre put down its flames] This refers to the apocryphal Song of the Three Young Men (Dan 3:24–90 in the Vulgate). Cf AH 50 164.51–2, referring to the three young men in the fiery oven: *Cum rapidis cincti canerent haec carmina flammis, / Vimque suam oblitus sanctos non laederet ignis* 'when they sang these songs in the midst of the raging flames, and the fire, forgetting its power to burn, did not harm the holy men.'

126 genio fruens] Cf Ovid *Tristia* 3.7.47: *ingenio ... meo comitorque fruorque*; see lines 43–64n above.

130–2 Ipsis – modos / Mankind persists – sweet music] In the poem that Erasmus originally sent to Cornelis, these lines were meant to contrast with lines 93–6.

134 Torva bile] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.13.4; Persius 2.13–14; Statius *Silvae* 2.1.58.

137–40 Conculcata – invias] Cf 98.21–2 below.

138 Calliope] The Muse of epic poetry and Orpheus' mother. She was considered chief among the nine Muses; see Hesiod *Theogony* 79 and Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.662.

147 syderium ... polum] Alexander Hegius *Carmina* sig B3^v^: *Scandit sidereum polum*; sig E6^v^: *sidereo ... polo*; cf poem 112.148n below. For the spelling *syderium* see line 51n above; MS Scriverius reads *sydereum*.

149–56 Nec si – malis] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 2.42–4; *Aeneid* 6.625–7.

149–52 Nec si – rosas] Cf Alexander Hegius *Carmina* sig c2r: *Non tot stelliferis polo / Lucent sidera noctibus* / [two lines] / *Nec tot prata nitentibus / Verno tempore floribus / Albent, cum Zephyri tepor / Terris gramina sparserit;* poem 98.1–4 below.

149–50 quot – culmine] Cf 50.186–8n above.

149 placidis ... noctibus] Virgil *Aeneid* 7.427

149–50 ignea ... sydera] Ovid *Heroides* 19(20).55–6; Statius *Thebaid* 1.499; cf poem 98.1–2 below.

151 tepidum flante] Cf 64.28n above.

156 seclo] Both Snoy and MS Scriverius have *seculo* (which, however, must be read with synizesis).

158 pars animae non tenuis meae] Allen Ep 17:29 (to Cornelis Gerard); cf Ovid *Ex Ponto* 1.8.2; poem 10.16n above.

162 vesana ... mens] Lucan 10.333–4

163–4 Insanire – notans] Cf Horace *Ars poetica* 455–6.

164 digito notans / he points his finger at him] Proverbial; see Otto 549.

165 rara – sibi / a skill that is rare draws malice upon itself] Proverbial; see Otto 871; cf Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 50:295–7 / CWE 66 144: 'great honour is bound to cause great jealousy ... [Envy] always accompanies great and difficult accomplishments'; *De copia* ASD I-6 262:641 / CWE 24 639:34–5; Allen Epp 658:5–6 and 1451:69–70 / CWE Ep 658:6–7; poem 132.23–4 below; cf also 2.4–5 above and 110.145–6 below.

166–7 pallida Confecti macie] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.775 (describing Envy); Virgil *Aeneid* 3.590.

167–8 turgidum Fastu] Claudian *De consulatu Stilichonis* 2.159

168 livor edax] See line 7n above.

172 frons excipiet decus / our brows will be crowned with honour] They will wear the laurel wreath, both as poets (cf line 11) and as victors.

174 Nil – edibus / Up to this point – sacred temple] Here Cornelis alludes to the commonplace of the *spoliatio Aegyptiorum* (the despoiling of the Egyptians). When the Jews left Egypt they took the country's treasures in order to adorn their tabernacle and, eventually, their temple; see Exod 3:20–2, 11:1–2, and 12:35–6. By an analogy first advanced by Origen, Christians may despoil the works of pagan authors so long as they use these treasures to adorn the church of Christ; see especially Augustine *De doctrina christiana* 2.40.60–1 (CCSL 32 73–5). Erasmus also drew on this commonplace. See *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 116:21–117:6 and 129:17–18 / CWE 23 97:9–21 and 112:15–16; Allen Ep 49:92–6 / CWE Ep 49:107–11, where *vernaculis opibus splendescere* should be translated as 'splendidly adorned with native [Egyptian] treasures'; *Enchiridion* LB V 7D, 25F, and 66B / CWE 66 33, 62, and 127. Cf Kohls *Theologie* I 35–7; and poem 135.18–19 below. Henceforth Cornelis did indeed devote his muse to religious themes, the most ambitious work being his *Marias* in thirty books; for other devotional poems by Cornelis see Tilmans *Aurelius* 198–9. Erasmus was to follow Cornelis' lead in the winter of 1490–1.

175–6 sceptra – spoliis / like David – Melchom] 2 Sam 12:30 says that after David conquered the Ammonites, 'he took the crown of their king from his head' and had it placed on his own. In 1 Chron 20:2 (Vulg) the crown is said to have been taken from the head of Melchom; from the gold and precious stones in it a new crown was made for David. In 2 Kings 23:13 (Vulg) Melchom is the name of the idol of the Ammonites. Jerome reconciled these versions in *Quaestiones Hebraicae in librum II Regum* [that is, 2 Sam] 12:29–30 (PL 23 1417) by explaining that the name Melchom means 'their king' or 'their idol.' Thus David, having melted down the gold and cleansed the gems according to the Law, made himself a crown from the crown of an idol.

177–8 Gomer – inclitum / I will enjoy – glorious Israel] See Hos 1–2. Jerome, in his famous letter to the orator Magnus at Rome (*Letters* 70.2), draws the analogy between Hosea's marriage to the harlot Gomer and a Christian author's use of secular literature. The example became a commonplace in the defence of pagan letters. See also Erasmus *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 112:13–23 / CWE 23 92:24–93:5; cf *Enchiridion* LB V 8B / CWE 66 34.

177 coniugio fruar] Ovid *Fasti* 5.528

180 Lybetridum] Virgil *Eclogues* 7.21

181–4 In nos – equus / With your beastly mouth – to fleas] Quoted by Erasmus in Allen Ep 22:31–4 / CWE Ep 22:33–6

184 Nec – equus / A horse pays no attention to fleas] Cf *Adagia* I x 66: *Indus elephantus haud curat culicem* 'An Indian elephant does not notice a gnat'; Allen Epp 175:4–5 and 178:36–7 / CWE Epp 175:6 and 178:39; *De copia* ASD I-6 108:988–9 / CWE 24 395:18–19; and elsewhere. The present passage follows a variant cited in Walther 22869a: *Pulices elephas non curat.* This variant entails a metrical error in Cornelis' line, since the first syllable of *pulices*, here scanned short, should according to classical usage be long. For this reason MS Scriverius corrects the form *pulices* to *culices*. That *pulices* does indeed represent the original reading is shown by its occurrence also in Allen Ep 22:34.

187 Ne – pessimo / lest you have lampoons sung about you] So Ovid attacks an unnamed enemy in his *Ibis* (named after the long-billed wading bird closely related to the stork). The title of Ovid's satiric poem inspired Cornelis to compare his own enemy to a stork in the following lines.

189–91 ciconia – aspidum / like a stork – wild woods] Storks were said to feed on snakes and toads; see for instance Virgil *Georgics* 2.320; Pliny *Naturalis historia* 10.31.62; Juvenal 14.74–5; Erasmus *Adagia* LB II 22C–D / CWE 31 45:380–2; *Parabolae* ASD I-5 292:121–2 / CWE 23 255:41–257:1; *Lingua* ASD IV-1A 88:77 / CWE 29 321.

192 sacras aquilas / sacred eagles] *Adagia* III vii 1, especially ASD II-6 412:403–22. In ancient symbolism the eagle, the king of birds, was associated with Zeus and victory; in Christian symbolism the eagle stood for Christ, divine love, and the evangelist John.

193–6 Nunc – moves / Now, as Hercules – sluggish spirits] Cf Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2 preface 49–52, where the poet says that he had stopped singing, just as Orpheus once did; but as Orpheus was moved to take up the lyre again by the exploits of Hercules, so Claudian now feels himself moved to song by Florentinus, a 'second Hercules' (*Tirynthius alter*).

197 Meonidum / of the … Muses] Literally, 'of the Maeonian ladies'; the Muses are so called because they inspired the Maeonian (Lydian) poet Homer (cf line 59 above).

199 (quamquam tenuis) Musa / my muse, however slight] For the modesty for-

mula cf 88.2n above; Horace *Odes* 2.16.38; also poems 110.11–12 and 112.50–1 below.

200 repetit lyram] Cornelis borrows this phrase in line 48 above. Cf Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2 preface 14: *desuetae repetit fila canora lyrae.*

201–8 Et quis – tuam] Cf 98.13–20 below.

201 quis ... fuit leticiae modus] Rodolphus Agricola *Anna mater* page 301 (at the Virgin's birth): *quis fuit illic / ... laeticiae ... modus?*; poems 110.353–5 and 112.206–7 below.

202 deae / the goddess] The goddess is Fama; cf lines 1–2 above and poem 98.7–16 below.

205 Ingens – minor] Cf Willem Hermans' poem of gratitude to Alexander Hegius (Hyma *Youth* 232): *Ne dic iam meritis fama minora cave;* poem 98.17–18 below.

213 Ceptos – tramites] Cf 98.23 below.

214 non tenuis gloria] Virgil *Georgics* 4.6

217 Aspirent / inspire] See 88.2n above.

218–20 Te – tibi] Cf 4.59–60 above and 98.27–8 below.

218 fata superstitem] Horace *Odes* 3.9.12

219–20 spacii – tibi / may Lachesis – thread for you] Cf 2.29–35n above.

223–4 ora – Vives] Cf 105.54n below.

94–7

Like poem 93 above, nos 94–7 were first published without Erasmus' consent by Reyner Snoy in *Herasmi Roterodami Silva carminum* (Gouda: Aellaerdus Gauter 1513). In that edition the elegies are labelled as 'satires.' While Erasmus did not reprint no 93 – in Cornelis' redaction it was, after all, not his own work – he did of his own accord (though very reluctantly) have the present series of poems printed in *Progymnasmata quaedam primae adolescentiae Erasmi* (Louvain: D. Martens 1521). Added to these early poems were reprints of nos 43 and 44. We have adopted the 1521 authorized edition as our copy-text for nos 94–7. In this edition the moral satires 94–6 are announced on the verso of the title-page as: *Elegiae protrepticae, ad capessendam virtutem, relictis viciorum alimentis. Opus ceptum tantum* 'Hortatory elegies urging the reader to strive for virtue and give up the things that nourish vice. A work that was merely begun.'

The three elegies were probably composed in the winter of 1490–1. This date contradicts both Snoy's testimony in his preface to *Silva carminum* that Erasmus at the time of writing nos 93–7 was not yet twenty (*nondum agebat annum vigesimum*) and Erasmus' statement in the letter to Botzheim (Allen I 5:33–5 / CWE Ep 1341A:165–7) that he was not yet eighteen years old (*nondum annos natus octodecim*) when he began declaiming against the vices of lechery, avarice, and ambition in order to improve his skills in writing elegiac distichs. If taken at face value these indications would have us assume a composition date in c 1484–6, since he was in fact born in 1466. But Erasmus habitually understated the true age at which he composed his early works; see Vredeveld 'Ages' section 2.

The elegies are closely related in theme and language to certain chapters of *De contemptu mundi*. Reedijk 206 therefore rightly assigns both the poems and the prose work to roughly the same time period. Thus, to determine the composition date of one is to know the approximate date of the other.

Erasmus himself does not assign a precise date to his *De contemptu mundi*, but does give two conflicting age references for it. In the preface to the printed edition (Louvain: D. Martens 1521) he recalls that he was 'scarcely twenty' when he wrote the work; see ASD V-1 39:8–11 / CWE 66 134. This statement, if taken literally, places the book in late 1486. Internal evidence, however, suggests that in fact it was written when Erasmus was twenty-four years old. See ASD V-1 57:475–6 / CWE 66 150: *Iam quartum et vigesimum annum agimus* 'I am now twenty-four years old.' Since Erasmus was born in 1466, this age reference points to a date of composition sometime between 28 October 1490 and 28 October 1491; see Vredeveld 'Ages' section 1.

A more precise indication, which pushes the date of composition to the spring of 1491, may be derived from Erasmus' apparent source for the thought and the phrasing of *Ulysses ... cera aures oppleverit* 'Ulysses ... stopped his ears with wax' in *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 42:75–7 / CWE 66 137. The model seems to be Bartholomäus Zehender's *Silva carminum* (Deventer: Iacobus Bredensis, 16 February 1491) sig [c4^v]: *Auribus oppletis caera ... Ulysses* 'Ulysses, having stopped his ears with wax.' Both Zehender and Erasmus (contrary to Homer *Odyssey* 12.39–54 and 12.166–200) say that Ulysses stopped his ears with wax and both use the verb *oppleo* rather than the usual *obturo* or *claudo* (cf Otto 213 and 1657). Zehender's source was St Basil *Ad adolescentes* 4, a standard work in defence of the study of pagan literature. Since, however, Erasmus never adduces this book in his attacks on barbarism of 1489–95, we may safely assume that it was still unknown to him at the time; see Schucan *Nachleben* 176–80. According to Allen Ep 28:20–2 / CWE Ep 28:20–1 (written in c March 1491; see headnote on poem 50 above), Erasmus had a copy of Zehender's poems. If Erasmus' source was indeed Zehender's printed book of poems and not a manuscript circulating before publication, *De contemptu mundi* must have been written some time after 16 February 1491. And since Ep 28 does not mention *De contemptu mundi*, the work was probably written after March 1491.

This brings us back to the three moral elegies which, as we observed, were probably more or less contemporaneous with *De contemptu mundi*. Fortunately there is good evidence also for dating the elegies. In no 96 there is an evident borrowing from Fausto Andrelini's *Livia*, a book of amatory poems published on 1 October 1490; see 96.8n below. In Allen Ep 28:16 / CWE Ep 28:16, written in c March 1491, Erasmus mentions 'that one solitary satire' which he had written not long before. In all likelihood this refers to the present tripartite moral satire. We can thus assign the date winter 1490–1 to poems 94–6.

In view of its evident relationship to no 96 we may place no 97 in c 1490–1.

Erasmus' preface (Ep 1193)

1 mea / my writings] That is, Erasmus' books in unauthorized editions

3–6 id quod nuper – Paludano / as somebody or other – Petrus Paludanus] Erasmus is referring to a book printed under his name in 1519 or 1520 and several times thereafter, entitled *Brevissima maximeque compendiaria conficiendarum epistolarum formula*. This book is based on some early notes of Erasmus' on the art of letter-writing. Erasmus later revised and expanded these notes in *De conscribendis epistolis*; for a translation of both versions see CWE 25. The unauthorized editions of the *Formula* contain a dedicatory epistle, allegedly written by Erasmus and closely resembling Ep 71. It is addressed to a certain Petrus Paludanus; see CEBR III 47–8. Even earlier, Johannes Despauterius had quoted extensively from Erasmus' work in progress on letter-writing; see Judith Rice Henderson 'Despauterius' *Syntaxis* (1509): The Earliest Publication of Erasmus' *De conscribendis epistolis*' HL 37 (1988) 175–210.

8 semel atque iterum / once or twice] Nos 94–7 were first published by Reyner Snoy in *Silva carminum* (Gouda 1513) while Erasmus was in England. No other unauthorized edition is known. Erasmus also complains about the publication of these poems in Allen Ep 341:8–10 / CWE Ep 341:10–12, dated 30 July 1515. Since he there calls the poems *epigrammata* (a term much wider in meaning than the modern English word 'epigrams'), Allen and the annotator in CWE assume that Erasmus was referring to the *Varia epigrammata*, first printed in January 1507. But those *Epigrammata* were published of Erasmus' own accord and were later reprinted in the *Epigrammata* of 1518; they were clearly not the poems that had been filched by some servant and sold to the printers, as he complains in Ep 341.

94 R 23

The theme of this and the next elegy loosely parallels that of Cornelis Gerard's *De morte* (1488–9); cf Allen Epp 19:33 and 20:107–8, 126–31 / CWE Epp 19:33 and 20:104–5, 123–8. Cornelis' poem, consisting of two books of leonine hexameters and rhyming couplets, is still partially extant in MS 183 D 2:4, ff 34–6 in the municipal library of Haarlem. It should not be confused with his later, much shorter poem *De improvisa morte et proposito melioris vitae ad Celsum* ed P.C. Molhuysen in 'Cornelius Aurelius, nieuwe bescheiden' NAKG n s 4 (1907) 72 (cf CWE Ep 19:33n and CEBR II 88). See Tilmans *Aurelius* 23 n57.

The thematic parallel to Cornelis' earlier poem does not necessarily imply that nos 94 and 95 are merely 'an elaboration on a theme suggested by the *De Morte,*' as Ferguson proposes in *Opuscula* 11. Both Cornelis' and Erasmus' poems stand in a long tradition of *memento mori* and *contemptus mundi* poems and tracts; see also no 108 below.

Metre: elegiac distich

1–6 Heu – boni] Cf 43.1–8 above and 117.1–4 below; *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 52:327–9 / CWE 66 145 (beginning of Alexander's speech).

1 quantum – noctis] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.472–3.

2 noxius error habet = *Pamphilus* 638: *Insipiens temere, male perdis gaudia vitae, / Teque tuosque dies noxius error habet.*

3–4 perhenni ... anxietate] Cf Juvenal 13.211: *perpetua anxietas;* Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 44:129, 50:303, and 72:877.

6 quicquid in orbe = Ovid *Heroides* 20(21).148 and *Fasti* 1.494

7–14 Ecce – novas / But look – natural phenomena] This is a list of topics for subsequent elegies. The theme of avarice (lines 7–8) is treated in no 96; the topic of lechery (lines 9–10) is dealt with in no 95. The other two satires, on ambition and sinful curiosity, were not completed, though Erasmus was apparently still planning to write a poem on ambition as late as lines 99–100 below. In *De contemptu mundi* Erasmus does have a chapter on ambition (ASD V-1 50–2 / CWE 66 144–6), but not on curiosity.

7 hic – umbris] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.139–40; poem 96.57 below.

7 Stygiis ... umbris = Statius *Thebaid* 11.85

8 insatiatus / never satisfied] See 96.2n below.

9 Mollibus ... illecebris] Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 19.43

9 indulget amori = Valerius Flaccus 2.356; cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9.595–6.

10 Blandaque – amat] Cf 95.6 below.

10 Blanda ... gaudia] Virgil *Aeneid* 5.827–8

10 mortiferae ... carnis] Sedulius Scottus *Carminum appendix* 2.33

10 gaudia carnis] Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 19.192

11 fasces ... superbos] Horace *Odes* 1.12.34–5

12 gradum] Cf 105.15 below.

13–14 Est – novas / Some find pleasure – natural phenomena] A marginal note in *1521* says that this refers to *curiositas* 'impious curiosity.' For the phrasing of lines 13–14 cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.849–50. For the sentiment cf Erasmus *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 97:19–21 / CWE 23 75:29–31; *Adagia* I vi 69; *Moria* ASD IV-3 110:727–37 / CWE 27 107, where the innocent folk of the golden age are said to have been 'too pious in their beliefs to develop an irreverent curiosity for probing the secrets of nature, measuring the stars, calculating their movements and influence, and seeking the hidden causes of the universe [*rerum causas*]. They thought it sacrilege for mortal man to attempt to acquire knowledge outside his allotted portion. The madness of inquiring into what is beyond the heavens never even entered their heads.' This attitude, raised to a doctrine by the Cynics, was naturally also congenial to the writers of *contemptus mundi* literature; see for example Innocent III *De miseria condicionis humane* 1.11; cf also Sir 3:21. Outside of these traditions, however, the study of the stars is a symbol of man's divinity and intelligence; see 76.7–8n above. On the subject of curiosity in Erasmus' later works see André Godin 'Erasme: "pia/impia curiositas"' in *La curiosité à la Renaissance* ed Jean Céard (Paris 1986) 25–36.

14 Et rerum causas = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.68; cf Virgil *Georgics* 2.490.

15 agit sua quenque libido / each is driven by his own passion] Proverbial; cf Virgil *Eclogues* 2.65: *trahit sua quemque voluptas;* Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.749; Walther 4739c and 31520.

15 sua quenque libido = Prudentius *Amartigenia* 776

16 Navigat – suis] Cf Ovid *Remedia amoris* 14.

17 mortale – labore] Cf Avitus *Carmina* 4.118: *Cum fureret mortale genus cassoque labore / Inrita transcensis caementa inferret in altum / Nubibus.*

18 Dona – legis] Cf 96.14 below.

19 stolidis ... terris] Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 2.27 (in a Neoplatonic sense, of the dull, material world opposed to the world of truth and ideas); line 55 below; cf poems 24.1 above and 111.98 below.

19 sunt commercia terris] Cf Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.549; Manilius 1.88; Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 21.426.

20 Cui – patria est / since heaven is your fatherland] For the commonplace that heaven is our true homeland see for example Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 1.11.24; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 86.1; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1.5.3, 3 metrum 6.5, 3.12.9, 4.1.9, 4 metrum 1.25, and 5.1.4; cf poems 2.49n and 76.7–8 with notes above, lines 51–8 below.

21 patrio ... coelo] Statius *Achilleid* 1.2

23–6 Quid – rubis] Erasmus' model is Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 3 metrum 8.3–8. That passage is explicitly referred to in Erasmus' *Adagiorum collectanea* (1500) sig a8^r^; see CWE 31 369, note on *Adagia* I iv 74.

23–4 per – Sectare / chase scale-coated fish on the rocky peaks] Cf Otto 27; Erasmus *Adagia* I iv 74.

23 squamigeros ... pisces] Cicero *Aratea* 574 (328), referring to the constellation Pisces

23 saxosa cacumina = Silius Italicus 13.882; Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 2.723

24 Sectare ... leporem] Horace *Satires* 1.2.105–6; Ovid *Remedia amoris* 201

24 freta vasta] Ovid *Tristia* 3.10.28; *Ex Ponto* 3.4.58
25–6 Quaeris – rubis / and why do you seek – brambles] Cf Matt 7:16.
26 fertilis uva = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 10.9.38
29 luctus ... luxus] The same wordplay occurs in line 83 below.
31 te ... vexat ... cupido] Horace *Epistles* 1.18.98
33 ignorantia veri = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.92
35–6 simulachra bonorum, Et fallax ... umbra] Cf 43.7–8n above.
36 fallax – tuos / they bewitch – appearances] Cf 96.34 below; *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 44:139–45:140 / CWE 66 139: 'the fatally tempting image of this world casts a spell on your eyes.' For *fascinat* 'bewitch' see also Gal 3:1.
37 stimulis ... amaris = Virgil *Aeneid* 11.337; Prudentius *Amartigenia* 187
37 vicientur amaris] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.286; *Ex Ponto* 1.10.3
38 Vertitur in lachrymas risus] Cf Prov 14:13: 'Even in laughter the heart is sad, and the end of joy is grief'; Alain de Lille *De planctu Naturae* 1.1: *In lacrimas risus, in luctus gaudia verto.* In Allen Ep 8:77–9 Erasmus inverts Alain's line: *Tu unus es ... qui dolores in gaudia, qui luctus in risum vertere facillime queas.*
39 Mixta labore quies = Line 68 and poem 105.46 below
39 nulla est syncera voluptas = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.453
42 pondera pulchra / beautiful clogs] Cf *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 46:186 / CWE 66 141: 'this precious burden'; poem 96.59n below: *preciosa pericula.*
47 cuique – cupido] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 9.185.
49 resipisce] See 2.189n above.
53 sanguinis ortus = Statius *Silvae* 5.3.116
54 semina prima = Baptista Mantuanus *Contra poetas impudice loquentes* in *Opera* II f 105ʳ: *deus ... / Unde trahunt rerum semina prima genus*
55 stolidae ... terrae] See line 19n above.
55 incola terrae = Ovid *Ex Ponto* 1.1.1; Statius *Silvae* 5.2.143
57 procedis ab ore] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10.129–30: *Animae ... / factoris ab ore creatae; Apotheosis* 778; Gen 2:7; poem 110.223–4n below.
58 statuam ... suam / an image of himself] Gen 1:26–7; cf 110.221 below.
60 memor ipse tui] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.336.
63 Sydera – levis] Cf 76.8 above.
65–90 Est illic – mortis iter / What you love is there – the road to another death] For the use of the twin emotions of hope and fear in exhortations of this sort see *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 326:1–19 / CWE 25 80–1 and *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 328:21–329:59: hope is aroused for example by the promise of such rewards as immortality, happiness, tranquillity; fear, by the amplification of such terrors as hell and everlasting torment.
67 Gaudia ... nescia luctus] Cf 108.3–4 below (heaven): *luctus ignara ... / Gaudia.*
68 mixta labore quies = Line 39 above and poem 105.46 below
69 Pax secura = Statius *Silvae* 3.5.85
69 bellique tumultus] Lucan 6.53
70 attenuentur opes] Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.5.38
72 Ignibus] See 98.1–2n below.
72 astrigeri ... poli] Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina spuria* 1.260
73 cunctorum – bonorum] Cf Cornelis Gerard *Marias* 8 f 85ᵛ: *cunctorum fons est*

et origo bonorum; Erasmus *Psalmi* 1 ASD V-2 38:159–60 and 22 ASD V-2 340:366, 365:223, and elsewhere; cf 43.61n above.

75 si – rerum] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.272.

77 tormenta gehennae = Baptista Mantuanus *De contemnenda morte* in *Opera* II f 150^v; cf Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 5.56.

78 Quem – timor / whoever is not led – fear itself] Cf Thomas a Kempis *The Imitation of Christ* 1.24.44: *Bonum tamen est, ut si necdum amor a malo te revocat, saltem timor gehennalis coerceat* 'Nevertheless it is good that, if love [of God] has not yet called you back from evil, at least the fear of hell should restrain you.' The thought is central to the meditation on the four last things; see headnote on no 108 below.

78 ducit ... trahat / led on ... drawn on] The opposition of these verbs recalls the proverb cited in Seneca *Epistulae morales* 107.11: *Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt* 'Fate leads the willing soul, drags along the unwilling.'

79 Suspicere aethereum ... Olympum] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.579.

83–4 Quos – fuit] Cf Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 10.114–16 (of the damned in hell): *quorum hic mortua vita / In culpa fuerit, ibi vivet semper eorum / Mors in suppliciis*. For the thought see 9.5n above.

83 luxibus ... luctus] Cf line 29 above.

86 mors – premat / the death which never dies – for all time] This recalls a traditional formula for eternal death; see Pseudo-Augustine *Liber de spiritu et anima* 56 (PL 40 821): *miseris mors est sine morte, finis sine fine* 'for those who are damned death is without death, an end without end'; Gregory the Great *Moralia in Iob* 9.66.100 (CCSL 143 528); Hans-Henrik Krummacher '"De quatuor novissimis". Über ein traditionelles theologisches Thema bei Andreas Gryphius' in *Respublica Guelpherbytana. Wolfenbütteler Beiträge zur Renaissance- und Barockforschung. Festschrift für Paul Raabe* Chloe 6 ed August Buck and Martin Bircher (Amsterdam 1987) 539–40.

86 morte carens] Horace *Odes* 2.8.12; Ovid *Amores* 1.15.32; *Tristia* 3.3.61; *Metamorphoses* 15.158

86 tempus in omne = Ovid *Amores* 3.2.62; *Ars amatoria* 2.314; and often

87 volvantur ... lapsu] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.524; Lucan 2.268

88 celeri ... pede = Ovid *Fasti* 4.782; *Ibis* 456; poem 95.54 below

88 mors inopina = Baudri de Bourgeuil *Carmina* 30.6 and 66.4; Nigel de Longchamps *Speculum stultorum* 1050; Fausto Andrelini *Livia* 4.3.2.

90 mortis iter = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 1.2.16 and 2.1.6; poem 96.42n below; cf Prudentius *Psychomachia* 89; *Contra Symmachum* 2.898.

91 surdis canit auribus / preaching ... to deaf ears] Proverbial; see Otto 212 and 1715.

93 obstruit aures / ears ... are blocked = Virgil *Aeneid* 4.440. The idea is proverbial; see Otto 213.

95 duram ... mortem] For the phrase see Virgil *Georgics* 3.68; *Aeneid* 10.791; and often; poem 110.141 below; cf 111.75.

96 perpetuos ... dies] Cf 98.28 below.

97–8 Hic – suis / This rash young man – his own wealth] Line 97 announces the theme of poem 95; line 98 announces the theme of poem 96.

99 purpureos ... reges] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.102–3; Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.300

95 R 24

This moral satire closely parallels the chapter on the inevitability of death in *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 52–6 / CWE 66 146–50. The 'Poem on the troubles of old age' (2) deals with essentially the same topic but uses Erasmus himself as the chief exemplum of the flight of youth. Like the earlier no 104, the present elegy is an inverted *carpe diem* poem exhorting the reader to make wise use of time while it lasts, because old age and death are drawing near with silent step. See the introduction, CWE 85 xxxix–xlii above.

Metre: elegiac distich

1–20 Stulte – genis / Fool – our own lethargy] Cf Luke 12:19–20: '"I will say to my soul, Soul ... take your ease, eat, drink, be merry." But God said to him, "Fool! This night your soul is required of you"'; Thomas a Kempis *The Imitation of Christ* 1.23.37: *Stulte, quid cogitas te diu victurum?* 'Fool, why do you think you will go on living for a long time?'

1 Stulte, quid = Martial 3.85.3; Walther 30388b–30390; poems 96.15 and 105.11 below

2 tremulos ... dies] Cf Propertius 4.7.73.

4 capiti ... tuo = Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.582; *Ibis* 446

5 iuvat indulgere = Virgil *Aeneid* 2.776 and 6.135; poem 102.19 below

6 Gaudia – sequi] Cf 94.10 above.

7–20 Dextra – genis / While the propitious – our own lethargy] This is the quintessentially hedonistic *carpe diem* argument: 'Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die' (Isa 22:13; 1 Cor 15:32; cf Wisd 2:1–9). Numerous lines and phrases from the earlier friendship poem 104 reappear in the present elegy.

7–8 Dextra – modis] Cf 104.25–8 below.

7 dum fata – aetas] See 2.195n above.

7 dum fata sinant] Tibullus 1.1.69; Propertius 2.15.23 (in similar context); Ovid *Tristia* 5.3.5; Statius *Thebaid* 10.216; cf poem 109.27 below.

7 dum floreat aetas] Martial 10.86.3; cf Ovid *Fasti* 5.353.

9–12 laetitiae – iocis] Cf Horace *Epistles* 2.2.56; *Odes* 1.9.15–16; poem 2.222–4n above.

11 tenerique Cupidinis ignes] Cf Ovid *Tristia* 2.537.

14 Cura dolorque procul = 99.8, 9 below; cf 99.2n.

14 tristia cuncta = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.13.34; Maximianus *Elegies* 1.52

15 superis ... divis] Virgil *Aeneid* 12.817

15 permittite caetera divis] Horace *Odes* 1.9.9; Erasmus *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 47:2; cf *Moria* ASD IV-3 168:697.

17 Ocia ... iuventae = Statius *Silvae* 3.5.61; cf *Silvae* 1.2.182.

17 Ocia ... peragamus] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.100

17 tenerae ... iuventae = Statius *Thebaid* 2.707; *Silvae* 5.5.18; cf poems 2.74 and 6.55 above.

18 Tradatur – fretis] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.26.1–3.

18 tumidis ... fretis] Cf 110.294 below.

18 noxia cura] Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 2.5

19–20 Utamur – genis] Cf Propertius 4.5.59–60; poem 104.26–7 below.

19 Utamur ... aevo] Cf Ovid *Tristia* 4.3.83; *Fasti* 5.353; Tibullus 1.8.47–8.

20 vernat] See 2.67n above.

20 laeta iuventa = Walther 8616b and poem 104.26 below. Cf Virgil *Georgics* 3.63; *Aeneid* 2.394–5; poem 64.29 above.

21–2 quid – cadas / why do you lean – let you fall] *Adagia* II vi 70; Allen Ep 126:175–6 / CWE Ep 126:203–4; *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 224:10–11. The image is based on 2 Kings 18:21, Isa 36:6, and Ezek 29:6–7.

24 maximus orbis habet = Ovid *Fasti* 1.600

25–7 Noto – sagitta] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 5.242; poems 105.5–8n and 110.237 below.

25–6 Noto – aquis] Cf 2.79–82 above with notes.

26 liquidis ... aquis = Ovid *Remedia amoris* 448; *Fasti* 5.82; and often; cf line 30n and poem 106.102n below.

26 Hebrus aquis = Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2 preface 18

27 Ocyor – sagitta] Cf Silius Italicus 16.481.

27 nervo – sagitta] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 5.502; *Georgics* 4.313.

28 veris ... novi] See 106.67n below.

29 nebula / mist] See 108.9n below; cf 85.7n above.

30 Et – aquas] Cf Ovid *Fasti* 2.220.

30 liquidas ... aquas = Tibullus 1.9.12; Ovid *Amores* 1.8.6; cf line 26n above.

30 sole tepescit] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.63, 3.412

31 secat ... coelum] Seneca *Oedipus* 605

31 medium ... coelum = Virgil *Aeneid* 9.20; cf poem 102.57n below.

31 pernicior alite = Statius *Thebaid* 4.312

32 Flos / a flower] A conventional metaphor; see for instance Job 14:2; Ps 103:15; Isa 40:6–7; cf poem 2.73n above.

33 tenueis – auras] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 5.740; *Georgics* 4.499-500; poem 83.13–14n above.

35–52 Si levis – cadit] Cf 2.204–10 above and 104.1–12 below.

37–8 purpureis ... Floribus] Virgil *Georgics* 4.54; *Aeneid* 5.79, 6.884, and often; line 49 and poem 104.3 below

37 humus lasciviat] Geoffrey of Vinsauf *Poetria nova* 901

39–40 Luxuriat – comis] Cf 104.1–2 below; Horace *Odes* 4.7.1–2.

39 frondibus arbor = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.46, 13.690 and 847; *Fasti* 1.153; poem 64.26 and 30 above, line 47 below

41 Mollia – partus] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.11: *mollia purpureum pingunt violaria campum*; cf line 49 and poem 104.3 below.

42 aspera spina rosis = AH 52 30.16: *Fulget purpureis aspera spina rosis*; line 50 and poem 104.4 below; cf 106.68. The model is Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.2.34 (in older editions): *saepe creat molles aspera spina rosas.*

43–4 nitent – novo] Cf 106.60 below.

43 nitent ... gramina flore] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.34; poem 106.7, 88, 92, and 97 below.

45 tempora veris = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.116

46 horrida bruma] Virgil *Georgics* 3.442–3

47–65 Iam – rugis] Most of these lines also occur in the *carpe diem* poem 104 below. For lines 47–52 cf 104.1–6; for lines 53–65 cf 104.13–22.

47 Iam – virent] Cf Horace *Odes* 4.12.3; poem 106.92n below.

47 moeret – arbos] Cf 64.25, 26n above, 109.11–12 below.

48 Et ... virides ... comas = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 6.1.4; cf Martial 13.19.2 and Tibullus 1.7.34.

49–50 Iam – rosis] See lines 41–2 above with notes; cf also Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.115–16.

49 purpurei ... flores] See lines 37–8n above.

51 dissimilesque sui] See 2.61n above.

51 sine gramine campi = 104.5 below, where see note

52 subito / suddenly] See 2.10n above.

53 Sic sic = 2.83 above, where see note, and 104.13 below, in similar context

53 male blanda] *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 42:69: *male blandas saeculi illecebras* and 44:139: *male blanda mundi species; Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 64:183 (of the Sirens' song)

53–4 iuventa – pede] Cf Tibullus 1.8.47–8.

54 celeri ... pede = 94.88 above, where see note

55–8 Tristior – malis] See 2.12–13n above.

55 Tristior ... aetas] Statius *Silvae* 1.2.165: *veniet iam tristior aetas;* cf poem 2.195–6n above.

56 Inde – gradu] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 14.143; *Ars amatoria* 2.670; Fausto Andrelini *Livia* 1.3.20: *festinat iter ... / Non intellecto curva senecta gradu.*

57 gravibus curis = Claudian *Panegyricus Probini et Olybrii* 154; cf poem 106.59n below.

57 tristibus ... morbis] Tibullus 1.5.9 and 4.11.3; Virgil *Georgics* 4.252; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.601

57 tristibus aspera = Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.20: *tristibus aspera bellis*

59–68 Haec – tui] See 2.7–22n above.

59 temporibus – capillos] Cf 2.65n above.

60 pendentem – cutem] Cf Jerome *Letters* 140.9; Juvenal 10.192–3; poem 101.6 below.

61 Corpora ... moribunda / your dying body] Statius *Thebaid* 7.760–1. For the idea that old age is a living death see 2.29n above.

61 subito / suddenly] See 2.10n above.

63 Forma perit, pereunt = Girolamo Balbi *Carmina* 94.7 (page 185): *Forma perit, pereunt et opes, vorat omnia tempus;* cf poem 99.14 below. For the commonplace see 2.16n above.

63 in corpore vires = Virgil *Aeneid* 5.396, 475

64 purpureis ... genis] Ovid *Amores* 1.4.22; Statius *Thebaid* 1.538

65 Finditur ... frons ... rugis] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 7.417; Horace *Epodes* 8.3–4; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.276 and 14.96; poem 104.20 below.

65 subito / Suddenly] See 2.10n above.

67 leve caput] Juvenal 10.199

67–8 fis simia – tui] Cf Juvenal 10.191–5.

68 Ignotus – tui] See 2.60–1n above.

69 iuvenilibus annis = 88.92 above, where see note

71–94 Si tamen – suis / if, that is – shafts of grim death] One cannot count on reaching a ripe old age, for death can strike at any time. For this commonplace see for instance Cicero *De senectute* 19.67; Horace *Odes* 4.7.17–18; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 54:383–55:425 / CWE 66 147–9; *Psalmi* 2 ASD V-2 155:853–4.

73 primordia vitae = Iuvencus 2.202

75–82 Lurida – suis / Ghastly, she flits – with her snares] Cf *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 55:423–4 / CWE 66 148.

75–6 Tartareis – cavis] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 2.360 and 6.866; poem 64.34–5n above; cf also Horace *Satires* 2.1.58; Willem Hermans *Sylva odarum* sig b4^{v}: *Tartareis volitat pennis metus omnia circum.*

76 nox spatiosa] Ovid *Heroides* 1.9

77 morbi genus omne] See 2.6–7n above.

78 succo – nigro / arrows dipped in a black potion] Cf Ovid *Ex Ponto* 3.3.106 and 4.10.31. Death-dealing poisons are conventionally 'black'; see for instance Horace *Odes* 1.37.27–8 and Virgil *Aeneid* 2.221.

79 Dentibus – horrendum] Cf Statius *Thebaid* 6.790; Virgil *Aeneid* 3.664, 8.230, and 10.718.

80 Insanam ... famem] Lucan 7.413

82 Haec – suis / Insidiously – with her snares] Cf *Enchiridion* LB V 57E / CWE 66 115: 'Ponder ... how many snares death lays for us, plotting [*insidians*] at every moment and in every place' and LB V 56D / CWE 66 113: 'death threatens us insidiously on every side'; *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 54:412 / CWE 66 148: 'a thousand death traps' and ASD V-1 55:423–4 / CWE 66 148: 'death ... is hatching plots everywhere'; *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 97:30–98:1 / CWE 23 76:6: 'the snares of death'; *De praeparatione* ASD V-1 362:553. The image of death's snares is ancient; see for example Horace *Odes* 3.24.8; Ps 18:5; Prov 21:6; Eccles 9:12 (quoted in Erasmus *De praeparatione* ASD V-1 364:599–601).

87 pereant – senesque / how both young and old are dying] Proverbial; see Walther 15170–1; cf Horace *Odes* 1.28.19, quoted by Erasmus in *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 53:371 / CWE 66 147: 'Many are the funerals, of old and young mingled.'

87 iuvenesque senesque = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.526; *Epicedion Drusi* 203; and often

88 Fervidus / hot-blooded] See 2.165n above.

89–94 Hic – suis] Cf *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 54:385–90 / CWE 66 147; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 450:1–4 / CWE 25 160; *Ecclesiastes* LB V 968D–E.

89 Hic ... ante diem = 70.1 above

90 miserae – habens] Cf *Epicedion Drusi* 264.

91 genetricis ab ubere = Venantius Fortunatus *Carminum appendix* 21.3

91 ab ubere raptus] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.428 and 7.484.

97 longaevae ... senectae] Propertius 2.13.47

98 seros ... dies] Ovid *Ibis* 130; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 2 metrum 7.25

99 brevis ... abstulit hora] Geoffrey of Vinsauf *Poetria nova* 401; cf Lucretius 4.178; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.696.

100 Non sequitur – suum] Cf Horace *Odes* 2.14.22–4; poem 96.112n below.

101–2 Cuncta – Effugiunt] Cf 2.81–4 above (with notes).

101 nebulae / mist] Cf Wisd 2:4: 'our life will ... be scattered like mist [*sicut nebula*]'; poem 85.7n above.
101 vani ... somni] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.614; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 1.88 (in a comparison with the things of this world)
101 simillima somni] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 2.794 and 6.702.
104 Stygios flebilis umbra lacus = Ausonius *Epigrammata* 53.6
106 sequitur – brevem] Cf AH 48 63.7: *brevem voluptatem / perpes poena sequitur.*
106 risum ... brevem] Geoffrey of Vinsauf *Poetria nova* 430: *Quam brevis est risus, quam longa est lacrima mundi*
107–10 Ergo age – tibi] For this conclusion to the *carpe diem* argument cf 2.211–13 above and 104.25–8 below.
107–8 nautica – rate / Too late – by the waves] Cf Ovid *Amores* 2.11.23–4; Erasmus *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 40:3–4 / CWE 26 312: 'If a captain has to learn the art of navigation from repeated shipwrecks ... what an unfortunate way this is to become wise!'
109–10 venturam – Sic] Cf Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.59–60.
110 veniat non metuenda] Cf Denis le Chartreux *De iudicio mortis* 2: *Mors ... nec metuenda venit.*

96 R 25

The third poem in this cycle of moral satires deals with the stock theme of avarice – the insatiable lust for money and material possessions. Erasmus also expatiates on this topic in *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 46:162–48:226 / CWE 66 140–2.

Metre: elegiac distich

1 spe lusus inani] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 11.49.
2 Cogis – opes / O man of greed ... you gather in your riches insatiably] Cf Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 3 metrum 3.2; Walther 27920: *Semper cogit opes numquam satiandus avarus.* Insatiability is the essence of greed; cf for example Eccles 5:10; Seneca *De brevitate vitae* 2.1: *insatiabilis ... avaritia;* Prudentius *Psychomachia* 478: *amor insatiatus habendi;* Erasmus *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 554E / CWE 29 21: 'the bottomless Charybdis of greed'; *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 42:86 / CWE 66 137: 'greed harrowing the mind with its insatiable desire for possession'; poems 49.82 and 94.8 above, lines 34, 79–82n, and 96 below.
5–10 Hinc domus – Notis / For this you leave your home – winds of the south] It is an ancient commonplace that men will risk their lives on the high seas in hopes of gaining a fortune. See for example Tibullus 1.3.39–40, 1.9.9–10, and 2.3.39–40; Horace *Epistles* 1.1.45–6; Seneca *De brevitate vitae* 2.1; Erasmus *Moria* ASD IV-3 136:209–11 / CWE 27 121; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 249:15–17 and 362:22–3 / CWE 25 35 and 105.
8 occiduo ... sub axe latet = Fausto Andrelini *Livia* 2.1.66: *Ursa nec occiduo mersa sub axe latet*

9 metuenda Charybdis = Pseudo-Virgil *Culex* 332 (modern editors prefer the reading *Zanclaea Charybdis*). Charybdis was a dangerous whirlpool in the strait between Sicily and Italy, opposite the rock Scylla; see *Adagia* I v 4.

10 hymbriferis ... Notis] *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam* LB V 1234E; cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.725; poem 104.8 below.

11 per mille pericula = Valerius Flaccus 7.271; Dracontius *De laudibus Dei* 1.727

12 Per phas perque nephas / through fair means or foul] A proverbial expression; see Otto 644; *Nachträge* 56, 72–3, 160, 270–1; Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 113:100–1 / CWE 24 402:1; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 249:5 / CWE 25 35 ('through thick and thin'); *Adagia* LB II 415D / CWE 33 30. The phrase is particularly apt to express the rapaciousness of greed, which stops at nothing to satisfy its hunger. See for example Tacitus *Historiae* 2.56: *in omne fas nefasque avidi*; Walther 16554: *Nescit avarus homo, cui nummos congreget, immo / Per fas atque nefas querit avarus opes*. Erasmus often turns to this phrase when writing on the subject of hoarding money and hunting for temporal goods; see for instance *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 47:209–10 / CWE 66 141: 'the wealth that you have gathered ... by hook or crook'; *Enchiridion* LB V 24D / CWE 66 60: 'the merchant in his ambition to amass wealth by fair means and foul'; LB V 50B (not translated in CWE 66 102): 'to amass *per fas nefasque* wealth worthy of Croesus'; *Moria* ASD IV-3 136:226 / CWE 27 122: 'by fair means or foul'; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 253:670–1 and 255:740; Allen Ep 1304:416 / CWE Ep 1304:448; *Adagia* LB II 189E / CWE 31 402:22–3 and LB II 336F / CWE 32 184; *Psalmi* 14 ASD V-2 288:34–5; *De concordia* ASD V-3 277:670; *De immensa Dei misericordia* LB V 560A; *Lingua* ASD IV-1A 104:600 / CWE 29 337; *Ecclesiastes* LB V 1025B.

13 Quaeritur – curis] Cf line 79n below.

14 Quaeque – suum] Cf 94.18 above.

15 Stulte, quid = 95.1 above, where see note

17–34 Hac – fames] Cf *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 46:165–74 / CWE 66 140.

17 Hac nihil est ... nocentius / Nothing ... is more harmful than money] Cf Sir 10:9–10 (Vulg).

18 Styx ... atra] Virgil *Georgics* 1.243; cf poem 110.29 below.

19–20 Ipsa – boni / She is the very mother – stepmother of virtue] The thought is proverbial; see Otto 229; 1 Tim 6:10; Walther 20263; Claudian *De consulatu Stilichonis* 2.111–13; Prudentius *Amartigenia* 258; Allen Ep 143:221–2 / CWE Ep 143:244; *De copia* ASD I-6 144:928–9 and 246:190–1 / CWE 24 464:4–5 and 622:29; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 249:24–5 / CWE 25 35; paraphrase on 1 Tim 6:10 (LB VII 1054E); line 60n below

19 alumna] The sense of 'nourisher' is late Latin usage.

20 Fomentum vitii = Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 4.423: *Fomentum vicii genitrixque Pecunia luxus*

20 saeva noverca / the cruel stepmother = Ovid *Heroides* 6.126; cf Virgil *Georgics* 2.128; Lucan 4.637; line 29 below. The stepmother's hatred for her stepchildren was proverbial; see poem 56.25n above.

21 Illa – mores] Cf Juvenal 6.298–9.

22 vipereum – malum] Cf 112.175 below with notes.

23 tacitis ... furtis] Ovid *Fasti* 1.549

25 periuria, bella, rapinas] Cf Walther 27908: *Semper avarus amat mendacia, furta, rapinas* and 8263a: *Ex his* [sc *divitiis*] *procedunt periuria, furta, rapinae.*

27 amicus amico = 43.27 above, where see note

29 saevas – novercas] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.147.

32 lurgia – ira] Cf Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 6.244 (listing the results of such vices as greed): *hinc lites, hinc fraus, hinc livor et irae.*

33–4 Illius ... fames] *Illius* is an objective genitive with *fames* (literally 'hunger') in line 34. Hunger is a conventional metaphor for greed; see for example Virgil *Aeneid* 3.57; Horace *Odes* 3.16.18; poem 49.82 above, lines 57, 80, and 91–2 below.

33 humanos ... sensus] Prudentius *Apotheosis* 260

33 caligine sensus = Claudian *De consulatu Stilichonis* 2.133

34 Fascinat – fames] Cf 94.36n and line 2n above.

35–40 Hac – crepas / Greed was the reason – burst asunder] Innocent III *De miseria condicionis humane* 2.9 mentions among others Achan, Gehazi, and Judas as exempla of cupidity; Prudentius *Psychomachia* 529–46 speaks of Achan and Judas.

35 Hac – Hebraeo / Greed was the reason – Jewish people] See Josh 7. Achan broke God's commandment not to take gold and silver from the ruins of Jericho, a crime that stirred God to anger against Israel. After Achan was found out, he and his family were stoned to death.

35 Achar] This is the form of the name in 1 Chron 2:7; Prudentius *Psychomachia* 537; and Innocent III *De miseria condicionis humane* 2.9 (spelled *Achor*). In Josh 7 the name is given as Achan.

36 Hac – abit / it was the reason – white as snow] 2 Kings 5:20–7. After Elisha had cured Naaman of leprosy, the prophet's servant Gehazi asked Naaman for money and festal garments. Elisha, seeing through the deceit, caused Gehazi to be covered with leprosy.

37–8 Ipsa – dolos / It betrayed Samson – Samson's guile] Judg 16:4–21. Samson loved the Philistine woman Delilah. She was offered a great sum of money to find out the secret of Samson's strength. Three times Samson gave her a false answer; but she pestered and berated him all the more, until he finally gave in. Cf 100.27–8 below.

39–40 Hac – crepas / It also caused – burst asunder] Judas betrayed Christ for thirty pieces of silver; see Matt 26:15. According to Matt 27:5 he threw down the money in the temple and hanged himself. Acts 1:18 says that he 'bought a field ... and falling headlong [or: swelling up] he burst open in the middle [*suspensus crepuit medius*] and all his bowels gushed out.' Since the Vulgate text of Acts 1:18 reads *suspensus* 'having hanged himself' the two stories about Judas' end were easily combined. Cf Erasmus *De immensa Dei misericordia* LB V 574F: *confugit ad infelicem laqueum et crepuit medius* 'he had recourse to the wretched noose and burst open in the middle.'

41–2 vorago Criminis] Cf Cicero *In Verrem actio secunda* 3.9.23: *vorago ... aut gurges vitiorum*; Valerius Maximus 9.4 preface: *avaritia ... manifestae praedae avidissima vorago*; Livy 29.17.13.

42 inferni ianua = Matthew of Vendôme *Ars versificatoria* 1.58.38: *inferni ianua, triste Chaos*

42 mortis iter = John of Salisbury *Entheticus minor* 108 and Walther 15669: *Munera Fortunae ... vitiorum / semina sunt, scelerum pabula, mortis iter;* poem 94.90 above, where see note

43–60 Id quoque – mali] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.137–42; *Amores* 3.8.35–54; Horace *Odes* 3.3.49–52; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 94.57; Pliny *Naturalis historia* 33.1.1–2.

44 obice] See poem 111.20 below with note.

45 flava Ceres = Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 2.867. Cf Virgil *Georgics* 1.96; Tibullus 1.1.15; Ovid *Amores* 3.10.3; poem 98.3 below.

45 patentibus arvis = Statius *Thebaid* 8.360

46 pampineo palmite] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.53–4

47 patulis ... ramis = Pseudo-Virgil *Culex* 146; cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.622.

48 Dives ... humus] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.137–8 (in similar context); Martial 12.62.4 (in the golden age, when there was no mining for gold and silver): *scissa nec ad Manes sed sibi dives humus*

48 munera fundit humus] Cf 106.91n and 112.11 below; Virgil *Eclogues* 9.41.

49 natura ... praescia] Lucan 2.3; cf poem 109.23n below.

49 praescia rerum = Iuvencus 1.191

52 obscoenas ... opes] Cf Juvenal 6.298.

53 marmoreo ... sub equore = Virgil *Aeneid* 6.729

57 Quo non dira fames] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 3.56–7.

57 dira fames = Virgil *Aeneid* 3.256; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.845; cf *Anthologia Latina* 649.3: *Auri dira fames;* Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 43: *Dira fames auri.*

57 Stygias ... ad umbras = Lucan 6.568; Statius *Silvae* 3.5.37; cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.139 (in similar context); poem 94.7 above.

59 preciosa pericula] Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 2 metrum 5.30 (in similar context); cf poem 94.42n above.

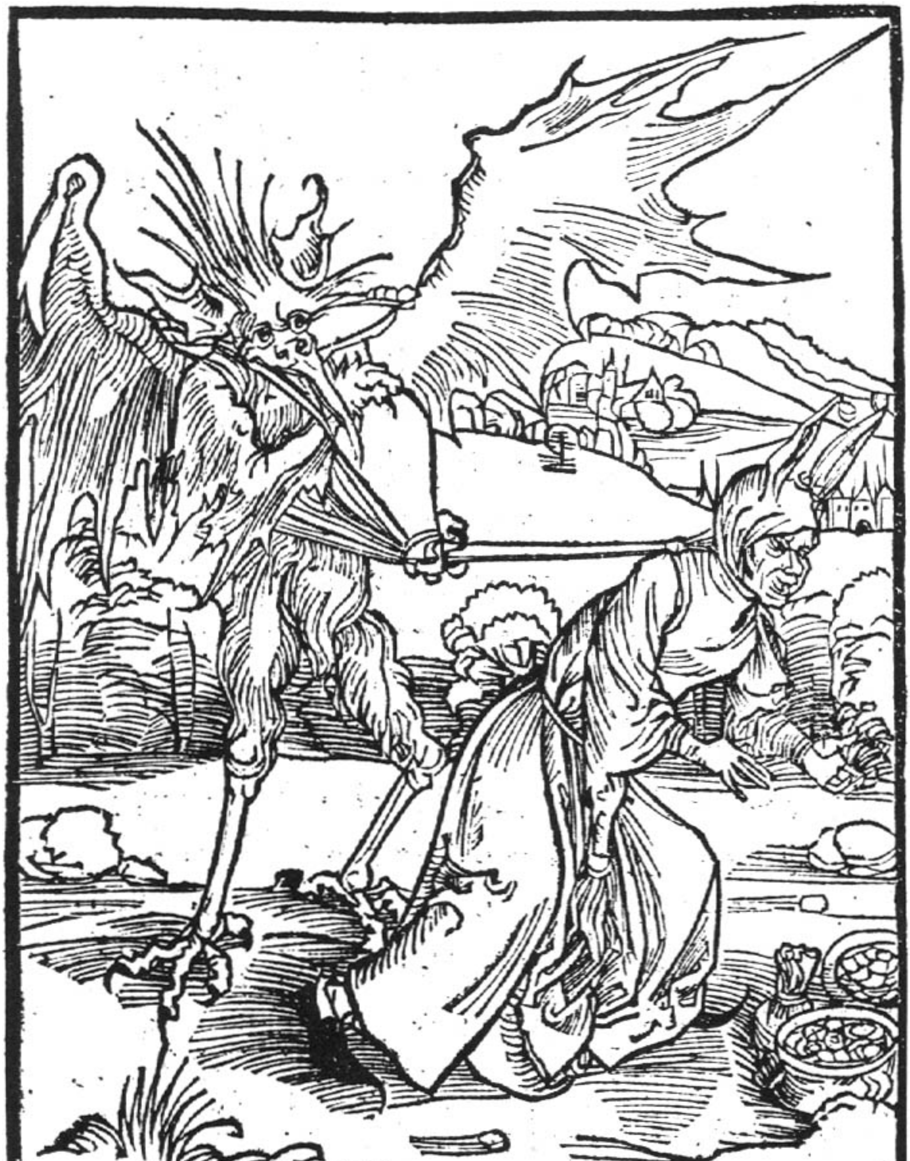
60 materiesque mali = *Pamphilus* 716 (of love); cf Horace *Odes* 3.24.49 (quoted in *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 46:173 / CWE 66 140): *Summi materiem mali;* lines 19–20 above, where see note.

61–70 Sed tu – quies / But reveal – rest is also restless] It is proverbial wisdom that riches do not bring happiness, only cares and worries; see Walther 6059, 6108, 6112b, and 6125; Erasmus *Adagia* III vii 2. See also Eccles 5:17; Horace *Odes* 3.16.17 (quoted in Allen Ep 1460:1); *Satires* 1.1.76–8; Seneca *De tranquillitate animi* 8.1; Juvenal 14.303–4; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 3.3.5 and 3 metrum 3.5; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 46:185–7 / CWE 66 141; *Enchiridion* LB V 60F / CWE 66 120; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 249:26–7 / CWE 25 35: '[riches] are amassed with great toil; preserved, once amassed, with still greater anxiety; and when we must part with them, lost with untold suffering'; *Psalmi* 22 ASD V-2 380:752–5.

61 Mentior at = Horace *Satires* 1.8.37

65–6 Arca – Strangulat] Cf Statius *Silvae* 2.2.151–2: *non tibi sepositas infelix strangulat arca / divitias;* Juvenal 10.12–13.

65 Arca beata quidem] For the half-line cf 93.205, 206 above, 98.17 below. It is also possible to read *arca beata* as paralleling *copia rerum*: *Arca beata (= copia rerum) te quidem strangulat;* in that case the semicolon after *quidem* should



Fool stumbling on a treasure
Woodcut by Albrecht Dürer in Sebastian Brant *Das Narrenschiff*
(Basel: J. Bergmann 1494)
Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung

be changed to a comma, as in the *Progymnasmata* of 1521 (Snoy prints a virgule there). For *arca beata* cf 97.8–9 below: *beata ... crumena.*

65 miserum – rerum] Walther 31098: *Te faciet miserum multarum copia rerum.* For the tag *copia rerum* see for example Lucretius 1.674 and 1.757; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.792; also line 113 below.

67 Sollicito ... metu] Ovid *Tristia* 3.11.10; *Ex Ponto* 3.2.12

68 spesque metusque = Fausto Andrelini *Livia* 2.9.36; poem 105.44 below; cf Ovid *Fasti* 1.486 and 3.362.

69–70 Lux est ... Nox venit] Cf *Elegiae in Maecenatem* 1.99: *lux est ... nox est ...*

69 mens ... fluctuat estu] Prudentius *Amartigenia* 278; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.532, 8.19, and 12.486.

70 Nox – quies / Night comes – also restless] Cf Eccles 5:12; Walther 6299 and 29913.

71–2 Titii – Vultura / the vulture – Tityus] Tityus, a son of Earth, assaulted Zeus' mistress Leto. He was thereupon killed and thrown into Hades, where vultures constantly tore at his liver (the seat of passion). See Homer *Odyssey* 11.576–81; Lucretius 3.984–94; Virgil *Aeneid* 6.595–600. Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 41 also likens the miser to Tityus.

71 fibras] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.600, referring to Tityus' liver

72 Vultura] With a Greek accusative singular ending. For a similar incorrect use of this ending see 104.7 below: *Aquilona.*

72 improba vota = Martial 4.1.10

73–4 divesque – Midas / to call you rich – destroyed by money] Cf Walther 8126: *Et miser et dives fuit olim rex Mida, dives / Auro, sed vitae conditione miser* 'King Midas was once both wretched and rich: rich in gold, but wretched in the way he lived.' For the story of Midas' golden touch see Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.85–143. In *De copia* ASD I-6 236:960–1 / CWE 24 611:24–612:1 Erasmus interprets the story as an allegory of avarice: 'the greedy and insatiable are suffocated by their own wealth.'

75 fulvum – aurum] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.103 (Midas speaking)

77 perosus – colebat = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.146 (of Midas)

79–82 ingenti – cupit / money gathered up – it wants more] It is a commonplace that the thirst for possessions is never slaked, but increases with increasing wealth; see for example Eccles 5:10; Horace *Odes* 2.2.13–16, 3.16.17–18, and 3.24.62–4; Ovid *Fasti* 1.211–12; Juvenal 14.139; Prudentius *Amartigenia* 257; Walther 3734; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 46:192–3 / CWE 66 141; *De concordia* ASD V-3 281:813–15; line 2n above.

79 congesta pecunia cura = Juvenal 10.12; cf line 13 above.

81 Auri dira sitis / The dreadful thirst for gold] Cf line 57n above: *dira fames.* Greed is often likened to burning thirst or to dropsy; see for example Horace *Odes* 2.2.13–16; *Epistles* 1.18.23 and 2.2.146–8; Ovid *Fasti* 1.215–16; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 2 metrum 2.18; Walther 6422, 11319–19b, and 21663; Curtius ELLM 280–1; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 47:206–7 / CWE 66 141; *Enchiridion* LB V 61A / CWE 66 120; Allen Epp 1593:23–4 and 2476:14–15.

81 crescit crescentibus = Walther 9911: *crescit crescentibus annis* and 21396a: *lignis crescit crescentibus ignis*

82–92 Et cum – famem] The passage in part paraphrases Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.834–42 (of Erysichthon's insatiable hunger; see lines 95–6n below).

82 Et – cupit] Cf Ovid *Fasti* 1.212.

83–4 Utque – aquis / And as the earth – from all directions] Cf also Eccles 1:7.

83 solum ... salum] See 109.21n below.

84 Undique collectis] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.414 and 7.582

85 Nutrit – flammas / and as oily fuel – fire] For the image cf Prov 30:16, adapted by Erasmus to characterize avarice in *Psalmi* 22 ASD V-2 366:250–1.

85 rapidas ... flammas] Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.8.29 (in the same metrical position); *Ibis* 473

86 crescit edendo fames = Walther 3735; cf Walther 2704.

87 Quid – censu] Cf Horace *Satires* 1.1.41–2.

89–94 Omnis – aquis / Everyone who desires – dry and thirsty] Cf *De copia* ASD I-6 235:935–7 / CWE 24 610:27–9: if a speaker 'is depicting a miser, he can first say that the miser is deprived of what he actually possesses as well as of what he does not possess, and then go on to the story of Tantalus.'

89 Omnis – quod habet / Everyone who desires – what he has] Proverbial; see Otto 225 and 226; Walther 1876a and 1879; Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 235:936–7 and 251:327–8 / CWE 24 610:27–9 and 628:20–1; *Psalmi* 22 ASD V-2 365:231 and 33 ASD V-3 139:712–13; *Ecclesiastes* LB V 1006B; Allen X Appendix XXII 404:214.

89 Omnis eget cupidus / Everyone who desires something is needy] Proverbial; see Otto 227; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 47:207–8 / CWE 66 141: 'anyone who asks for more makes it clear that he is in want'; *De copia* ASD I-6 160:311 / CWE 24 499:16: *Is pauper est qui plurimum cupit* 'He who desires much is poor.'

90 Inter – inops / even in the very midst – in want] Cf Walther 1883b, 1885, and 14229: *Avarus inter opes magnas inops*; Horace *Odes* 3.16.28: *Magnas inter opes inops*, quoted in Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 46:179 / CWE 66 140 and *Adagia* II vi 14; cf *Enchiridion* LB V 43F / CWE 66 92: 'keep jealous watch over heaped-up riches and remain destitute [*inops*] himself.'

91 plenis ... mensis = 105.27 below; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 11.738.

91 ieiunia mensis = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.831 (of Erysichthon; see lines 95–6n below)

93–4 Non secus – aquis / He is not unlike Tantalus – dry and thirsty] Tantalus stole the food of the gods and consequently became immortal. His punishment was to be forever hungry and thirsty. He stood in water up to his chin; but when he tried to drink, it disappeared. Fruit hung over his head; but when he tried to grasp it, it was blown away by the wind. See Homer *Odyssey* 11.582–92. The miser's lot is frequently likened to that of Tantalus; see Horace *Satires* 1.1.68–72; Ovid *Amores* 3.7.49–52; Walther 31043; Innocent III *De miseria condicionis humane* 2.14; Erasmus *Adagia* I vi 22 and II vi 14; *Enchiridion* LB V 29D / CWE 66 68; *De ratione studii* ASD I-2 138:8–139:1 / CWE 24 683:19–20; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 238:2–3 / CWE 25 28; *Ratio* LB V 80E and 126D.

93 refugis ... Tantalus undis] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.41–2

94 in mediis ... aquis = Ovid *Heroides* 15(16).212, of Tantalus; *Tristia* 4.8.18; *Ex Ponto* 1.6.34

95–6 Illeve – edit / or he is like the one – his own limbs] Here Erasmus alludes to the fate of Erysichthon, who, having cut down trees in a grove sacred to Ceres, was punished with insatiable hunger; see Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.738–878. In the end he was reduced to eating his own flesh. The story is also alluded to in lines 82–92 above.

97 inutile ... aurum] Horace *Odes* 3.24.48

101–4 Servus enim – habet / For a man – no power over them] Cf *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 46:178 / CWE 66 140: 'One is his money's slave rather than its master ... One does not possess but is possessed.' The thought is proverbial; cf Matt 6:24; Walther 28167a–28168 and 28183.

102 Obsceno ... amore] Lucan 10.363

102 victus amore = Virgil *Aeneid* 12.29; Ovid *Amores* 3.10.29 and *Epistula Sapphonis* 176

103 Custos, non dominus = Walther 4813a: *Custos, non dominus exstat avarus opum*

103 nec habet – illis] Alain de Lille *De planctu Naturae* 13.54–6: *Divicias non dives habet sed habetur ab ipsis. / Non est possessor nummi sed possidet ipsum / Nummus*; cf Walther 28168.

104 Nil ... iuris ... habet] Ovid *Tristia* 3.7.48

104 dives ... avarus] Ovid *Amores* 3.7.50; Juvenal 7.30; Walther 6054–5 and 19303

105–16 Mox – brevi] Cf *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 47:208–48:216 / CWE 66 141–2.

105–8 Mox – fame] Cf Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 2.2.9–11; Girolamo Balbi *Carmina* 51.9–10 (page 166): *Quique Midam superas opibus Croesumque beatis, / Pendula sors currum si rotet, Irus eris.*

105 orbem / wheel] Proverbial; see Otto 695; Erasmus *Adagia* LB II 287A / CWE 32 105: 'as Fortune spins her wheel.'

106 hodie, cras = Ovid *Remedia amoris* 94 and Martial 11.65.6

107 Teque Irum – Craeso] Cf 2.123–5n above; Ovid *Tristia* 3.7.41–2.

110 stabili ... gradu = Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 1.22: *Qui cecidit, stabili non erat ille gradu*

111 mors – rerum / death ... the final goal of all things] Proverbial; cf Seneca *Troades* 397–8: *mors ... / velocis spatii meta novissima;* Horace *Epistles* 1.16.79: *Mors ultima linea rerum est;* Virgil *Aeneid* 12.546: *mortis ... metae;* Walther 5561 and 7490; poem 105.137 below.

112 Defunctum – opes] Cf Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 3 metrum 3.6: *defunctum ... leves non comitantur opes.* The thought is a commonplace; see for example Propertius 3.5.13; 1 Tim 6:7; poem 95.100n above.

113 copia rerum = Line 65 above, where see note

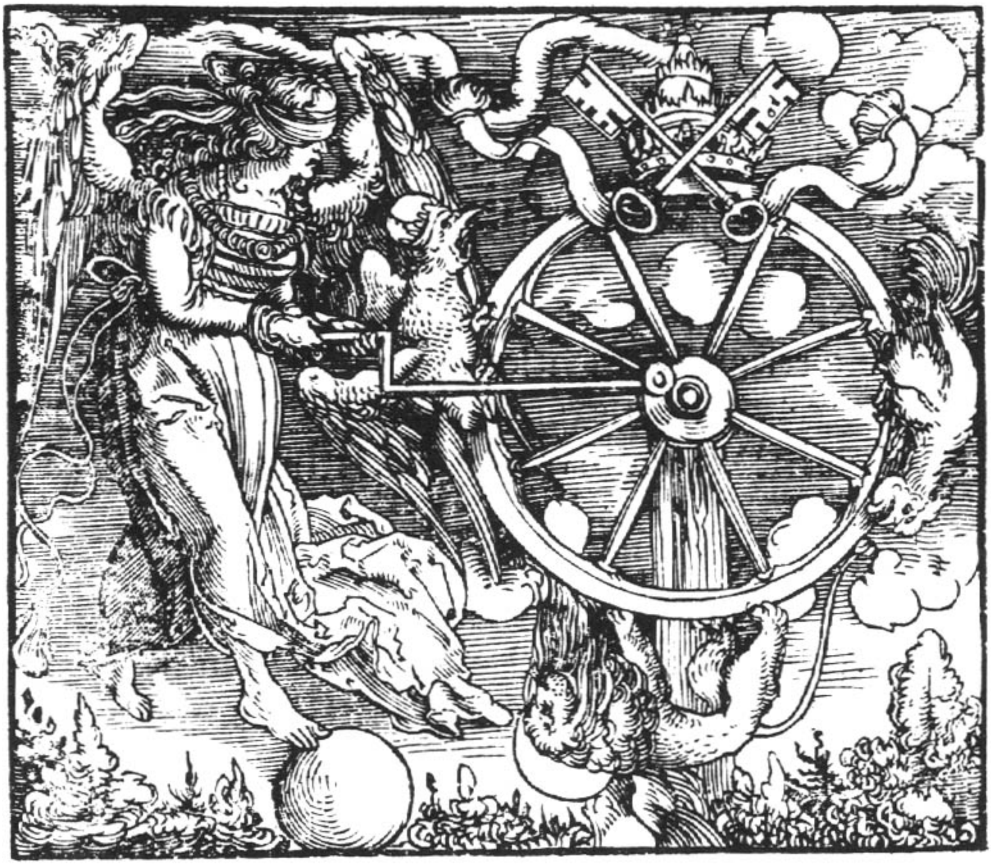
114 Tartara – adis / You go naked – never to return] Cf Propertius 3.5.13–14; Tibullus 3.3.10; Job 1:21; Eccles 5:15; Walther 18878–9, 18880, 18881a, 18885, and 18887.

115 Sudoresque – haeres / a stranger inherits – sweated for] Cf for example Eccles 2:18; Horace *Odes* 2.3.17–20, 2.14.25–8, 3.24.61–2, and 4.7.19–20.

117 non exorabile fatum] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 2.491.

118 Mortis ... extremum ... diem] Cf Ovid *Heroides* 1.114.

121–3 Crasso ... Craeso ... Solomoni] These three exempla of rich men whose wealth failed to save them from death are also found in Willem Hermans' *Sylva odarum* sig d2ᵛ. For Crassus and Croesus see 2.123–5n above.



Fortuna turning her wheel

This woodcut by Hans Weiditz the Younger in Ulrich von Hutten *Ad Caesarem Maximilianum Epigrammatum liber* (Augsburg: I. Miller 1519) depicts the military fortunes of the pope, the French, the Venetians, and the emperor in c summer 1509.

Courtesy of the Department of Rare Books, Cornell University Library

122 ille vel ille = Ovid *Amores* 1.8.84; *Fasti* 5.188; Martial 7.10.2
123 mors ... saeva] Cf 10.5 and 71.7–8 above.
124 Laomedonta = Ovid *Fasti* 6.430; *Metamorphoses* 11.200. Laomedon was a legendary king of Troy. He cheated Apollo and Poseidon of the wage they earned by building the walls of Troy and treacherously withheld Hercules' reward for killing the sea monster and saving Laomedon's daughter. In revenge for his greed Hercules killed him and sacked the city.

97 R 26

The poem is probably loosely contemporaneous with the preceding three elegies (1490–1). Like them it is a set piece on a commonplace theme, but without their hortatory tone. The epigram is an amplification of the proverbial thought that 'everything bows to money'; see *Adagia* I iii 87; *Moria* ASD IV-3 76:94–102 / CWE 27 88; Otto 775; Walther 6013, 6075b–6078, 8095, 19159, 19163a, 19170–4, and often. 'Sir Penny' was a popular topic in the later Middle Ages; see for example Nigel de Longchamps *Speculum stultorum* 2585–2650; *Carmina Burana* 11; Marbod *Carmina varia* 2nd series 38 *Quomodo servitur nummo* PL 171 1727; Alain de Lille *De planctu Naturae* 12, lines 87–125; *Miles gloriosus* 81–90; Sebastian Brant *Das Narrenschiff* 17.

Metre: hendecasyllable

1 Lesbi / Lesbius] The name occurs in Catullus 79.1. Erasmus may be using it here to suggest the easy standards and superficial morality of the island of Lesbos; cf *Adagia* I v 93 and II x 43.
3 tumeat crumena nummis] Cf Cornelis Gerard *Ironia in huius mundi amatores* 3: *nummis ... repleta crumena.* According to Tilmans *Aurelius* 198 Cornelis wrote this poem c 1489.
5–7 Sin vero – patrocinetur / But if you lack – no good at all] Cf for instance Alain de Lille *De planctu Naturae* 12, line 91: 'when money talks, the trumpet of Ciceronian eloquence grows hoarse'; *Miles gloriosus* 82 and Walther 19217: 'When money talks, Cicero himself is silent.'
8–9 beata ... crumena] Cf 96.65 above.
11–12 Facundus – amabilisque] Cf Horace *Epistles* 1.6.36–8.
12 sapiens] Cf Walther 19204 and 19219–20.

98 R 11

Our source for nos 98–102 is Gouda MS 1323; see the introduction, CWE 85 liv.

No 98 is a letter of introduction to Engelbert Ysbrandtsz Schut of Leiden (1410/15–c 1503). Engelbert studied at Cologne, where he received his BA in 1436 and his MA around 1438. From 1458 to 1464 he was rector of the town school in Leiden. Thereafter he was headmaster of a private school (*bijschool*). In 1483 the town restricted the enrolment at his school to those pupils who were boarding with him; but this restriction was lifted in 1488. Engelbert occasionally translated and composed Latin documents for the town government. He was the author of *De moribus mensae* (106 hexameters) on table manners and *De pane dyalogus* (96 lines) in which Bread complains to Baker and Eater about his treatment at their hands. These were published at Leiden by Johannes Severi in 1509 (NK 1708). He was also the author of a longer work on the art of writing letters, *De arte dictandi,* composed in hexameters, as well as a shorter prose treatise on rhetorical figures, *Tractatus quidam de elegancia, composicione, dignitate dictatus,* which were published together by Gerard Leeu at Gouda around 1484. As a scholar of some renown and (apparently) substantial means, he was a man worth cultivating as a potential patron. See CEBR III 233–4; A.M. Coebergh van den Braak *Meer dan zes eeuwen Leids Gymnasium* (Leiden 1988) 4–7, with a text and Dutch translation of no 98 on page 179.

Erasmus probably sent this verse letter in the middle of 1489. This date can be inferred from several circumstances. First of all, there is a series of close verbal and thematic parallels to no 93, which in its original form was a poem of introduction to Cornelis Gerard, written in early 1489 and revised and expanded by Cornelis in April–May of the same year. Then too, no 98 is very similar in concept and language to Ep 32, written sometime after September 1489. Like poem 98, Ep 32 is a letter of introduction to an as yet unseen friend (Jacob Canter). Both laud the addressee on the basis of his splendid reputation as a writer, as a patron of humanistic studies, and as a staunch opponent of the barbarism now ruling the world. For other parallels see the notes on lines 10, 11–12, and 21–2 below. The conjectural date of composition is corroborated by two parallels in lines 24 and 26 to Marullus' *Epigrammata,* a book which appears to have been published in the winter of 1488–9; see Alessandro Perosa ed *Michaelis Marulli carmina* (Zürich 1951) viii–ix and xxxvi.

Allen suggests that the present elegy might be the letter alluded to in Allen Ep 28:23–7 / CWE Ep 28:22–6, sent to Cornelis Gerard in c March 1491 (see headnote on poem 50 above): 'I have taken care to send you a copy of the letter which I once sent on request to Master Engelbert, who is distinguished by the sanctity of his life, hoping that by your mediation I may perhaps deserve thereby to receive at his hands something in return, which has eluded me thus far.' In Ep 28 Erasmus blames his lack of success in securing Engelbert's patronage on the 'prattling tongues of my friends which have most maliciously besmirched my good name in his hearing.' It is hard to say what sort of calumny Erasmus had in mind. Had word gotten back to Engelbert that Erasmus, despite his hyperbolic praise in the poem, in truth thought very little of Engelbert's poetic talents? In Allen Ep 29:28–30 / CWE Ep 29:30–2 Erasmus had indeed disparaged the way Engelbert could spout verses at will. Or perhaps the Leiden scholar had learned of Erasmus' *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei* (see headnote on no 128 below), which attacked Engelbert's alma mater, the Zwolle school, for its barbaric education. Many years later Erasmus wrote in *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 231:2–4 / CWE 25 24: 'In Holland a certain Engelbert was held to be the light of the world, although all he taught his pupils by his trifling, little letters was how to write badly.'

According to a suggestion by Reedijk, Engelbert might be the *literator ... qui gregem recens collegerat* 'schoolmaster who had recently brought a herd of pupils together' and for whom Erasmus composed an epitome of Valla's *Elegantiae*; see ASD I-4 193 n7. Since Erasmus seems to have compiled this work in late summer 1489 (see Vredeveld 'Ages') and Engelbert had just begun to expand his school, Reedijk's suggestion is a plausible one.

For another poetic letter of introduction, written in 1495 to Robert Gaguin, see no 5 above.

Metre: elegiac distich

1–6 Ethere – tuae / As numerous – in your lifetime] This is a bombastic amplification of the traditional salutation *salutem plurimam dico* 'I send you many greetings.' In this *captatio benevolentiae* Erasmus seems to be following a late medieval mannerism. Cf *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* 1.11, which opens with the words: *Salutes tot, quot habet caelum stellas et mare arenas* and 1.31: *Quot in mari sunt guttae et quot in Colonia sancta Beguttae, / Quot pilos habent asinorum cutes, tot et plures tibi mitto salutes.* Erasmus severely criticizes this type of greeting in *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 284:13–14 / CWE 25 54: 'To the same folly belongs, "As many as the stars in the sky or drops of water in the ocean are the greetings I send you."'

1–4 Ethere – habet] Cf Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.57–9; *Tristia* 5.1.31–2; *Ex Ponto* 4.15.7–10; for lines 1–2 cf *Tristia* 1.5.47; poems 50.186–8n and 93.149–50 with notes above.

1–2 ignes Siderei] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.778–9 (of the sun's rays) and 15.665 (stars); cf poems 7.5, 93.149–50n, and 94.72 above.

3 Quot flavae – Bacchi] Cf Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.15.9.

3 flavae segetes Cereris] Cf Lucan 4.412; poem 96.45n above.

3 pocula Bacchi = Virgil *Aeneid* 3.354; *Ciris* 229; Ovid *Fasti* 3.301

5 vates divine] Horace *Ars poetica* 400; cf Virgil *Eclogues* 5.45 and 10.17.

7 Fama loquax = Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.9.3; cf *Metamorphoses* 9.137; Lucan 8.782; Martial 12.4.4. Engelbert Schut uses the phrase in *De arte dictandi* sig a8^r: *Dicit fama loquax ...*

8 Ignarum ... non sinit esse tui] Cf Ovid *Tristia* 4.3.24: *oblitam non sinit esse mei.*

9 immotus eodem = Virgil *Aeneid* 5.437; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.418

10 immenso ... orbe = Ovid *Fasti* 4.944; cf *Amores* 2.9.17; *Metamorphoses* 15.435; *Tristia* 4.8.38; poem 110.355 below.

10 volas] This recalls a famous line by Ennius; see 105.54n below; Allen Ep 32:21: *Volitant per omnium ora vestrae familiae laudes.*

11–12 Hec – mihi] Cf Allen Ep 32:11–21 / CWE Ep 32:11–22.

11 Hec facit ut = Ovid *Ex Ponto* 1.6.31

13–20 Illa – tuos] Cf 93.201–8 above with notes.

13–14 Illa – tui] Cf Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.4.15–16: *en ego laetarum venio tibi nuntia rerum / Fama, per inmensas aere lapsa vias;* Allen Ep 39:22–3: *Admiror ... cur non Iunonia Iris tanti serii nuncia ad te delapsa sit.* The phrase *nuncia multa,* here translated as 'to bring me many tidings,' more literally means 'messenger who brings me many tidings.'

13 quoniam] For the sense 'as soon as,' 'after,' see for example Plautus *Asinaria* 350; *Casina* 583. There is thus no need to emend the manuscript reading to *quando;* cf Vredeveld 'Edition' 126.

15 Musis ... amicum] Horace *Odes* 1.26.1; Virgil *Aeneid* 9.774

16 tollit ad astra] Horace *Satires* 2.7.29; cf line 26n below.

16 ad astra poli = Alcuin *Carmina* 50.10 and 89.19.2

20 Hauserunt ... lumina] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.661 and 12.945–6.

20 versus ... tuos / your verses] Presumably Engelbert's *De arte dictandi*

21–2 In quibus – iacet] Cf Juvenal 7.1–3; Allen Ep 32:49–50 / CWE Ep 32:53–5; and poem 93.137–40 above.

21 spes] The manuscript reads *spaes* (with *e* caudata).

23 Ergo – calles] Cf 93.213 above.

24 Inque dies crescat = Marullus *Epigrammata* 1.34.2: *Inque dies crescat gloria honorque magis*

26 tollat in astra caput] Marullus *Epigrammata* 4.27.6: *invictum tollis in astra caput;* cf Ovid *Heroides* 15(16).72; line 16n above.

27–8 Iamque – dies] Cf 4.59–60 and 93.218–20 above.

27 Iamque vale = Virgil *Georgics* 4.497; *Aeneid* 2.789, and elsewhere

27 eternos – in annos] Cf Engelbert Schut *De arte dictandi* sig a3^v, as a formula for thanking someone 'in a reverent tone' (*reverenter*): *Hoc tu si facies, dominum rogo quod tibi donet / Eternam vitam, vel det tibi munera celi.* For the phrasing cf Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.8.41–2; poem 4.59n above.

28 immortales ... dies] Cf 94.96 above.

99 R 2

This poem, which contrasts the effects of sorrow and happiness in order to urge the reader to embrace the joys of youth while they last, amplifies Prov 17:22 (Vulg): *Animus gaudens aetatem floridam facit; spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa* 'A cheerful heart makes life bloom; a downcast spirit dries up the bones.' The biblical verse was often adduced in the later Middle Ages to buttress the contention that joyfulness maintains the bloom of youth while sorrow and grief hasten the onset of old age. See for example the widely read medical poem *Flos medicinae scholae Salerni* (also known as *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*) 14–17: 'A downcast heart, frequent anger ... great toil, these three destroy life in short order; for these drive you to the goal of death. A joyous spirit makes your life bloom.' See also Walther 30235 and 31576–7; Arnaldus de Villanova *Commentum super Regimen Salernitanum* 1875A–G: 'a man who wishes to live in good health should avoid the burden of cares, for cares dry the body and hence depress the vital spirits, wherefore it is said: "a downcast spirit dries up the bones" ... A man's heart should be cheerful and merry since cheerfulness or merriment makes life bloom, keeps a man in [the flower of] youth, strengthens his manliness, prolongs his life, sharpens his intellect, and makes him better able to perform each and every task.' Heinrich Bebel says in his *Proverbia Germanica* no 188 (first published in 1508): 'There are three things that destroy bodily beauty: disease, old age, and anxiety or cares. For Solomon asserts in Prov 17: "A cheerful heart makes life bloom; a downcast spirit dries up the bones."' Mutianus Rufus alludes to the verse in two letters of 1509; see *Der Briefwechsel des Mutianus Rufus* ed Carl Krause (Kassel 1885) no 116, page 145: 'Cheerfulness increases the blood and banishes the downcast spirit that dries up the bones'; and no 127, page 163: 'A downcast spirit, as Solomon notes, dries up the bones and wears out the body so that it withers, wastes away, grows old.' Erasmus quotes the biblical verse in this context in *Colloquia* ASD I-3 727:265–6 and in *Psalmi* 4 ASD V-2 236:389–90. In *Moria* ASD IV-3 84:247–9 / CWE 27 93 he playfully alludes to it as 'that familiar proverb by which they say that folly [that is, a cheerful and merry heart] is the only thing which can halt fleeting youth and ward off the relentless advance of old age.' See Harry Vredeveld '"That Familiar Proverb": Folly as the Elixir of Youth in Erasmus's *Moriae Encomium*' *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989) 78–91.

In Erasmus' earliest letters the polar emotions of joy and grief are again and again aroused by sentimental friendship – in particular the love he cherished for Servatius Rogerus; see Epp 4–9, 11, and 13; CEBR III 167–8. He may well be the friend implicitly addressed in this poem.

The somewhat clumsy development of the theme and the insistent repetitions of phrases and half-lines mark the poem as one of Erasmus' earliest surviving efforts. It may therefore be assigned to the group of poems that the young humanist mentions in Allen Ep 28:10–17 / CWE Ep 28:11–17 and whose tone he characterizes as *aequo mollius*. This phrase, translated in CWE 1 as 'more self-indulgent than is proper' should instead be interpreted as 'sentimental to a fault,' 'smacking more than is proper of sentimental love.' The word *mollis* often refers to tender love poetry (in contrast to 'hard' epic poetry); see for example Propertius 1.7.19; Ovid *Tristia* 2.307, 349; cf poem 100.5n below. Looking back at his early poems in c March 1491 (for the date of Ep 28 see headnote on poem 50 above), Erasmus adds apologetically that he had written them when he 'was a youth and virtually still a layman.' The poem may thus be assigned to c 1487, not long after he entered Steyn.

Metre: elegiac distich

1, 3, 5 Nimbus – sylvae] As in 109.1–8 below, Erasmus imitates Horace *Odes* 2.9.1–8, where Horace urges a friend to stop lamenting.

1 pellantur ab aethere nubes] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.269; poem 102.40 below.

2 cura dolorque / care and sorrow = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.75, where the phrase expresses Orpheus' grief at the loss of his beloved Eurydice; Martial 6.52.2 (of a beloved youth, 'his master's grief and sorrow'); poem 101.12 below (of the sorrow and grief that prematurely age the poet); cf Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.736 (love's sorrows).

3 Affricus – fluctus] Cf 112.18–19 below.

3 aequoreos ... fluctus] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.604–5

5 Frondiferae ... sylvae] Lucretius 1.256

5 cacumina sylvae = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.346; *Fasti* 2.439 and 3.329

7 nova gaudia = Virgil *Aeneid* 10.325; Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.4.21; poem 112.21, 27 below

8 Luctus et Eumenides] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.274: *Luctus et ultrices ... Curae* 'Grief and avenging Cares,' monsters who dwell with their companions in the forecourt of Hades. They are also alluded to in 7.42–3 above.

9–16 viridem – furor / before their time they always mar – hearts of understanding] The thought that cares make one grow old before one's time is proverbial; see for instance Sir 30:22–4; Ovid *Tristia* 3.8.24–34 and 4.6.39–50; *Ex Ponto* 1.4.1–20; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 1.9–12 (imitated in poem 101 below); Walther 2287b, 2292a, and 31596; Erasmus *Adagia* ASD II-5 232:586–93 and III x 62; Heinrich Bebel *Proverbia Germanica* no 436. Cf also Erasmus *Enchiridion* LB V 57B / CWE 66 114; *De conscribendis epistolis*

ASD I-2 251:11–12 / CWE 25 36; and *Colloquia* ASD I-3 377:56–382:235, with special reference to the cares of passionate love.

9–10 Cura – suis] Cf 101.11–12 below.

9 viridem ... iuventam] See 13.5n above.

10 Ante diem] See 70.1n above.

11–13 Ante – vires / Before their time – snatch away our strength] Cf Walther 31596: *Tristitiam fugias, quia vires corporis aufert / Atque solet teneros abbreviare dies* 'Shun sorrow because it robs the body's strength and always cuts short the days of youth.'

13 vorat – medullas / they eat away the marrow of our bones] Cf Prov 17:22 (Vulg): *spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa* 'a downcast spirit dries up the bones'; Seneca *Phaedra* 282, of passionate love: *vorat tectas penitus medullas* 'it eats away the innermost marrow.'

14 perit forma] See 95.63n above.

17 Stigias ... undas] Virgil *Aeneid* 3.215, 7.773, and often

18 Tartareum ... cahos] Statius *Thebaid* 12.772; *Silvae* 5.1.206; poem 111.19 below. The spelling *cahos* for *chaos* is common in the Renaissance; see also 111.19 and 112.144 below.

23 Leticia maior est forma] Cf *Pamphilus* 104 (Walther 7372): *Est cum letitia pulchrior omnis homo.*

23 Leticia ... serenior est frons / Joy ... makes our faces more cheerful] Cf *Adagia* I viii 48; *Moria* ASD IV-3 71:10 / CWE 27 86, at the arrival of Folly, the embodiment of good cheer: *frontem exporrexistis* 'all your frowns were smoothed away'; *Psalmi* 4 ASD V-2 236:381–2: 'those who rejoice are said to smooth away their frowns.'

100 R 3

This is a rhetorical exercise, the work of a young man beholden to the medieval arts of poetry. Symptomatic are not only the many borrowings from medieval wisdom literature, but also the device of repeating half-lines from one verse to the next, as in no 99 above, and the mannerism of repeating *amor* at the end of each distich (except the final two, which have their own set of repetitions). See the introduction, CWE 85 xxxvii–xxxix above. The poem may well be contemporaneous with such other poems of friendship and love as nos 99, 101, 102, and 103, which for various reasons we have placed in 1487. In line 38 there is a parallel to Marullus' *Epigrammata*, probably published in winter 1488–9 (see headnote on no 98 above). The thought expressed there, however, is a late-medieval commonplace; we cannot give it much weight in determining the date of the poem.

Metre: elegiac distich

1 Nunc – mentis / Now I know – the mind] The line combines a borrowing from Virgil with a familiar medieval definition of love. The first hemistich is taken from Virgil *Eclogues* 8.43: *nunc scio quid sit Amor* 'now I know what Love is.' For the rest of the line cf Walther 5567: *Dic mihi, quid sit amor! Amor est insania mentis* 'Tell me what love is! Love is a madness of the mind' and 5579a: *Dicam, quid sit amor: Amor est insania mentis.* Cf also the medieval verse quoted in Erwin Panofsky *Studies in Iconology* (1939; New York 1967) 107 n42: *Disce, quid sit amor. Amor est insania mentis;* Hans Walther *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen 1959) no 15787: *Quid est amor? mentis insania.*

2 Ethna fervidior / hotter than Aetna] Proverbial; see Otto 34; cf poem 112.145 below.

2 pectoris ignis] Ovid *Tristia* 3.7.19

3 Nutibus – amores] Cf Maximianus *Elegies* 3.69: *unguibus et morsu teneri pascuntur amores;* Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.63; Walther 6371.

5 Lumina – subit / Tender Love first enters the eyes] This is an ancient and medieval commonplace; see *Adagia* I ii 79; Curtius ELLM 512–14; Rüdiger Schnell *Causa amoris: Liebeskonzeption und Liebesdarstellung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur* (Bern 1985) 241–74; poem 102.67n below.

5 mollis amor = Ovid *Epistula Sapphonis* 179; cf *Ars amatoria* 2.152.

5 medullis / the marrow] The traditional seat of love; cf for instance Catullus 35.15, 64.93, and 66.23; Virgil *Georgics* 3.271; *Aeneid* 4.66 and 8.389–90; Ovid *Amores* 3.10.27; *Metamorphoses* 14.351.

6 ossa penetrat amor] Cf Ovid *Heroides* 4.70.

7 Ossa ... intima] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.416–17

7 tacitis ... flammis = Statius *Thebaid* 5.445; cf Ovid *Remedia amoris* 105; *Metamorphoses* 4.64 (cited in Allen Ep 5:22 / CWE Ep 5:23); Virgil *Aeneid* 4.2; Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 252:334–5 / CWE 24 628:29–629:2: 'There is also the kind of unspoken and concealed maxim that we find in Virgil's line: "She is consumed with hidden fire." Ovid [*Metamorphoses* 4.64] makes it explicit: "More fiercely burns the fire that is concealed."'

7 intima flammis = 102.93 below

8 facibus – amor / with his torch – the entrails] Cf Ovid *Amores* 3.2.40; Horace *Odes* 1.33.6, 3.9.13, and 3.19.28; also poem 103.1–2 below. The torch with which Cupid or Venus lights the flames of love is frequently mentioned; see for example Tibullus 2.1.82 and 2.6.16; Propertius 2.29.5 and 3.16.16; Ovid *Amores* 2.9.5. Cf poems 102.71 and 102.86 below.

9 mentem ... quietam] Martial 10.47.5

10 adimit somnos / takes away sleep] Horace *Odes* 1.25.3; Virgil *Aeneid* 4.244. Sleeplessness is a conventional symptom of lovesickness; see for example Ovid *Amores* 1.2.3; *Metamorphoses* 6.493; poems 102.7 and 103.6 below; Allen Ep 8:9 / CWE Ep 8:11, where Servatius' neglect is said to cause Erasmus terrible distress and make his 'sleep restless' (*somnus irrequietus*) and Allen Ep 2079:58.

10 irrequietus amor = Baudri de Bourgueil *Carmina* 252.6–8: *carmina nostra, / Quae tibi delegat irrequietus amor. / Irrequietus amor ad te rescribere cogit, / Nam tibi me iungit irrequietus amor.*

11 requiescit amor = Tibullus 1.2.4

11–12 victor ... amor] Cf line 30 below.

12 Corpora si nequeat] Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.633

12 iungit amor = Ovid *Heroides* 19(20).226; cf poem 3.4 above.

13–14 Sit licet – amor / Although Love himself – no longer two] Cf Gen 2:24; Matt 19:5–6; Eph 5:31. The commonplace was often varied in later medieval literature; see for instance John of Salisbury *Entheticus maior* 1481–2: *conciliatus amor animos ligat, imperat, urget, / ut duo non duo sint, quos pius unit amor;* Matthew of Vendôme *Piramus et Tisbe* 3–6: *Piramus et Tisbe duo sunt nec sunt duo: iungit / Ambos unus amor nec sinit esse duos. / Sunt duo nec duo sunt, quia mens est una duorum, / Una fides, unus spiritus, unus amor;* Walther 30716a; Geoffrey of Vinsauf *Poetria nova* 538–9. See further Esther Bréguet '*In una parce duobus*: Thème et clichés' in *Hommages à Léon Herrmann* (Brussels 1960) 205–14; Otto 111; Erasmus *Adagia* I i 2; Allen Epp 15:30–1 and 20:67–9 / CWE Epp 15:32 and 20:67–8.

15 Quem ferus urit amor = Ovid *Amores* 3.1.20

15 in amati pectore totus / entirely in the heart of the beloved] This is an old image which became very popular in medieval Latin and vernacular poetry; see Friedrich Ohly 'Cor amantis non angustum. Vom Wohnen im Herzen' in his *Schriften zur mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung* (Darmstadt 1977) 128–55. Erasmus uses the phrase in Allen Ep 7:28 / CWE Ep 7:27–8 to describe his love for Servatius: *tu in pectore semper* 'you are ever ... in my heart.' See also Allen Ep 20:70 / CWE Ep 20:69–70; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 279:80–2.

17–18 Quem – amor / Whoever is inflamed – burdensome to Love] Cf Allen Ep 7:29–30 / CWE Ep 7:29–30, to Servatius Rogerus: 'When you are away nothing is pleasant to me, and when you are with me nothing is unpleasant.' This is a favourite topic in the language of love; see for instance Virgil *Eclogues* 7.53–60; Calpurnius 3.51–4; Thomas a Kempis *The Imitation of Christ* 4(3).34.6: 'When you are with me, all things are delightful; but when you are away, all things are gloomy.' Cf poem 64.22–41n above.

17 nil dulce ubi desit amatum] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 12.882–3; Claudian *In Rufinum* 2.268: *te sine dulce nihil;* Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.11: *Te sine dulce nihil, domine.*

19 Omnia vincit amor = Virgil *Eclogues* 10.69; line 44 below; cf Walther 990 and 998.

19 amor ... claustra relaxat = *Pamphilus* 597: *Ingeniosus amor portas et claustra relaxat, / Vincit quicquid obest ingeniosus amor*

19 adamantea claustra relaxat / he unbars adamantine doors] Cf Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 9.18: 'by gold even adamant gates may be opened'; Venantius Fortunatus *De vita Martini* 1.5: *Stygis omnipotens adamantina claustra revellit;* cf poem 112.213n below; Ovid *Amores* 1.6.17: *claustra relaxa.*

20 Ferrea ... vincula] Tibullus 4.3.14; and often; poem 112.174 below

20 vincula rumpit amor] Propertius 1.15.16; Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 4.26.10

21 sine cede et sanguine = Juvenal 10.112 (other manuscripts read *sine caede ac vulnere*)

21 et sanguine certans] Virgil *Aeneid* 12.765

23–30 Mollia – amor] These four pagan and biblical exempla are frequently adduced in medieval diatribes against passionate love.

23–4 Mollia – amor / Instead of wielding – soft thread] After Hercules had killed Iphitus, Apollo agreed to purify him only if he were sold as a slave and the proceeds given to Iphitus' father, Eurytus. Omphale, queen of Lydia, bought him and set him to labours of all kinds, including women's work, and dressed him in women's clothes. See Ovid *Heroides* 9.53–80; *Fasti* 2.305–26; Erasmus *Parabolae* ASD I-5 106:153–4 / CWE 23 140:33–141:1. In a well-known medieval and Renaissance variant of this story, it is Iole who humiliates Hercules by making him spin wool while dressed in women's clothes; see Paul G. Schmidt 'Hercules indutus vestibus Ioles' in *From Wolfram and Petrarch to Goethe and Grass: Studies in Literature in Honour of Leonard Forster* ed D.H. Green, L.P. Johnson, D. Wuttke (Baden-Baden 1982) 103–7.

23–4 Mollia ... trahere pensa] Propertius 3.11.20 (of Hercules)

23 nodosae – clavae] Cf Statius *Thebaid* 2.619: *pinea nodosae ... robora clavae.*

23 valido ... robore] Ovid *Tristia* 5.12.11. For *valido* the Gouda manuscript reads *validae* (with *e* caudata).

25–6 Praelia – amor / The great-hearted Achilles – conquered by Love] Since it had been foretold that Achilles would die at Troy, his mother Thetis hid him in Scyros, dressed as a girl. Achilles then fell in love with the king's daughter Deidameia and willingly spun wool among the women. See Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.681–704; Statius *Achilleid* 1.560–674. The phrasing of lines 25–6 closely imitates Ovid *Heroides* 9.25–6 (of Hercules): *quem ... / non potuit Iuno vincere, vincit amor*; cf also Walther 23746.

25 Mavortis ... cruenti] Cf 58.6n above.

26 Magnanimum Eaciden = Statius *Achilleid* 1.1

27–9 Sampsone ... Salomone] Proverbial exempla of love's power over strength and wisdom, often linked. See for instance Jerome *Letters* 22.12; Walther 519–21, 5026a, 9216–19, 25592, and 28585; Rüdiger Schnell *Causa amoris: Liebeskonzeption und Liebesdarstellung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur* (Bern 1985) 476–90.

27–8 quid – amor] See 96.37–8n above.

27 vastus ... orbis] Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.18

29–30 Quidve – amor / And then – whatever victorious Love wanted] See 1 Kings 11:1–8 and Neh 13:26.

30 victor ... amor] Cf lines 11–12 above.

31–4 Doctus – amor] Cf Tibullus 1.6.9–12 and 1.8.55–60; for lines 31–2 cf Ovid *Amores* 1.9.27–8.

31 vigiles ... curas] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.396; Statius *Silvae* 1.4.55

31 custodum fallere curas] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.85 (of Pyramus and Thisbe): *Fallere custodes.*

33–4 Cardine – amor / Love is skilled in opening doors – close them too] Cf Tibullus 1.2.10, 1.6.12, and 1.8.60. Ancient hinges were often made of hardwood and squeaked loudly; cf Ovid *Amores* 1.6.49–50. One way lovers overcame the problem was to lubricate the hinges with water; see for example Plautus *Curculio* 160.

35–40 Omnia – amor / Love transforms – the timid bold] Alain de Lille *De planctu*

Naturae 9.21–36 amplifies the theme that Cupid can metamorphose all sorts of people (*Cupido / ... hominum protheat omne genus*). For example: love can turn pious Aeneas into a Nero and old Nestor into a youth; it makes the rich poor, the poor rich; it inspires a Bavius to poetry and deadens Virgil's muse; it befuddles Ulysses and gives reason to maddened Ajax.

35 facit insipidos sapientes] Cf Otto 79; Walther 914 and 936–7.

36 Argi – amor] Cf Ovid *Amores* 3.4.19–20.

36 Argi ... lumina / the eyes of Argus] The guardian of Io, Argus had a hundred eyes and so became proverbial for keen sight: see Otto 162.

36 cecus ... amor] See 27.11n above.

36 cecat amor = Walther 4735: *vesana furens pectora cecat amor;* cf 2208: *Cecat amor mentes ac interdum sapientes.*

37 mutum – disertum] Cf Catullus 51.6–9.

37 facit esse disertum = Walther 19204 and 19219: *Nummus ... stultum facit esse disertum*

38 In pueros – vertit / old men are changed to striplings] Cf Walther 23763a: *Quem puer arripuit, puerum facit esse cupido* 'Whoever is seized by the boy Cupid is turned into a boy'; Marullus *Epigrammata* 1.59.4: *'Unde puer?' 'Pueros quod facit ipse senes'* '"Why is Cupid a boy?" "Because he turns old men into boys."' The *senex amans* 'aged lover' was often ridiculed; see for instance Plautus *Mercator* 283–325; Ovid *Amores* 1.9.4; Erasmus *Enchiridion* LB V 58D and 59A–B / CWE 66 116 and 117; *Moria* ASD IV-3 82:217–18 and 108:678–110:699 / CWE 27 92 and 105–6; Burrow *Ages* 156–62 and 184.

38 amarus amor / bitter Love] The Gouda manuscript here reads *amatus amor* 'loved love.' This cannot be right despite the parallels in Augustine *Confessions* 3.1.1 (CCSL 27 27): *amare amabam* and *amans amare* 'I was in love with love.' The emended phrase *amarus amor,* which makes far better sense, is quite common in medieval poetry. See Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.23a.12: *carnis amarus amor;* Walther 2387, 10775, 17235, 24034, 25547, and 29000; Landino *Xandra* 1.14.6. The wordplay on which the phrase *amarus amor* rests is traditional. See for example Plautus *Cistellaria* 68; *Trinummus* 259; Virgil *Eclogues* 3.109–10; *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.14.21; Quintilian 9.3.70 (who criticizes this wordplay); Matthew of Vendôme *Epistole* 2.2.15; Walther 6384a, 22430, 24548, and 29000; Erasmus *Adagia* LB II 951C.

39 Fortia frangit amor] Cf Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 1.165: *nec fortia pectora frangat / Mentis morbus amor;* Ovid *Amores* 2.18.4.

40 Audaces – amor] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.96 (of Thisbe).

41 Vulnera ... crudelia] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.561; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.531

41 dirus amor = Boccaccio *Eclogues* 7.84; cf Seneca *Agamemnon* 590; Lucan 1.355; poem 102.99 below.

41–2 ventis Turbida = Ovid *Heroides* 17(18).7–8

42 nymbriferis] The word is a medievalism, combining two classical words: *imbrifer* and *nimbifer.* See *Novum glossarium mediae Latinitatis* (Copenhagen 1957–) sv *nimbrifer.* The word occurs also in 104.8 below.

43 Quid non fortis amor?] Cf Ovid *Fasti* 2.331 and Walther 25110: *quid non amor improbus audet?* The phrase *Quid non ... amor* occurs in the same metri-

cal position in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.68 (Walther 25117); Martial 5.48.1 (Walther 25112); Walther 25111a.

45 Didonis – ferrum] See Virgil *Aeneid* 4.663–5.

45 Didonis ... miserae] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.117; Ovid *Heroides* 7.7

45 per viscera ferrum = Lucan 2.148; cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.532.

46 Insanus – amor / mad Love – Phyllis' neck] Phyllis, having waited in vain for her lover Demophoon to return, hanged herself in despair. See Ovid *Heroides* 2.

46 Insanus ... amor] Virgil *Eclogues* 10.44 and often; poem 102.1n below; cf line 1n above.

47–8 Per te – amor / Because of you – O Love] For the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, often retold in the later Middle Ages, see Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.55–166.

47 Babilonia Tysbe = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.99

49 Singula quid memorem = Horace *Satires* 1.8.40; cf poems 50.113 above and 110.25 below.

49–52 Vincit – parens] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 8.48–50; poem 102.84 below. For lines 51–2 cf also Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 2.7–8, referring to Eve: *Noxia tu coniux magis an draco perfidus ille? / Perfidus ille draco, sed tu quoque noxia coniux.*

101 R 4

In theme and intention the poem appears to be a pendant to no 99 above. Both elegies are concerned with the problem of premature ageing on account of 'care and sorrow' (*cura dolorque*). No 99 explicitly says that this grief, which robs youth of its joys, should be avoided at all costs and be replaced by joy. In the context of Erasmus' other early poems and letters, which centre on sentimental friendship, we may infer that the cares and griefs lamented here (just as in no 99) are the ones caused by a friend's hard-heartedness. This friend may well have been Servatius Rogerus.

An important model for the poem is Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 1, an elegy in which Boethius laments that sorrow has prematurely caused his hair to go white and his skin to become lax and wrinkled.

Metre: elegiac distich

1 albenti ... vertice cani] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.516.

1 vertice cani = Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 1.11: *Intempestivi funduntur vertice cani*; cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.9.

2 Candeat – suis] Cf 102.46 below and notes.

2 pilis ... viduata suis] Cf Martial 11.21.8; poem 106.19n below. In Erasmus'

verse the first syllable of *pilis* is scanned long; the unclassical scansion also occurs in the contemporaneous poem 102.27 below.
4 dens ... niger] Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.279–80; cf Horace *Epodes* 8.3 and Juvenal 6.145.
5 acuant – setae] Cf 102.27 below.
5 rigidae ... setae] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.428 and 13.846
5 brachia setae = Juvenal 2.11
6 Pendeat – cutis] Cf 95.60n above.
6 arenti ... laxa cutis] Cf Juvenal 6.144; Maximianus *Elegies* 1.135.
6 corpore laxa cutis = Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 1.12
7 nulla – senectae] Cf Seneca *Epistulae morales* 12.1: *Quocumque me verti, argumenta senectutis meae video.*
8–10 Nescio – sinunt] Cf 7.1–2n above.
9–10 Me mala – volunt] Cf Ovid *Ex Ponto* 1.4.19–20.
9 Me mala ferre senum] Cf Tibullus 1.6.82.
9 teneris ... annis = Ovid *Tristia* 3.7.17 and *Ex Ponto* 2.3.73
11–12 Iam – suum] Cf 99.9–10 above.
11 canicie spergant] Cf 104.19–20 below.
11 tristi] See 2.195–6n above.
12 Praevenere – suum] Cf Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 1.10: *dolor aetatem iussit inesse suam.*
12 cura dolorque = 99.2 above, where see note

102 LB VIII 561–2 / R 1

Alaard of Amsterdam, who first printed this bucolic poem with some scholia of his own in *De vitando pernitioso libidinosoque aspectu carmen bucolicum* (Leiden: P. van Balen 1538) sigs A4^{r}–A7^{r} asserts that Erasmus composed it when he was still a schoolboy at Deventer during Alexander Hegius' tenure: *Erasmo Rot. perquam adolescente, et adhuc Daventriae Alexandro Hegio preceptore utente* (sig A7^{v}). The heading of the eclogue in MS Scriverius, compiled in 1570, is similar to Alaard's but adds that Erasmus was fourteen years old when he composed the poem at Deventer under Hegius' tutelage: *quod lusit natus annos quatuordecim, quum adhuc Daventriae sub Alexandro Hegio literis operam daret.* Since Hegius arrived in Deventer in 1483 and Erasmus left Deventer in 1484, Reedijk concludes that the poem must have been written in 1483; this also fits Erasmus' stated age if he were born in 1469 (as seems to be assumed in the biographical notes in MS Scriverius; cf the headnote on nos 106 and 113 below). Schmidt-Dengler 215 n1, assuming that Hegius might have come to Deventer earlier than 1483 and that Erasmus was born in 1467, adds fourteen years to the presumed year of birth and so arrives at the composition date 1481.

The statement that Erasmus wrote the pastoral poem at Deventer under Hegius' tutelage does not occur in Gouda MS 1323. This manuscript evidently represents an older tradition in which the unusual names Gunifolda and Rosphamus have not yet been replaced with Galataea and Pamphilus as in MS Scriverius and Reyner Snoy's manuscript from which Alaard published the *Carmen buccolicum* (see headnote on Snoy's letter prefacing nos 93–7 above). We thus have reasonable grounds for at least questioning the relatively late association of the bucolic poem with Erasmus' Deventer years. Let us see if internal evidence corroborates or undermines the current consensus that the poem was written in c 1483.

On the face of it, the *Carmen buccolicum* is a simple poem – the sort of work one might expect of a precocious teenager at the end of the Middle Ages. There are some notable medievalisms in diction and metre; and, as Alaard suggests, the poet never seems to stray far from his main models, Virgil and Ovid. Hyma *Youth* 221 thinks that the eclogue 'reveals a lack of knowledge of classical literature on the part of Erasmus.' Reedijk 113–14 and 119 says that in this 'immature and pedantic' poem the adolescent zealously followed 'his great model as closely as possible,' making not 'the slightest attempt to express any idea or feeling of his own'; and Reedijk's judgment is borrowed almost verbatim in W. Leonard Grant *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral* (Chapel Hill 1965) 175–6. Béné *Erasme* 26 terms the poem a 'pastiche' of borrowings from Virgil and a few other classical poets. And Jozef IJsewijn dismisses it as little more than a Virgilian cento in his 'Erasmus ex poeta theologus' in *Scrinium* I 379–80.

There may be a fallacy of expectations at work here. We believe this to be the work of a fourteen-year-old boy; and we expect such a youth, however precocious, to imitate a model in a fairly straightforward way. A closer study of the poem's sources, however, reveals a greater complexity than hitherto suspected – greater than might reasonably be expected from a talented fourteen- or seventeen-year-old. Erasmus in truth wove this eclogue together from three or four major models. The story of his pastoral poem is ultimately based on Theocritus' Polyphemus-Galatea idyll (*Idylls* 11) – not directly of course, because Erasmus knew little Greek at the time, but by way of Virgil's second eclogue and Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13. Ovid's influence manifests itself not only in the theme, but also in the phrasing, the setting (the vicinity of Mount Aetna), and the character of Rosphamus' rival, Polyphemus. The shepherd's lament is primarily modelled on Virgil's second eclogue; but the addition of an older shepherd who lends a sympathetic ear appears to have come from Boccaccio's first eclogue. Some details of Rosphamus' story are also borrowed from Boccaccio's first and second eclogues. Boccaccio's *Carmen buccolicum* was, to be sure, not published until 1504, but manuscripts of the work were circulating throughout Europe during the fifteenth century; see Janet L. Smarr trans *Giovanni Boccaccio, Eclogues* (New York 1987) lxi. Perhaps Erasmus' father, who supported himself as a scribe in Italy and heard Guarino lecture in Ferrara (*Compendium vitae* Allen I 47:19–48:24 / CWE 4 404:23–30), had brought back with him a manuscript of Boccaccio's eclogues.

The study of Erasmus' sources reveals further that he was acquainted with the first seven idylls of Theocritus in the verse translation of Martino Filetico, first published in c 1470; cf Allen Ep 188:39–40 / CWE Ep 188:46. He in fact borrows several phrases from Filetico's translation of *Idylls* 6, which contains a treatment of the Polyphemus-Galatea story.

In its imitation of Virgil's second eclogue, the Polyphemus-Galatea episode in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Boccaccio's pastorals, and Filetico's translation of Theocritus' *Idylls*, Erasmus' eclogue is remarkably similar to numerous fifteenth-century Italian love-pastorals; see Antonia Tissoni Benvenuti 'La restauration humaniste de l'églogue: l'école Guarinienne à Ferrare' in *Le genre pastoral en Europe du XVe au XVIIe siècle* ed Claude Longeon (Saint-Etienne 1980) 28–31.

The knowledge that Erasmus had immersed himself in these and other ancient and modern poets leads us to imagine him at the time of composition to have been considerably older than a schoolboy of seventeen (as he would have been in 1483–4). This inference is to all appearances corroborated by several verbal parallels to texts published in 1485: Antonio Geraldini's eclogues, collectively entitled *Carmen bucolicum* (Rome, 6 June 1485), and Angelo Poliziano *Sylva* 3, entitled *Ambra* (Florence, November 1485). These parallels are most readily explained as borrowings by Erasmus. The unusual phrase in line 14, *Mollibus ... ulnis,* probably derives from Poliziano *Sylvae* 3.225, where it refers to a naiad holding the young Achilles in her delicate arms: ... *mollibus ulnis.* The wording of line 82, *Candidiorque nive, superis rutilantior astris* (describing Gunifolda), closely parallels Geraldini *Eclogues* 3.3 (of Jesus): *Candidior nivibus, caeli rutilantior astris.* Also compare line 8, *Rore ... madida ... herba,* with Geraldini *Eclogues* 10.8–9: *madidas ... herbas / Rore* (each of these words occurring in the same metrical position as in Erasmus' line).

This evidence can give us a *terminus post quem*. Since it is most unlikely that Erasmus had access to these two Italian poems in manuscript and since it would have taken several months at the fastest for the printed books to arrive in Holland, the earliest Erasmus could have seen Geraldini's work would be in autumn 1485; and the earliest he could have read Poliziano's would be in winter–spring 1486. Quite possibly he did not get them in his hands until later that year or sometime in 1487. If so, the eclogue would be roughly contemporaneous with Erasmus' other poems of passionate love and friendship (nos 99, 100, 101, and 103), which we have conjecturally placed in 1487. No 103, though couched in the form of Horace's fifteenth epode, does indeed bear a number of striking similarities to the eclogue; see the headnote on that poem. Both nos 102 and 103 have, furthermore, close parallels to Epp 4–9 – those highly rhetorical letters to Servatius Rogerus (1487?) which alternately celebrate their love and lament the friend's hard-heartedness. The phrase *quondam unica cura* (line 4), which in the pastoral poem refers to the lovelorn swain's neglect of his sheep, 'once his only concern,' has its close parallel in Allen Ep 8:10–11 / CWE Ep 8:12–13, where it refers to Erasmus' neglect of literary studies, 'formerly my life's one consolation' (*quondam unicum vitae solatium*). In lines 30–1 Rosphamus laments that Gunifolda closes her ears and flees from the plaintive pleas he pours out to her (*effusas querelas*) and uses the adage *litus aras* 'you are ploughing the seashore' to express his despair at winning over Gunifolda. Very similar phrasing is used in Allen Ep 7:46–8 / CWE Ep 7:50–1 to describe Erasmus' fruitless attempts to gain Servatius' friendship: 'But why do I pour forth these complaints [*effundo querelas*] in vain? For I know you will not lend an ear to them. Why do I uselessly strive to plough the sand [*littus arare*] ... ?' Rosphamus in line 109 of the bucolic poem prays for death (*Mortem oro*). This Virgilian phrase is also found in two of Erasmus' letters to Servatius. It is adapted from Virgil in Allen Ep 8:8–9 / CWE Ep 8:10: 'I more than once begged for death' (*mortem non semel oraverim*); and it is quoted outright in Allen Ep 9:42 / CWE Ep 9:43: 'then "Pray I for death" [*Mortem oro*].'

We thus conjecture that the *Carmen buccolicum* represents, in the conventional and 'safe' form of the allegorical eclogue, a literary reworking of Erasmus' own unhappy friendship for Servatius. Readers who object that Servatius could not very well be represented by the girl Gunifolda should recall that Erasmus himself compares Servatius' nature to 'that of obdurate girls so that my torments yield you pleasure': *an forte* *eo ingenio es, quo pertinaces esse puellae solent, ut voluptati tibi sit cruciatus meus ... ?* See Allen Ep 7:16–17 / CWE Ep 7:18–19.

The *Carmen buccolicum*, as we noted above, also occurs in MS Scriverius, at the head of Erasmus' early poems; there it is immediately followed by no 103. LB bases its text on MS Scriverius. Like Reedijk, we have preferred to follow Gouda MS 1323, which represents an earlier textual tradition.

Metre: hexameter

1 Rosphamus – amore] Cf Ovid *Fasti* 2.585: *Iuppiter immodico Iuturnae victus amore*. Renaudet *Préréforme* 735 and *Erasme et l'Italie* (Geneva 1954) 12 says that this line, in the form found in MS Scriverius and LB, is taken from the opening verse of the twelfth-century play *Pamphilus de amore*, but this is not the case.

1 Rosphamus ... Gunifoldae] In Alaard's edition and in MS Scriverius the names are given throughout as *Pamphilus* and *Galataea*. Alaard, who retained medievalisms in the text of the poem and pointed out the one form he did change (*Thetidos*, in line 38), was most probably not the one who first introduced the revisions (cf Allen I Appendix IX 610).

The origin and meaning of the two names have not been explained. Perhaps 'Rosphamus' is a deliberately distorted form for Erasmus (= *Erosphamus* 'he who tells of love'). The linkage Erasmus-Eros is not as fanciful as it may seem at first blush. Alaard's edition and MS Scriverius, which entitle the eclogue *Pamphilus*, immediately follow this name with *Eros* (in Greek characters), as if the second name were an equivalent of the first. In *Colloquia* ASD I-3 529:1248 *Eros* is, in fact, used as a pseudonym for Desiderius Erasmus himself (Desiderius = 'Erasmius' = 'beloved' or 'desired'); cf also Allen Ep 245:16 / CWE Ep 245:18.

The change from the *lectio difficilior* to the *lectio facilior*, from the unusual names to the more obvious ones, could have been made by the copyist of the manuscript which Alaard used (cf headnote above) or quite possibly by Erasmus himself – for instance when sending copies of his poems to such friends as Cornelis (see Allen Ep 28:10–17 / CWE Ep 28:11–17) or to such respected poets as Alexander Hegius and Bartholomäus Zehender (cf Allen Ep 28:18–23 / CWE Ep 28:18–22). The name Galatea was of course in Erasmus' mind from the outset (see headnote). She is, however, also the heroine in the popular medieval play *Pamphilus*, often printed in the last third of the fifteenth century. This Galatea in turn may have caused the young swain to be rebaptized as Pamphilus. Pamphilus is also the name of the successful lover in Boccaccio's first eclogue; another Pamphilus occurs in his third eclogue.

1 insano ... amore = Virgil *Aeneid* 2.343; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.563; cf poem 100.46n above.

2 Stridenti ... cicuta] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 3.27 (mentioned by Alaard in his scholium on the phrase); line 24 and note below.

2 tacita ... nocte] See 2.83n above.

2 solus sub nocte] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.268.

3 Rumpebat ... lucubrantia sidera / piercing ... the stars, which shone like lamps in the dark] The awkward hyperbole involved in 'splitting the stars' (that is, 'rending the air') is combined with the unusual epithet *lucubrantia* 'working by lamplight,' 'late at night.'

4–6 Quem – pecus / Wandering around him – to their stables] Lovesick shepherds neglect their normal duties; for this conventional motif cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.683–5 and 13.762–3, of Polyphemus; Boccaccio *Eclogues* 2.13. In Erasmus' poem this may well refer to the poet's neglect of literary studies while his love for Servatius was not returned. Cf Allen Ep 8:10–11 / CWE Ep 8:12–13; Allen Ep 39:138–42 / CWE Ep 39:153–7, written to Willem Hermans (1494?): 'through these distresses ... my heart has so wasted away that I have come to take no joy at all in my former studies. I find no pleasure in the poets' Pierian charm, and the Muses, who were once my only love [*quondam unica cura*], repel me now.'

4 simeae ... capellae] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 10.7: *simae ... capellae*. The form *simeae* is a medievalism for *simae*. See Harry Vredeveld '*Simeae capellae:* A Note on the Text of Erasmus carm. 1,4' HL 33 (1984) 103–5.

4 quondam ... capellae] Virgil *Eclogues* 1.74

5 Errant – agni] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 2.21; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.821, referring to Polyphemus.

5 gelidis ... in vallibus] Virgil *Georgics* 2.488 (in one manuscript tradition)

6 culmina tecti = Virgil *Aeneid* 2.695

7 Vel – nocte] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 8.88.

8 Rore ... madida ... herba] Cf Geraldini *Eclogues* 10.8–9: *Et iam Sol radiis madidas siccaverat herbas / Rore poli.*

8 tantum] Virgil *Eclogues* 2.3

8 proiectus in herba = Silius Italicus 14.468, of the shepherd Daphnis; cf Virgil *Eclogues* 1.75.

9 meditatur arundine = Ausonius *Precationes variae* 1.13: *meditatur harundine carmen;* cf Virgil *Eclogues* 6.8.

10 Huc – Gunifolda = Line 17 below; cf Virgil *Eclogues* 9.39: *huc ades, o Galatea.*

10 mei medicina furoris / healer of my madness] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 10.60; Otto 101. In Allen Ep 8:77–9 / CWE Ep 8:87–9 Erasmus tells Servatius: 'You alone are he who can bring healing, who can so easily turn sorrows into joys and mourning into laughter.'

11 extremum ... funus amantis] Cf line 34n below.

13 duris in collibus] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 11.318–19; *Eclogues* 8.43: *duris in cotibus* (in the same metrical position and in similar context: the hard-heartedness of Amor).

14 Mollibus ... ulnis] Poliziano *Sylvae* 3.225

14 refoves ... in ulnis] Cf Propertius 2.18.9.

15–16 setosi – mentum / his hairy arms ... his bristling beard] For Polyphemus' hirsuteness see Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.765–6, 844–50.

15 candida colla lacerti] Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.457

16 Barba ... conterat hispida mentum] Cf Tibullus 1.8.31–2; Silius Italicus 13.333.

17–18 Huc ades – umbra] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 9.39–42 and 10.42–3; Nemesianus 4.46–7.

17 Huc – Gunifolda = Line 10 above, where see note

17 vitrea] See 88.11n above.

18 Gramine florigero] Cf 106.55 below.

18 viridi ... umbra] Virgil *Eclogues* 9.20; *Ciris* 4; Statius *Thebaid* 9.592

19 quid – labori / what good can it do – futile task] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 2.776; Allen Ep 7:46 / CWE Ep 7:50: 'But why do I pour forth these complaints in vain?'

19 iuvat indulgere labori = Virgil *Aeneid* 6.135; cf poem 95.5 above.

21 quid tum si = Virgil *Eclogues* 10.38 (in an interjection)

21–2 vertice ... Sidera sublimi feriat] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.1.36: *Sublimi feriam sidera vertice* (quoted in Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 74:8 / CWE 24 344:17). The phrase was proverbial; see Otto 289; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.61; Seneca *Thyestes* 886. In Erasmus' *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei* LB I 889E the phrase characterizes Barbarism: *prope est ut vertice sidera pulset.* If the eclogue is indeed an expression of Erasmus' unfulfilled friendship for Servatius, Gunifolda's love for the huge, uncouth, bristling, cave-dwelling Polyphemus could be interpreted as Servatius' continued preference for barbaric, medieval literature – the 'bristling barbarism' (*barbaries horrida*) of 93.141 above – and his reluctance to embrace classical letters; see especially Epp 13 and 15.

22 licet; audiat ipse] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.429: *audiat ipse licet* and 14.491: *audiat ipsa licet.* Despite these parallels, *licet* belongs more probably with *certasse* in line 21 than with *audiat.* For *audiat* without *licet* see Virgil *Eclogues* 3.50: *audiat haec tantum ... Palaemon.* The punctuation of lines 21–3 in our edition reflects that in Gouda MS 1323: *Et certasse tamen / quid tum si vertice ciclops* ‖ *Sidera sublimi feriat? licet / audiat ipse* ‖ *Quantuscumque: nec ...* In MS Scriverius and LB the lines are written as follows: *Et certasse tamen, quid tum si vertice Cyclops* ‖ *Sydera sublimi feriat, licet audiat ipse* ‖ *Quantuscumque nec ...* If we take *licet* with *audiat,* we have to supply *licebit* with *certasse* in line 21 (cf line 20).

23–9 nec illi – Ora] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 2.19–27.

23 Quantuscumque] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.842, of Polyphemus.

24 arguta ... cicuta] Calpurnius 7.12; cf line 2 and note above.

25 Molle pecus = Virgil *Georgics* 3.299; *Aeneid* 9.341

26 Dametas ... Amyntas = Virgil *Eclogues* 2.39

26 mihi cedit Amyntas] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 5.18.

27 cervix riget horrida pilis] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.284–5 (of bulls): *riget horrida cervix / Et saetae similes rigidis hastilibus horrent;* Martial 6.56.1: *tibi crura rigent saetis et pectora villis;* poem 101.5 above. Perhaps *pilis,* which is here scanned with a long first syllable (instead of a short, according to classical usage), was intended to correspond to *hastilibus* 'spears' in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.285, but this seems unlikely. Erasmus also writes *pilis* with a long first syllable in 101.2 above. Alaard (sig A8^v) suggests that we ought perhaps to read something like *villis.*

28–9 levia ... Ora ... amplexus = Tibullus 1.8.31–2

29 quid amplexus – caninos] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.860–1.

30–1 litus – querelas / you are ploughing – pour out to her] Cf Allen Ep 7:46–8 / CWE Ep 7:50–1. The phrase *litus arare* 'plough the seashore' is proverbial: see Otto 789; Erasmus *Adagia* I iv 51; cf also *Adagia* I iv 52.

31 effusas ... querelas] Lucan 2.44

33 Quin morere – dolores / No, die instead – long-drawn-out pain] For the death-wish cf line 109n. Erasmus' language recalls Dido's tragic fate after her love affair with Aeneas. Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.547: *quin morere ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem* 'No, die as you deserve and by the sword take away your pain.' The lover's death-wish is also found in pastoral. Cf Theocritus *Idyll* 3.25–7 (in tragicomic posturing); Virgil *Eclogues* 2.7 (an option rejected by Corydon) and 8.59–60; Boccaccio's first two eclogues.

33 longos ... dolores] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 14.716, where Iphis resolves to commit suicide in order to end the torments of unrequited love

33 morte dolores = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.661 and 3.471

34 Extremum – amantis] The line combines Virgil *Eclogues* 8.60: *extremum hoc munus morientis habeto* and Boccaccio *Eclogues* 2.143 (farewell of the dying lover): *summum iam munus amantis / tolle volens.*

35 Eternum ... vale] Virgil *Aeneid* 11.98; Martial 5.66.2; Erasmus *De vidua christiana* LB V 725D; cf poem 93.18n above.

35 necis auctrix] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9.214.

36 Sic ait, et = Virgil *Aeneid* 1.142, 2.296, and often

36 pulsae referebant] Virgil *Eclogues* 6.84; cf *Georgics* 4.527.

36 carmina rupes = Virgil *Eclogues* 5.63

37 Omne – 'Gunifolda' sonat] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 1.5; *Aeneid* 8.305; Propertius 1.18.31; Boccaccio *Eclogues* 2.23–5.

37 sonat arduus aether = Statius *Thebaid* 9.30

38 Thetidos] This form is a medievalism for the classical *Tethyos;* see Vredeveld 'Edition' 118–19. Alaard reports that his manuscript had *Thetydis.* He therefore emends the text to read *Tethys,* the form subsequently also found in MS Scriverius. Tethys was the wife of Oceanus; here she stands for the ocean itself.

38 Titonis ... coniunx] The form *Titonis,* which occurs in Gouda MS 1323 and MS Scriverius as well as in Alaard's edition, is used here as an adjective; cf Statius *Silvae* 5.1.34. Erasmus' phrase is a variation on Virgil *Aeneid* 8.384: *Tithonia ... coniunx* (in the same metrical position); cf Ovid *Fasti* 3.403; Silius Italicus 5.25.

39 croceis subvecta iugalibus / conveyed by her saffron team] Cf 64.36 above and notes. The epithet *croceus* 'saffron' is conventionally associated with Aurora; see for example Virgil *Georgics* 1.447; *Aeneid* 4.585; and Ovid *Amores* 2.4.43.

39–40 alto ... ab aethere] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.80–1 and 10.720

40 rarescentem ... noctem] Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.331; poem 112.72 below; cf 112.301n below.

40 pellebat – noctem] Cf 99.1n above; Ovid *Fasti* 6.729–30: *noctem / pellit.*

41–2 ferientia – sole] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.804 and 9.93.

41 Phebeae ... rupis / the crag sacred to Apollo] Mount Parnassus; cf Virgil *Eclogues* 6.29.

41 ferientia sidera] Horace *Odes* 1.1.36

42 Culmina / peaks] Mount Parnassus was said to have twin peaks; see 93.14–15n above.

42 dubio ... sole] Cf 112.305n below.

42 cepere rubescere] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.600–1; *Fasti* 4.165–6

43 Cinctus ... viridanti tempora mirto] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 1.28; *Aeneid* 5.539; Ovid *Amores* 1.1.29.

44 ad pascua nota = Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.319; cf Statius *Thebaid* 3.330.

45 quo non annosior alter] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.164 and 9.772.

46 depositis – capillis] Cf 101.2 above; Avitus *Carmina* 1.204: *refugo careat frons nuda capillo;* Avianus *Fables* 10.7: *deiecto nituit frons nuda galero.*

47 tergeminos – annos] See 4.67–8n above.

47 computet annos] Juvenal 6.199 and 10.249; cf Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 54:380–1 / CWE 66 147: *dextra suos annos computant* 'counting the remaining years of their life on the fingers of their right hand.'

48 serae ... senectae] Cf 65.11 above.

48 requies ... senectae = Martial 4.25.7; Statius *Silvae* 2.1.70; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 9.481–2 and 12.57–8.

49 Tortilis ... fistula] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.335–6: *bucina ... / Tortilis.*

49 hirsuto – collo] Cf Theocritus *Idylls* 6.8, in Filetico's paraphrasing translation: *Sic tibi ludentem sic cernere torvus amicam / Non potes, hirsuto pendet cum fistula collo.*

49 pendebat fistula = Nemesianus 3.5; cf Virgil *Eclogues* 7.24.

49 fistula collo = Boccaccio *Eclogues* 13.58

51 his ... dictis compellat] Valerius Flaccus 7.451; cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12.585.

51 miserum ... amantem] Plautus *Bacchides* 208; *Curculio* 152; Tibullus 1.8.61, 71; and often; poem 103.21 below

52 sub gelido ... Iove] Claudian *Panegyricus Probini et Olybrii* 36–7

53–4 fluitas ... rore] For this relatively rare construction cf Pseudo-Quintilian *Declamationes maiores* 8.17: *fluitat nimis aeger humoribus;* Tertullian *Adversus Marcionem* 4.20 (CSEL 47 486): *femina, quae sanguine fluitabat;* More CW III-2 poem 227.1: *Ora ... fluitantia tabo.*

54 Nocturno ... rore] Calpurnius 5.54

55 Si vacat = Ovid *Ex Ponto* 1.1.3

56 tibi – amores] Cf Statius *Silvae* 3.5.105.

56 moriturus = Boccaccio *Eclogues* 1.21 and 2.4

57–8 sol – herbas] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.426–7.

57 medium ... Olympum = Virgil *Aeneid* 10.216; cf Lucan 1.540; poems 95.31n above and 111.5 below.

61 sacrae ... lauri / the sacred laurel] Virgil *Aeneid* 7.59–60; Tibullus 2.5.63; Horace *Odes* 3.4.18–19; poem 112.56–7 below. The laurel was sacred to Apollo.

61 sub tegmine lauri = Boccaccio *Eclogues* 8.136; cf Virgil *Eclogues* 1.1.

62–3 Naiades – choreas] Cf Boccaccio *Eclogues* 1.59–60 (the shepherd sees his beloved Galla dancing): *mixta puellis / Galla choros antro festos lasciva trahebat* and 11.144–6; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.746 and 14.520.

62 Naiades ... Driadesque] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.453 and 11.49

62 Driadesque puellas = Virgil *Eclogues* 5.59; cf *Georgics* 1.11.

63 cantu modulante choreas] Iuvencus 3.57, describing Salome's dancing

64 Pan – Apollo / Pan played – lyre] Cf Nemesianus 1.24–6: *carmine Phoebus, / Pan calamis ... / concinerent.* Pan was the inventor of the panpipe or syrinx; Apollo's instrument was the lyre (Erasmus *Adagia* II viii 16).

64 pulcher ... Apollo] Virgil *Aeneid* 3.119; Calpurnius 4.57

65 in numeros – brachia] *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 58:530–1

66 Pulsabat ... pedibus ... herbas] Cf Theocritus *Idylls* 6.45 in Filetico's translation: *Hinc pedibus pingues pulsabant prata iuvencae / Et teneras duris pressabant unguibus herbas;* Boccaccio *Eclogues* 11.144, of dancing satyrs and nymphs: *pedibus pulsare solum;* Ovid *Fasti* 6.330; Horace *Odes* 1.4.7.

66 humiles ... herbas] Boccaccio *Eclogues* 11.25–6

67 Viderunt – flammae / My eyes saw it, my heart burst into flame] The line, repeated four times, becomes a refrain, reminiscent of the refrains in Virgil *Eclogues* 8. The model for the thought (as Alaard points out on sig A8^r) is Virgil *Eclogues* 8.41: *ut vidi, ut perii* 'as I watched, how I perished.' Cf also Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.574, 3.371, and *Fasti* 2.307: *Vidit et incaluit.*

67 Viderunt oculi = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.680. For the commonplace that love enters through the eyes see 100.5n above.

67 pectora flammae = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.803

68–77 Ibat – puellas] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.722–5; Statius *Achilleid* 1.293–9; Boccaccio *Eclogues* 1.31–4: *Nympha fuit silvis totis pulcherrima nostris; / et quantum lauro cedit funesta cupressus, / cupresso mirtus bicolor, mirtove mirice, / ... huic tantum cedit Galathea Miconis.*

68 formosis formosior = Ovid *Heroides* 17(18).73; cf Virgil *Eclogues* 5.44.

70 Digna dea facies = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.182

71 igniferi] See 100.8n above.

74–7 Germanam – puellas / Just as the golden light – maiden companions] In this conventional pattern of praise the person extolled is said to outdo all rivals, just as the sun, moon, and morning star outshine the other stars. Besides the examples noted above cf Horace *Odes* 1.12.46–8; Ovid *Heroides* 17(18).71–4; Silius Italicus 16.35–7 (mentioned by Alaard sig B7^v); poems 50.23–4n above and 133.17–18 below.

74 Germanam ... Phebi] Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 1.193

74–5 quantum ... quantum = Virgil *Eclogues* 5.16–17

75 roseo ... voltu = Statius *Achilleid* 1.297

75 Phebe aurea] Virgil *Georgics* 1.431; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.723

77 forma ... vincit] Ovid *Heroides* 15(16).70; Horace *Epodes* 15.22

79–80 Caesaries – eburnam] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.337; Maximianus *Elegies* 1.93.

79 Caesaries capitis] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.179–80

79 fulvo ... auro = Ovid *Tristia* 1.7.7; *Ex Ponto* 3.8.3

79 crispantior auro] This odd phrase literally means 'curlier than gold.' Apparently Erasmus is combining the idea that the girl's hair is curly with the notion that it is gold-coloured or adorned with gold. Cf Statius *Thebaid* 8.568: *crispaverat aurum;* Virgil *Aeneid* 8.659: *aurea caesaries;* Boccaccio *Eclogues* 1.78 (of the beloved Galla): *auricomi capitis.*

81–2 Ardentes oculi ... caro ... Candidior ... nive] Cf *Pamphilus* 707: *Ardentes oculi, caro candida.*

81–2 liquido – astris / her flesh smoother – stars above] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.789–92 (of Galatea), cited by Alaard sig B8^r. In both Ovid's and Erasmus' account the initially positive series of comparisons is followed by a negative series; see line 103–4n below. Cf also Virgil *Eclogues* 7.37–8.

81 liquido ... amne] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.400

82 Candidior – astris] Cf Geraldini *Eclogues* 3.3: *Candidior nivibus, caeli rutilantior astris.*

82 Candidior ... nive] Proverbial; see Otto 1231.

84 puer improbus ille] Virgil *Eclogues* 8.49; poem 100.49, 51, and 52 above

85 Nudus membra / his limbs naked] Virgil *Aeneid* 8.425; Poliziano, translation of Moschus *Idyll* 1, line 15, referring to Amor: *Membra quidem nudus.* Cupid was conventionally portrayed as a naked boy.

85 genas levis] Nemesianus 2.17

85 captus ocellis] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 1.183; Ovid *Fasti* 6.204; and often; poem 33.2 above. In ancient and earlier medieval descriptions Cupid is always clear-sighted. It is not until the thirteenth century that he is presented as blind (or blindfolded). See Erwin Panofsky *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (1939; New York 1967) 95–128.

86 Armatus facibus / armed with his firebrands] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.472. The torch, along with the wings, bow, and quiver, is a standing attribute of Cupid; see 100.8n above.

86 levibus ... alis] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 14.501

86 volatilis = Ovid *Amores* 2.7.27, of Cupid

89 fulgenti – pharetra] Cf Pseudo-Virgil *Ciris* 160: *aurea fulgenti depromens tela pharetra;* Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.468.

90 Flammifera ... arundine] Cf Silius Italicus 11.412.

90 traiecit arundine = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.325; Statius *Thebaid* 9.761

91–2 calidum – medullas] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 8.388–90 (cited by Alaard sig C1^r).

93 intima flammis = 100.7 above

95 Et ... virgineas ... choreas] Prudentius *Psychomachia* 242

96 Phebus Olympi = Boccaccio *Eclogues* 13.13; cf Silius Italicus 11.267 (cited by Alaard sig C1^r).

97 Quid facerem? = Virgil *Eclogues* 1.40 and 7.14; Ovid *Fasti* 5.313; *Tristia* 1.3.49

97 tempus erat quo] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.268; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.587 and 10.446; *Fasti* 5.497

98 Quo – iuvenci] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 7.39, 44.

99 dirus ... amor] See 100.41n above.

99 sequor invia saltus / I follow through the trackless glades] The distraught lover typically wanders about and can find no rest; cf for instance Virgil *Aeneid* 4.68–73 and 4.300–3; Propertius 1.1.11–12; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.731; Nemesianus 4.5–6; Boccaccio *Eclogues* 2.9–16.

100 Perditus et = Virgil *Eclogues* 2.59

100 questu ... inani] Pseudo-Virgil *Ciris* 401

101 clamore – vocantem] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.382.

101 clamore voco] Virgil *Georgics* 1.347; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9.294

102–4 Nil – Surdior / Taking no pity – fierce viper] Cf Allen Ep 7:8–11 / CWE Ep 7:9–13, to Servatius Rogerus; poem 103.19–21 and notes below.

103–4 Cautibus – Surdior] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.801–4, where Polyphemus describes Galatea (cited by Alaard sig c1v).

103 Cautibus Hismariis / than the crags of Ismarus] Cf 110.350 below. In antiquity Thrace was a byword for hard-hearted barbarism.

103–4 aspide seva Surdior] Cf Arator 1.734: *crudelior aspide surda;* Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 1.90: *truculentior aspide surda;* Ps 58:4; Erasmus *Adagia* III i 85.

104 summis ... rupibus] Virgil *Georgics* 2.187

104 rupibus Ethnae = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 14.160; Statius *Achilleid* 1.824

105 Immani ... Polyphemi ... antro] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 3.641: *cavo Polyphemus in antro,* 6.11: *antrum immane;* Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.2.113: *vasto Polyphemus in antro.*

105 sese ... condidit antro] Lucan 5.84: *sacris se condidit antris;* Boccaccio *Eclogues* 12.126: *celso se condidit antro*

107 sequitur ... euntem = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9.786

108 misero mihi = Virgil *Eclogues* 2.58; *Aeneid* 2.70

109 Mortem oro / I beg ... for death] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.451, of Dido: *mortem orat.* Cf Allen Epp 8:8–9 and 9:42 / CWE Epp 8:10 and 9:43.

Postscript eglogae] This spelling (rather than the classical form *ecloga*) was common in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance owing to an imagined connection with the Greek word for 'goat' (*aix, aigos*); see Helen Cooper 'The Goat and the Eclogue' *Philological Quarterly* 53 (1974) 363–79. Erasmus uses the spelling also in the heading of no 6 above and in *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 700:23.

103 LB VIII 562–3 / R 5

Whereas *Carmen buccolicum* (102) occurs in both Gouda MS 1323 and MS Scriverius, nos 103–14 are to be found only in MS Scriverius. For this manuscript see the introduction, CWE 85 liv–lv.

According to the title-page of MS Scriverius the poems contained in it were all written by Erasmus when he was still 'almost a lad' (*fere puero;* see 109.31n below). This statement, while not accurate in the case of nos 36 and 110–12, does, roughly speaking, hold true for the other poems in the collection. No 103 certainly belongs to the group of Erasmus' earliest compositions. It was probably written in 1487 and is thus contemporaneous with nos 99–102. As in *Carmen buccolicum,* the hapless lover of no 103 is said to wander about disconsolately at night, driven by unrequited love and lamenting his fate. A pastoral setting is furthermore suggested by the bucolic names Menalcas and Amyntas, lovers in Virgil's third eclogue. The erotic language of the first part of the poem recalls both Virgil's second eclogue and the Polyphemus-Galatea story in Ovid

Metamorphoses 13. As in Virgil's second eclogue, the love that is at first desperately sought and is at last rejected is that of one young man for another. The poem's metre and the language of Amyntas' final rejection of the hard-hearted Menalcas is taken from Horace's fifteenth epode. Reedijk rightly suggests a connection between this poem and Erasmus' letters to Servatius of c 1487 (Epp 4–9). Here too Erasmus seems to be venting his anger at Servatius.

Lines 1–22 of the poem were first published in an anthology of Renaissance poetry edited by Damas van Blijenburgh: *Veneres Blyenburgicae, sive Amorum hortus* (Dordrecht: I. Caninus 1600) 457–8. Blijenburgh is known to have corresponded with Bonaventura Vulcanius, the copyist of MS Scriverius; it is thus possible that he took the verses, directly or indirectly, from this manuscript. See P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok eds *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* 4 (Leiden 1918) 175–6.

Metre: first Pythiambic strophe

1–2 flamma puer ... torruit] Cf 100.8n above.

1 puer ille] The phrase is commonly used for Cupid; see Virgil *Eclogues* 8.49, 50; Ovid *Remedia amoris* 149, 168; poems 100.49, 51, 52, and 102.84 above.

3–6 Sol cadit – amor] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.522–32.

3 et seras ... umbras = Boccaccio *Eclogues* 11.237: *Hesperus occeanum cantu detentus Olympo / respuit et seras concessit montibus umbras;* cf Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 4 metrum 6.14: *Vesper seras nuntiat umbras.*

3 inducit vesperus umbras = Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 3.221 (in one manuscript tradition). The form *vesperus* is a medieval hybrid, combining *vesper* with *Hesperus.*

5 aestuat igne] Cf Lucan 5.173; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.64 (quoted in Allen Ep 5:22 / CWE Ep 5:23, to Servatius Rogerus).

6 Nec – amor] See 100.10n above.

8 Nigris profecta manibus] Cf 50.118–19 above.

9 iecur ... siccum / my withered heart] Juvenal 1.45. The Latin literally means: 'my withered liver.' The liver was regarded as the seat of violent emotions such as anger, grief, and passion. The heat built up by these emotions could cause the liver to become desiccated; cf for instance Horace *Odes* 1.13.4 and 4.1.12; poem 49.79 above.

13 dedo – capistris / I have ... taken your bit in my mouth] Cf Juvenal 6.43; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 50:273–4 / CWE 66 144: 'Do not offer your mouth to the iron muzzle'; *Enchiridion* LB V 57E / CWE 66 115: 'stretch out your miserable neck to her halter [*capistro os*]'; *Moria* ASD IV-3 80:161–2 / CWE 27 90: 'offer his neck to the halter of matrimony.'

13 ora capistris = Virgil *Georgics* 3.188, 399 (literally, of horses and young goats)

14–22 Quas – mea / How have I humbly pleaded – you enjoy my torments] Cf

Allen Ep 7:8–17 / CWE Ep 7:9–19, to Servatius Rogerus: 'Is it that you and you alone cannot be moved by remonstrances or swayed by entreaties or melted even by the tears of a loving friend? Are you so savage as to be incapable of pity? I have tried upon you all my appeals and prayers and tears [*quibus non precibus, quibus non tentavi lachrimis?*], but you close up your heart and implacably repel me with a harshness like that of the hardest rocks [*tu saxis durior durissimis*] ... Can your nature be like that of obdurate girls so that my torments yield you pleasure ...?'

15–16 Testis – chorus] Cf Statius *Achilleid* 1.643–4.

15 Testis luna] Juvenal 6.311; cf Propertius 2.32.28.

18 rigarim lachrimis] Virgil *Aeneid* 9.251

19 Frustra, nam scopulis ... surdior / in vain, for you are always deafer than any sea-cliff] Horace *Odes* 3.7.21; cf Otto 1610.

19–21 scopulis – amantis] Cf 102.102–4 above (with notes).

20 rupe ... durior / harder than any crag] Proverbial; see Otto 1593; poem 111.96n below.

21 miseri ... amantis] See 102.51n above.

22 Tormenta te iuvant mea] Cf Juvenal 6.209.

23–4 O doliture – est] Cf Horace *Epodes* 15.11–12: *O dolitura mea multum virtute Neaera! / Nam si quid in Flacco virium est* [variant reading for: *viri est*] / *Non feret adsiduas potiori te dare noctes.*

25–36 Sis licet – pendero] Cf Horace *Epodes* 15.19–24.

27–8 Isque color – punicos] Cf Horace *Odes* 4.10.4.

29–30 Quem – corpora] Cf Propertius 1.2.22. Apelles was the most famous painter of antiquity.

30 Viva] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.848.

31 colla cathenis = Propertius 2.1.33; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.215; poem 110.392 below

33 domiti ... amoris] Ovid *Amores* 3.11.5

36 Egoque flocci pendero] Cf Terence *Eunuchus* 411: *ego non flocci pendere;* Erasmus *Adagia* I viii 6. For the unusual perfect stem of *pendero* (instead of *pependero*) see Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 14.122: *penderit.*

104 LB VIII 563 / R 7

This poem develops the traditional *carpe diem* argument that youthful strength and good looks soon fade. Since the winter of old age will inevitably beset us, we should take advantage of youth while it lasts; cf the headnotes on nos 99 and 101 above. For ancient Latin variations on the *carpe diem* argument see for instance Catullus 5.1–6; Tibullus 1.4.27–38; Horace *Odes* 4.10; Propertius 4.5.59–62; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.59–88; Seneca *Phaedra* 761–76; Nemesianus 4.20–4; and Ausonius *De rosis nascentibus.* The argument was revived in the Renaissance. Cf in particular Girolamo Balbi *Carmina* 11 (published in 1486 or 1487), since it may well have served as Erasmus' model. Balbi's poem, like Erasmus', begins with a detailed description of the coming of winter. Thereupon the poet reminds his lover that her beauty too will be ruined by the rapid flow of time and urges her to make good use of her springtime, while the Fates permit. For some verbal parallels to Balbi's poem see the notes on lines 3 and 7–8 below.

If Balbi's *carpe diem* poem did indeed serve as a model for Erasmus' elegy, we have a good indication regarding the date of its composition. In Allen Ep 23:47–52 / CWE Ep 23:49–54, written to Cornelis Gerard in June 1489(?), Erasmus says that, besides a brief epitaph by Girolamo Balbi supplied by Cornelis, he knows nothing about the Italian poet. He therefore asks his friend to send him more of Balbi's poems. Epp 25 and 27 (July 1489?) are largely devoted to a discussion of Balbi's work. The present poem seems, then, to have been written sometime after mid-1489, perhaps in late autumn 1489, if the poem's introductory section can be taken to refer to the season in which it was composed. The identity of the friend to whom it was addressed cannot be determined with certainty. Cornelis is a possibility; so is Willem Hermans.

Though on the face of it a hedonistic poem, the elegy should more probably be reckoned among Erasmus' inverted *carpe diem* poems; see the introduction, CWE 85 xxxix–xlii.

Metre: elegiac distich

1–12 Aspicis – gelu] Cf 2.204–10 and 95.35–52 above. For lines 1–6 cf especially 95.47–52 and notes; for lines 1–2 cf 95.39–40n.

1 Aspicis ut = Ovid *Tristia* 1.9.7 and 5.14.35; Statius *Silvae* 4.1.23. Cf Horace *Odes* 1.9.1, introducing a *carpe diem* poem by describing a wintry scene: *Vides ut ...*

3–4 Arida – rosis] Cf Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.115–16 (in a *carpe diem* exhortation): *nec violae semper nec hiantia lilia florent, / et riget amissa spina relicta rosa;* poem 95.41–2, 49–50 above.

3 Arida – flores] Cf Girolamo Balbi *Carmina* 11.7 (page 151): *Fusca nec albentes pingunt violaria campos.*

3 purpurei ... flores] See 95.37–8n above.

5 Cernis – campi] Cf Ovid *Tristia* 3.10.75: *aspiceres nudos sine fronde, sine arbore, campos.*

5 nudi ... campi] Cf 106.69n below.

5 sine gramine campi = 64.27 and 95.51 above; cf Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.249.

6 florum ... ampla Venus] Cf 106.53n below. The construction *florum ampla* is a genitive of specification; cf Horace *Odes* 3.30.11: *pauper aquae.*

6 pinxerat] For the image cf Lucretius 5.1396; Ovid *Fasti* 4.430; Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.11. Geoffrey of Vinsauf recommends the metaphor in

Poetria nova 791–2: *Tempora veris / Pingere flore solum.* See also poems 95.41, 49 above, 106.7, 83, and 112.341 below.

7–8 Pro – Nothi] Cf Girolamo Balbi *Carmina* 11.15 (page 151): *Pro Zephyris gelidus Boreas et nubilus Auster / Regnat, et Eurus atrox.*

7 placidis Zephiris] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.107–8; cf poem 2.161n above.

7 Aquilona frementem] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 11.26.11: *Aquilone fremente.* The Greek accusative singular ending of *Aquilona* is not classical; cf 96.72n above: *vultura.*

8 nymbriferi ... Nothi] Cf 96.10n and 100.42n above.

8 flamina saeva Nothi] Cf Sedulius Scottus *Carmina* 2.70.8: ... *flamina dira Nothi.*

9 placidus ... Phaebus] Cf 109.17–18 below.

9 in aethere Phaebus = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.162

9–10 Phaebus ... pronus] Statius *Achilleid* 1.689–90

10 oceanas ... aquas = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.4: *solem ... / qui vagus Oceanas exit et intrat aquas* and 3.18.6

11 Succedentis ... brumae] Cf 109.34 below.

11 brumae vice] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.4.1: *vice veris;* poem 109.13–14 below.

12 Triste ... gelu] The phrase occurs in 106.3, 17, 31 below; cf 2.166–7n and 106.21, 35.

13–22 Sic sic – genis] Cf 95.53–65 above (with notes).

13 dulcis amice = Horace *Epistles* 1.7.12; cf poems 2.108 above and line 28n below.

14 properante ... pede] Catullus 63.30

14 cadit] Because the second syllable of this verb is short, a later hand (most probably the copy-editor of LB VIII) corrected the reading of MS Scriverius to *cadunt.* But the singular form *cadit* is correct as it stands. The syllable is here, as so often in Erasmus' early poetry, lengthened before the caesura; see 7.48n above.

16 subito / suddenly] See 2.10n above.

19–20 Haec – tuam] Cf Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.117–18.

19–20 canicie ... Sparsura] Cf 101.11 above.

19 flavos ... capillos = Ovid *Fasti* 5.609; cf 2.763; *Heroides* 12.11.

20 frontem findet] Cf 95.65n above.

21 Candida ... ora] Ovid *Heroides* 20(21).217; *Metamorphoses* 2.861

21 pallore – ora] Cf Maximianus *Elegies* 1.133–4; poem 2.16n above.

23 gaudia vitae = Tibullus 3.3.7

24 Succedent – locis] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 3.67–8.

24 labor / hardship] Ps 90:10, amplified in Erasmus *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 215:645–51; poem 109.25 below

25–8 Ergo – dies] Cf 95.7–8, 107–10 and 2.195–213 above (with notes).

25–6 dum Parca – suis] Cf Horace *Odes* 2.3.15–16.

26–7 Dum vireat – aevo] Cf 95.19–20 above (with notes).

26 vicibus ... suis = 106.4, 28 below. Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.626: *suis vicibus.*

27 ne frustra abeat torpentibus / lest we lose it in vain through our own lethargy] Cf Allen Ep 15:49 / CWE Ep 15:53: 'shake off sluggishness [*torporem*],' in an exhortation to Servatius Rogerus to pursue literary studies while he is still in the flower of youth, and Allen Ep 16:29–32 / CWE Ep 16:30–5: 'very

many persons ... are bitterly remorseful, when it is too late, because they see that the time of youth, which is proper for the study of literature, has slipped away between their fingers.'

28 Carpamus ... dies] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.11.8: *carpe diem.*

28 dulcis amice = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 4.18.26, and often; cf line 13n above.

105 LB VIII 563–5 / R 8

This poem expounds the proverbial wisdom that patience conquers all things: *Patientia vincit omnia* (Walther 20833f); see further Otto 654; Walther 3988; Erasmus *Adagia* I iii 14: 'What can't be cured, must be endured'; Bebel *Proverbia Germanica* no 350. In Allen Epp 8:75–6 and 13:23–4 / CWE Epp 8:85–6 and 13:25–6, letters to Servatius Rogerus conjecturally dated by Allen in 1487 and 1488 respectively, Erasmus quotes Horace *Odes* 1.24.19–20: 'Tis hard; but patience easier makes to bear / Whate'er cannot be righted.' In Ep 8, presumably written in 1487, the virtue of this maxim is denied; it does not help Erasmus overcome his love for Servatius. In Ep 13 (written c 1488) a considerable cooling has evidently taken place, but Erasmus is still hurt by Servatius' continued neglect of the friendship he offers. It thus seems likely that the present poem is not contemporaneous with Ep 13, as Reedijk thinks. It is, after all, one thing to say that 'patience makes it easier to bear what cannot be righted,' and quite another that 'patience conquers all things.' The first dictum implies resignation to one's fate, an acceptance that things cannot be altered. It is at bottom a pessimistic view. The second maxim, by contrast, implies a considerable degree of optimism. It adopts the Stoic wisdom that outrageous fortune can be conquered by a mind capable of equanimity in adversity. The wiseman remains secure and happy in his heart because the loss of transitory, external goods cannot affect him inwardly. See for example Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 4.29.62–31.66; *De officiis* 1.26.90; Horace *Odes* 2.3.1–8; *Epistles* 1.10.30–1; Seneca *De tranquillitate animi*; *Epistulae morales* 66.6 and 78.29.

In tone and language the poem anticipates the moral elegies 94–6, written in winter 1490–1. We therefore place it in c 1490.

Metre: elegiac distich

1–2 Quo fugis – insequitur / Whither – follows you] Cf Otto 1144; Seneca *De tranquillitate animi* 2.14–15; Propertius 2.30.1–2: *Quo fugis a demens? nulla est fuga: tu licet usque / ad Tanain fugias, usque sequetur Amor*; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 70:842–3 / CWE 66 162, of a criminal: 'wherever

he directs his flight, those dreadful tormentors of his heart stay on his heels'; *Enchiridion* LB V 24F / CWE 66 60: 'Fortune often follows those who flee from it, and flees those who follow it.'

3–4 pernicibus ... Alis] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.180; Statius *Thebaid* 3.471

5–8 Otyor – tenet] Cf Horace *Odes* 2.16.23–4; poem 95.25–7 and notes above.

5 Otyor – arcu] Cf Seneca *Phoenissae* 428–9; Lucan 1.230; Virgil *Aeneid* 10.248.

8 Ocyor ... Euro / swifter than the east wind] Proverbial: Otto 1867; cf 2.82n above.

9 gaudia ... ridens] Statius *Silvae* 2.2.132

9 gaudia inania] Ausonius *Cupido cruciatus* 35

11 Stulte, quid = 95.1 above, where see note

11 extremas ... oras = Ovid *Tristia* 3.14.11 (in one manuscript tradition); Valerius Flaccus 6.749

12 Omnibus in terris = Statius *Thebaid* 11.577; Juvenal 10.1

13–16 Quid – iuvat] Cf Horace *Odes* 2.16.17–20; poem 43.63–4 above.

13 rapit in diversa] Cf Job 20:2 (Vulg): *mens in diversa rapitur*; poem 112.298 below.

15–16 Quid – iuvat] Cf Horace *Epistles* 1.11.27–8; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 28.1.

15 gradum] Cf 94.12 above.

19 Craeso / Croesus] See notes on 2.123–5 above.

21–32 Anne – suum] Cf Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 50:294–51:311 / CWE 66 144–5.

22 Credo equidem = Virgil *Aeneid* 4.12

24 ostra superba] Virgil *Aeneid* 1.639

25–6 Eumenides – Aurea] Cf Horace *Odes* 2.16.11–12.

25–6 laquearia ... Aurea] Virgil *Aeneid* 1.726; cf Persius 3.40 (quoted in Erasmus *Adagia* I ix 72).

26 tecta superba = Ovid *Amores* 1.6.58

27 plenis ... mensis = 96.91 above, where see note

27 convivia mensis = Propertius 3.25.1; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.229; Tibullus 4.1.145

29 dulcisonum – plectrum] Cf AH 50 79.51: *Et nova dulcisono modularis carmina plectro*; Poliziano *Elegiae* 3.9: *Talia dulcisono modularis carmina plectro.*

30 tibia blanda modos = 112.49 below

33 Aequa – imos] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.1.14–15.

34 Involvens – simul] Cf Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 2 metrum 7.13–14: [*mors*] *involvit humile pariter et celsum caput / aequatque summis infima.*

39–46 Sic – quies] Cf *Adagia* I viii 66.

40 fel ... mella] See 2.177–9n above.

41 Candida ... lilia] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.708–9; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.355 and 5.392

42 Spinaque – decus] Cf 106.68 below.

42 Spina ... acuta] Virgil *Eclogues* 5.39

43 Tristia sic laetis ... miscet] Cf Alcuin *Carmina* 48.27: *Tristia se laetis inmiscent tempora nostris* and 9.7: *Fatali cursu miscentur tristia laetis*; Ovid *Fasti* 6.463; Walther 14913: *Miscentur tristia letis*; Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 438:24–439:1 (as characteristic of Fortuna): *laeta miscere tristibus.*

43 dulcia miscet amaris] Cf Martial 12.34.3.

44 spesque metusque = 96.68 above, where see note

46 mixta labore quies = 94.39, 68 above

47 Hoc volvunt Parcae] Cf Statius *Thebaid* 4.781.

47 ineluctabile fatum = Virgil *Aeneid* 8.334

51 referes ex hoste triumphum] Cf Prudentius *Psychomachia* 64: *referens ex hoste tropaeum*; Lucan 1.375: *ex hoste triumphos.*

53–4 toto ... volans orbe] Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.4

53 venerabilis heros = Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10.70

54 Cuncta per ora volans] Cf Ennius, quoted in Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 1.15.34: *volito ... per ora virum* 'I fly on the lips of men'; Virgil *Georgics* 3.9 (quoted in Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 363:20 / CWE 25 106); Allen Epp 32:21 and 177:9–10; *Luciani dialogi* ASD I-1 525:32; also poems 93.223–4 and 98.10 above.

55 super aethera notus = Virgil *Aeneid* 1.379

56 fama superstes erit = Ovid *Tristia* 3.7.50

57 Et dubitamus adhuc = Virgil *Aeneid* 6.806

57 cominus hosti = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.89 and 12.595: *concurrere comminus hosti*

58 Verte gradum = Statius *Thebaid* 8.138

58 vires experiare tuas = Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.180

59 Ne dubita = Virgil *Aeneid* 3.316; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.101 and 5.335; *Fasti* 3.699

63 Est nova luctandi species / This is a new sort of struggle] Cf Prudentius *Psychomachia* 323: *nova pugnandi species* 'a new form of warfare.' Like Prudentius, Erasmus goes on to explain that this is an allegorical battle, not fought with spears or javelins.

63 Martis imago = Ovid *Tristia* 5.7.17; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 8.557.

65–80 Sta tantum – manum] Cf Prudentius *Psychomachia* 109–44 (the battle between Patience and Wrath).

66 tela cruenta = Ovid *Tristia* 5.7.34

67–71 Ille – petentem] Cf Prudentius *Psychomachia* 130 (Patience in her battle with Wrath): *nec mota est iaculo monstri sine more furentis.*

67 sine more furens] Virgil *Aeneid* 5.694 and 7.377

67–8 frustraque laboret ... et sudet] Horace *Ars poetica* 241

69 iaculo seu ... cominus ense] Cf Valerius Flaccus 1.366. Spear and sword are also the weapons with which Wrath battles Patience in Prudentius *Psychomachia* 130 and 137.

70 sta / take your stand] So Patience stands unmoved in battle; see Prudentius *Psychomachia* 109.

70 tutus eris = Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.752, 2.58, and elsewhere

71 simul ense = Virgil *Aeneid* 9.324, 423

73–84 Ne tamen – manu est / But, lest his sword – by a bodily hand] Cf Eph 6:11–17. For the commonplace of spiritual warfare see also Job 7:1 (Vulg); 1 Tim 1:18; 2 Tim 2:3–4 and 4:7–8; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 2nd ed VII (Freiburg 1962) 418–19 sv 'Militia Christi'; Andreas Wang *Der 'Miles Christianus' im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche Tradition* (Bern 1975); Erasmus *Enchiridion*, especially LB V 1A–10F / CWE 66 24–38. It should be noted that Patience, like St Paul's soldier, bears defensive weapons. The enemy can be conquered only by long-suffering.

75–6 Apta – tegant] Cf Prudentius *Psychomachia* 126–7, of Prudence's armour.

76 ferrea texta] Lucretius 6.1054

77 iacientis ab imbre] Cf Prudentius *Psychomachia* 129 and 133–4.

77–8 fatiscant Aera] Virgil *Aeneid* 9.809

79–80 Scutum – manum] Cf Prudentius *Psychomachia* 133–4.

83 quid te moror] Juvenal 3.183

86 cape dicta memor = Virgil *Aeneid* 6.377

86 me duce victor eris] Cf Ovid *Ars amatoria* 2.58.

87 virtus patientia = Walther 16909, 18971, 24454, and 27226; cf *Dicta Catonis* 1.38.2.

88 fortunae tela sinistra] Cf Erasmus *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 557C / CWE 29 25: *sinistrae fortunae assultus* 'the attacks of hostile fate.' The phrase *fortunae tela* – 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune' in Shakespeare *Hamlet* 3.1.58 – occurs in Cicero *In Pisonem* 19.43 and *Ad familiares* 5.16.2 (quoted in Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 456:3 / CWE 25 165). Erasmus uses it also in Allen Ep 152:49.

93 Hanc capiat comitem] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 2.294.

93 fortis patientia = Prudentius *Psychomachia* 175; cf *Psychomachia* 128; line 105 below.

95 tenues nequicquam = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.827

97 tumidis ... in undis = Ovid *Ibis* 273; Martial 14.181.1; line 123 below

99–100 Ipsa – praeit] Cf Prudentius *Psychomachia* 174–7.

99 virtutum acies = Prudentius *Psychomachia* 569

99 firmat] Prudentius *Psychomachia* 177 (of Patience): *vidua est [Virtus] quam non Patientia firmat.* Prudentius' line became proverbial; see Walther 7995, 8007, 13059, and 15874.

101 saeva ... procella] Cf line 121n below.

101 turbante procella = Statius *Thebaid* 7.536

103 complectar ... omnia verbo] Ovid *Tristia* 1.5.55

104 disce pati = Walther 16974 and 24451b: *si vis vincere, disce pati,* 32624a: *Ut vincas, disce pati;* line 134 below; cf Walther 5865; Bebel *Proverbia Germanica* no 350 (with Suringar's parallels on pages 423–4).

105 patientia fortis] See line 93n above.

107–18 Mobilibus – licet / For he is not subject – heights of her fury] According to Stoic doctrine the wiseman is lord over himself and is wholly unmoved by the whims of fortune; cf for example Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 5.10.30; Horace *Satires* 2.7.83–8; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 113.27–31; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 4; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 52:349–51 / CWE 66 146 (end of Alexander's speech); *Parabolae* ASD I-5 212:849–50, 214:873–4, and 234:192–5 / CWE 23 209:18–19, 210:10–11, and 221:22–5; *Adagia* I i 3. Cf also Prov 16:32.

109 fortuna ... utraque / either extreme of Fortune] A traditional phrase referring to good and bad fortune; see for example Cicero *Pro Caecina* 36.104; Livy 6.24.9; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 4.3; Erasmus *Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum* LB V 1215A; *Encomium medicinae* ASD I-4 180:307 / CWE

29 45: 'in good times and in bad.' The phrase was especially well known in the later Middle Ages because of Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae.*

112 quid ... fata parent] Lucan 6.783

113 Omnia – vincit] Cf Prudentius *Psychomachia* 780: *omnia perpetitur patiens atque omnia credit.*

115 vaga flamina] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10.145

116 aequora vasta] Virgil *Aeneid* 7.228; cf poem 106.73n below.

117 dominae] See 7.32n above.

119 Dic age, dic = Calpurnius 7.19, 78

121–2 fera ... Aequora] Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.3.27 (quoted in Allen Ep 2:17)

121 fortunae ... procellis] Seneca *Agamemnon* 594; Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 237:7

121 saevis ... procellis] Lucretius 3.805; poem 110.294 below; cf line 101 above.

121 turbata procellis = Virgil *Georgics* 3.259

123 tumidis ... in undis = Line 97 above, where see note

123 iactamur in undis] Virgil *Aeneid* 10.48

125 Erramus pelago = Virgil *Aeneid* 3.204

127–8 Blanditur – venit / If a clear sky – unexpected storm] Cf *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 43:98–44:101 / CWE 66 138: 'But you must not be trusting even when the calm sea invites you, when a glassy breeze has settled in, when fair skies smile on you, for then a sudden storm may find you asleep.' The standard example for such overconfidence was Aeneas' helmsman Palinurus; see Virgil *Aeneid* 5.833–71; Thomas Brückner 'Der Tod des Palinurus. Mittelalterliche und humanistische Kommentare zu einer Episode aus dem 5. Buch der Aeneis' in *Studien zur Thematik des Todes im 16. Jahrhundert* Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 22 ed Paul R. Blum (Wolfenbüttel 1983) 49–62.

128 turba] For this unusual meaning see Propertius 3.3.24 (a storm at sea): *medio maxima turba mari est*; Allen Ep 29:4: *subita turba* 'this sudden squall.'

132 tranquilla ... pace] Lucretius 1.31, 2.1093, and 6.78

133 Tu ... quicunque es] Horace *Epodes* 15.17

134 disce pati] See line 104n above.

135–6 Ferto – suas] Cf 109.13–20 below.

135 gelidam ... brumam] Ovid *Tristia* 4.7.1; Martial 4.57.9

136 Inque – suas] Cf Alcuin *Carmina* 48.28: *Utque vices faciunt noxque diesque suas.*

136 noxque diesque = Ovid *Heroides* 7.26; *Ars amatoria* 2.348

137 supremam ... metam] Cf 96.111n above.

138 aethre] Erasmus uses the contracted form also in 110.366 below.

106 LB VIII 565–7 / R 9

According to the poem's heading in MS Scriverius this amoebean contest between Willem Hermans and Erasmus was composed in the spring, when the two friends were eighteen years old. The age references in this manuscript, when correlated with other data, appear to presuppose that Erasmus was born in 1469 (cf headnote on nos 102 and 113). We thus infer that the poem was composed in spring 1488. In early 1488 Erasmus may already have addressed no 109 to Willem; he may also have addressed no 104 to him, possibly in autumn 1489. For Willem Hermans' life see headnote on no 30 above.

The poem is by and large a set of variations on the opening lines of Horace *Odes* 4.7.1–4:

> Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis
> Arboribusque comae;
> Mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas
> Flumina praetereunt.

> The snow has melted; grass is now returning to the fields and tresses to the trees; the earth is rejuvenating itself; the rivers grow smaller and stay within their banks.

Horace's ode, like his earlier ode 1.4, is a meditation on the flight of time: spring returns, but man's youth does not. Erasmus' and Willem's poem also concludes with this thought. In the last distich Erasmus calls on the youthful reader to lay aside gloom and rejoice in life's springtime while it lasts.

Metre: elegiac distich

1–4 Tristis – suis] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.4.1; poem 109.13–14 below.
1 Tristis hyems] See 2.166–7n above.
3 bruma gelu ... horrida] Virgil *Georgics* 3.442–3
3 gelu ... tristi] See 104.12n above.
4 vicibus ... suis = 104.26 above, where see note
4 tempora laeta] Lucan 7.20, 687; cf line 29 below.
5–6 omnis ... ager] Virgil *Eclogues* 3.56; *Aeneid* 4.525; Ovid *Fasti* 2.660; poem 112.340–1n below.
7–8 Iam – comam] Cf Horace *Odes* 4.7.1–2; lines 11–12, 19–20, 25–6, and 81–2 below.
7 pinguntur] See 104.6n above.
7 gramina flore = 95.43 above, where see note
9–10 Vere – bene] In these *versus rapportati* a series of individual words or phrases is completed grammatically by a corresponding series in the next line (a–b–c–d / a–b–c–d). The figure enjoyed considerable popularity in medieval and Renaissance poetry; see Johannes Bolte 'Die indische Redefigur Yathā-saṃkhya (d.h. der Zahl, der Reihe nach) in europäischer Dichtung' *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 112 (1904) 265–76 and 159 (1931) 11–18; Curtius ELLM 286–7. For another example see no 136 below.

9–10 Vere nemus ... Frondet] Cf line 99 below.
9–10 campus ... ridet] Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 18.132; cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.205: *Ridet ager* (a variant reading for *Ludit ager*); Martial 10.51.3 and Erasmus *De copia* ASD I-6 64:782: *ridet ager.*
11–12 Frondes – humum] Cf lines 7–8n above.
11 Frondes – campis] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.407–8.
12 laetam ... humum] Virgil *Georgics* 2.184; Ovid *Fasti* 6.252
13–14 Purpurea – Ver] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.27; *Ex Ponto* 3.1.11.
15 per vacuos ... campos = Ovid *Ex Ponto* 3.1.23; cf line 40n below.
15 consurgunt gramina campos] Cf Hilary of Poitiers *In Genesin* 101: *herbarum varia consurgunt gramina campis.*
16 Vestitur ... decore novo = Line 50 below; for the metaphor see line 47n.
17 triste gelu] See 104.12n above.
19–20 Dura – comae] Cf lines 7–8n above.
19 Dura ... hyems] Virgil *Georgics* 4.239; Ovid *Tristia* 3.10.44; poem 109.13 below
19 viduarat] Virgil *Georgics* 4.518; Horace *Odes* 2.9.8. See also poems 109.11–12, 110.125–6, and 112.339 below.
20 Arboribus redeunt ... comae] Cf Ovid *Fasti* 3.237.
20 vere tepente = *Epicedion Drusi* 102; line 80 below; cf lines 45n and 63n.
21 triste ... frigus] Cf 104.12n above.
23–4 Arida – novo] Cf Ovid *Tristia* 3.12.11–12; Cornelis Gerard *Marias* 4 f 43ʳ: *Terra vigorosas pridem arida turget in herbas, / Et referunt vultum florida prata novum.*
23 Arida ... tellus] Lucan 4.629; Statius *Thebaid* 4.454
23 longo ... frigore] Ovid *Amores* 2.19.22
23 latuit sub frigore tellus] Cf Ovid *Fasti* 2.72; *Ex Ponto* 4.5.4.
24 florida] This is an adjectival noun, as in lines 72 and 100 below.
25–6 Arboribus – arboribus] Cf lines 7–8n above.
25 Arboribus ... frigore = Ovid *Fasti* 3.237
27 arentes ... rami] Silius Italicus 7.313; cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.277.
27 in arbore rami] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.485; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.29 and 12.22.
28 vicibus ... suis = 104.26 above, where see note
28 verna] This adjectival noun is late Latin; see for example Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 7.6.12.
29–30 Stabat – comis] Cf Ovid *Remedia amoris* 196; lines 45–6 below.
29 tempore laeto] Cf line 4n above.
31 Triste ... gelu] Cf 104.12n above.
32 Iam redit et = Virgil *Eclogues* 4.6
33 dulcisono ... murmure] Sidonius *Carmina* 6.5
33 dulcisono resonant] Boccaccio *Eclogues* 14.196: *Dulcisono resonat cantu mitissimus aer*
33 resonant ... sylvae] Propertius 1.18.31
34–6 Quos – melos] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.27–8: *ad cantus revocatur aves, quae carmine clauso / pigrior hiberno frigore muta fuit.*
35 maestum ... gelu] Cf 104.12n above.
35 tempore verno = Lucretius 5.802
36 Dulce ... melos] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 5.123

37 Caeruleis ... undis] Ovid *Heroides* 18(19).191; *Ex Ponto* 2.10.33; Statius *Thebaid* 6.582

37 citius – undis] Cf line 93 below.

38 lassos ... equos] Martial 3.67.6–7 (of the sun's steeds at noon); cf Virgil *Aeneid* 11.913–14 (at evening).

38 abdit equos] Ovid *Heroides* 6.86

40 vacuis ... agris] Virgil *Georgics* 2.54; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.653 and elsewhere; cf line 15n above.

41 Iam – alis] Cf 64.34–5n above.

41 caeruleis ... alis] Pseudo-Virgil *Ciris* 51

43 Zephiris ... melioribus = Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.288

43 spirant ... aurae] Virgil *Aeneid* 5.844

44 Clarius – diem] Cf 8.22 above and line 94 below.

44 roseum ... diem] Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 2 metrum 8.5; Poliziano *Elegiae* 5.12

45–6 Quae – comis] Cf lines 29–30n above.

45 Quae – fuit] Cf Cornelis Gerard *Marias* 4 f 43ʳ: *Quae nive tecta fuit vel pondere frigoris atri / Obruta nuper humus sole revisa calet.*

45 vere tepenti = Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.185; cf line 20n above.

46 tellus ... redimita] Claudian *Fescennina de nuptiis Honorii* 2.2: *nuptiali / redimita vere tellus*; cf lines 55 and 85 below.

47 sylva comis vestitur] Cf Dracontius *De laudibus Dei* 1.257: *silva comis vestita.*

47 sylva comis = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.43; cf line 85n and poem 112.339 below.

47 vestitur, gramine tellus = Nigel de Longchamps *Tractatus contra curiales* verse preface 7: *Vernat fronde nemus, vestitur gramine tellus.* For the image see also line 16 above and lines 50, 87n, and 99 below; poem 112.338.

48 imber humum = Virgil *Aeneid* 9.669

50 Vestitur ... decore novo = Line 16 above; cf line 47n.

51 Flumina – susurro] Cf line 95n below; Horace *Odes* 4.7.3–4.

52 acris hyems] Horace *Odes* 1.4.1

53 Alma – flores] Cf Lucretius 1.7–8: *tibi* [*alma Venus*] *suavis daedala tellus / summittit flores*; poem 104.6 above.

53 Alma Venus = Lucretius 1.2; Virgil *Aeneid* 1.618 and 10.332

53 gignit humus ... flores] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 9.41; Prudentius *Contra Symmachum* 2.132.

55 florigero ... gramine] Cf 102.18 above.

55 redimitur] See line 46n above.

56 Miratur frondes ... novas] Virgil *Georgics* 2.82

59 graves ... ponere curas] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9.697; cf poem 95.57n above and line 104 below.

60 decore – novo] Cf 95.43–4 above, with note on 95.43.

62 honore novo = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 5.2.32: *arbor / ... floret honore novo*

63 Vere tepet = *Anthologia Latina* 576.1: *Vere tepet picto Zephyris spirantibus aer*; cf line 20n above.

63 nivibus ... solutis = Ovid *Amores* 3.6.7; *Metamorphoses* 8.556

64 Quae – sinu] Cf Ovid *Tristia* 3.12.11–12; *Fasti* 3.239–40 (spring).

64 sinu] Of the earth in springtime: Virgil *Georgics* 2.331
65 ferit aethera] Virgil *Aeneid* 5.140
66 Sparguntur flore] Ovid *Fasti* 4.346
66 aperitur] Ovid *Fasti* 4.87: *ver aperit ... omnia;* Pliny *Naturalis historia* 17.2.15; *Anthologia Latina* 567.1: *Vere sinum tellus aperit floresque ministrat;* line 79 below
67 Vere novo = Virgil *Georgics* 1.43; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.202; line 87 below; cf Virgil *Eclogues* 10.74; Ovid *Fasti* 1.351; poem 95.28 above.
68 Purpureum – decus] Cf 105.42 above.
68 aspera spina = 95.42 above, where see note
69 tellus ... nuda] Ovid *Ibis* 233; Statius *Thebaid* 9.898; cf poems 64.25 and 104.5 above
70 Exiliunt terris gramina] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.15: *seges exilit arvis.*
71–2 humus ... Summittit ... florida] Cf Lucretius 1.7–8: *tellus / summittit flores;* Propertius 1.2.9.
72 florida = Line 24 above, where see note
73 aequore vasto] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.780, 3.191, and elsewhere; cf poem 105.116n above.
74 Et ... cantat avis = Ovid *Amores* 1.13.8
74 sub – avis] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 8.456.
75 olentibus herbis] Virgil *Eclogues* 2.11
78 Tristis ... hyemis] See 2.166–7n above.
79 sese aperit] Cf line 66n above.
79 redivivo germine = Prudentius *Contra Symmachum* 2.200 (of seeds, as a type of resurrection)
80 vere tepente = Line 20 above, where see note
81–2 Arboribus – hyems] Cf lines 7–8n above.
82 tristis ... hyems] See 2.166–7n above.
83 Pingit ... campum] Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.11; cf poem 104.6n above.
83 gramineum ... campum = Silius Italicus 6.217; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 5.287; Ovid *Fasti* 3.519.
84 Candida – rosis = Landino *Carmina varia* 5.40; Baptista Mantuanus *Epigrammata ad Falconem* (first published in 1489) in *Opera* II f 143^{v}. Cf Propertius 1.20.38: *candida purpureis ...;* Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 9.2.122: *candida ceu rubeis lilia mixta rosis;* poem 4.80 above.
85 Sylva comis = Statius *Silvae* 5.5.30; cf line 47n above.
85 redimitur] See line 46n above.
85–6 amnis – gerit] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 3.361–2; Ovid *Tristia* 3.10.31–2 and 3.12.29–30.
87 Vere novo = Line 67 above, where see note
87 apricus ... gramine campus] Cf Calpurnius 5.8; Horace *Odes* 1.8.3–4; *Ars poetica* 162; poems 110.118 and 112.348 below.
87 vestitur gramine campus = *Anthologia Latina* 676.7; cf line 47n above.
88 florum – nitet] Cf 95.43n above.
91 cunctis – terris] Cf Iuvencus 3.295 (Christ's resurrection): *cunctis ... dabit sua munera terris;* poems 96.48 above and 112.11 below.

92 Gramine prata virent = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 1.20.12; cf Prudentius *Psychomachia* 862–3; poem 95.47 above, line 95n and poem 110.343–4 below.
92 gramina flore nitent] See 95.43n above.
93 citius – undis] Cf line 37 above.
93 caput exerit undis] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.352; *Aeneid* 1.127; Tibullus 4.1.124; cf poem 110.42n below.
94 Gratior – diem] Cf 8.22 and line 44 above.
95 Gramine terra viret = Ovid *Amores* 2.6.50; cf line 92n above.
95 leni ... susurro = Avitus *Carmina* 1.248; cf Virgil *Eclogues* 1.55; line 51n above.
96 apis – strepit] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.25–6 (in spring): *apes ... / floribus instrepitans poplite mella rapit.*
97 Flore nitet campus] Cf 95.43n above.
98 volucrum cantu] Virgil *Aeneid* 8.456
99 Frondet – tellus] Cf line 47 and note above.
99 Frondet vere nemus] Cf lines 9–10 above.
100 Picta ... volucris] Virgil *Georgics* 3.243; *Aeneid* 4.525; cf poem 50.131–2 above.
100 florida = Line 24 above, where see note
102 liquida ... aqua = Tibullus 1.5.76; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.620 and 2.722; cf poem 95.26n above.
102 vitreus amnis] Ovid *Epistula Sapphonis* 157 (variant reading); cf poem 88.11n above.
104 pone – graves] Cf line 59n above.

107 LB VIII 570–1 / R 17

In Allen Ep 28:8–10 / CWE Ep 28:9–11, written at Steyn in c March 1491 (see headnote on poem 50 above), Erasmus tells Cornelis Gerard that he has 'decided for the future to write nothing which does not breathe the atmosphere either of praise of holy men or of holiness itself.' Since this hymn to St Gregory the Great is the only extant poem by Erasmus in praise of a holy man, we may assign it to early 1491, not long before Gregory's feast-day on 12 March. While the loosely contemporaneous 'Ode in praise of Michael and all the angels' (50) was probably composed for the nearby priory church of St Michael's at Den Hem, the present ode must have been written for Erasmus' own monastery of Steyn, which was dedicated to St Gregory.

The last of the four great Fathers and Doctors of the western church, St Gregory lived from c 540 to 604. He was born in Rome to a wealthy patrician family and rose to become the city's prefect. But dissatisfied with worldly honours and riches and attracted to the monastic life, he gave up his political power and used his wealth to endow seven new monasteries. He became a Benedictine monk in one of them, the abbey of St Andrew in Rome, which had previously been his own mansion. For several years he served Pope Pelagius II as resident ambassador to the imperial court in Constantinople. Having returned to Rome, he became abbot of St Andrew. In 590 Pope Pelagius II died and Gregory was unanimously chosen to be his successor. Despite his eagerness to escape this burden, he was at length persuaded and was consecrated on 3 September 590.

The biographical details that Erasmus employs in his hymn to the saint were well known. See *Legenda aurea* 46 and for example *Hereford Breviary* II 125–6.

Metre: second Asclepiadean strophe

1–2 Nunc – organis] Cf 112.39–49 below; AH 49 318.1: *Humanis superas iungentes vocibus odas / ... angeli.*

2 organis] For the sense of 'voices' or 'tongues' see 93.75n above.

3–4 Cum – praesulis] Cf AH 51 51.5, 51 103.2, 51 106.4, and in particular 52 83.1: *Patroni celebris annua gaudia, / Quae clausa revehit temporis orbita.*

5 summe ... pastor] *Apologia contra Stunicam* ASD IX-2 76:339, of Leo the Great: *Leo summus ecclesiae pastor*; cf lines 19–20 below: *maxime / Pastor* and line 25: *summe ... praesulum.* Elsewhere Erasmus applies the phrase *summus pastor* to Christ; see *Ratio* LB V 86B, 86C, and 116C; *Epistola contra pseudevangelicos* ASD IX-1 304:615; *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 102:432 and 168:684.

6 Adsis o placidus] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.578

6 rite canentibus] Horace *Odes* 4.6.37

9 sanguinis immemor] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.160 (literal sense)

11–12 Abiectis – advolas / throwing off – naked and simple] Cf Mark 14:52, telling of the young man who followed Christ after the disciples had fled and escaped from Christ's captors by slipping off the linen cloth he was wearing and fleeing naked. This story was interpreted by Bede *In Marci Evangelium expositio* 14.52 (CCSL 120 620) and by Erasmus in his paraphrase on Mark 14:52 (LB VII 263E / CWE 49 165) as an example of those who escape evil by rejecting the world. See further Matthäus Bernards 'Nudus nudum Christum sequi' *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 14 (1951) 148–51; Erasmus *Enchiridion* LB V 26B / CWE 66 63; *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 86:376 / CWE 27 177, where Peter says: 'I forsook all and, naked, followed the naked Christ'; Allen Ep 2088:76.

11 croceis / saffron] Gowns coloured with saffron were so expensive that only the powerful and wealthy could afford them.

13–16 Te – indice / When Rome in her distress – pointed you out] According to the legend Rome at that time was afflicted by a plague. Among those who died was Pope Pelagius II. When Gregory heard that he had been elected pope against his will, he preached to the people and urged them to pray to God. Then he escaped from the city and hid in a cave in the woods for three days. But a column of pure light in which angels travelled up and down between earth and heaven betrayed the place where Gregory was hiding. He was brought back to Rome in triumph and consecrated pope.

13 Roma ... anxia] Ovid *Amores* 3.15.10

17 summa – humillimus] Cf Matt 23:12; Luke 14:11 and 18:14.

22 Vitae ... pabula / food of life] Allen Ep 694:74; poem 110.87 below; cf John 6:35, 48–51.

26–7 Praedonemque – ovilia / the beast of prey – seeking someone to seize] Cf 1 Pet 5:8.

26 cavis ... faucibus] Statius *Thebaid* 9.130

29 Sit laus digna patri] Cf AH 2 29.7 and 51 123.7 (doxology of the famous hymn *Ave, maris stella*): *Sit laus Deo patri.*

29 patri patris et unico] AH 51 125.7 (first line of the doxology, in a hymn commonly included in German breviaries of the fifteenth century): *pater patris et unice.*

31 Indivisa ... unitas] AH 1 67.6, 43 24.1, and 51 51.7

31–2 unitas ... sub nomine triplici] This varies the conclusion of the doxology in such hymns as AH 51 140.7: *Uni sub trino nomine* and 51 57.5, 51 58.6, and 51 69.7: *triplici / Unus Deus cognomine.* Cf also Prudentius *Psychomachia* 3, which Erasmus, following one manuscript tradition, read as follows: *Unum namque Deum colimus de nomine trino;* see *Supputatio* LB IX 541B.

108 LB VIII 571 / R 18

The *meditatio mortis* theme of this epigram, reminiscent in particular of Erasmus' *De contemptu mundi* and no 95 above, makes it probable that the poem is more or less contemporaneous with them (early 1491). Note also that lines 3–4 closely parallel poem 94.67 (written in winter 1490–1). The date is corroborated by the parallel in line 4 to Fausto Andrelini *Livia* 1.6.42, published on 1 October 1490.

Meditations on the *quatuor novissima* or four last things (death, judgment, hell, and heaven) were popular in the later Middle Ages, especially in northern Europe. By first arousing fears of eternal damnation and then raising the hope of salvation, such handbooks sought to deepen the readers' spiritual life and bring them to mend their worldly ways. Especially popular was Dionysius the Carthusian (Denys van Leeuwen) *De quatuor hominis novissimis*, written around 1455–60 and often printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth century; see his *Opera omnia* 41 (Tournai 1912) 489–594. Also well known, particularly in the Netherlands, was Gerard van Vliederhoven's *Novissima* or *Cordiale de quatuor novissimis*. Thomas More later wrote a (fragmentary) *Treatise on the Four Last Things*, probably around 1522.

The doctrine is based on several biblical passages, in particular Deut 32:29 and Sir 7:36. See *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* V (Paris 1964) 355–70; Günter Ott *Die 'Vier letzten Dinge' in der Lyrik des Andreas Gryphius* (Frankfurt am Main 1985), especially pages 47–77 (with a discussion of Erasmus' epigram on 70–3); and Hans-Henrik Krummacher '"De quatuor novissimis". Über ein traditionelles theologisches Thema bei Andreas Gryphius' in *Respublica Guelpherbytana. Wolfenbütteler Beiträge zur Renaissance- und Barockforschung. Festschrift für Paul Raabe* Chloe 6 ed August Buck and Martin Bircher (Amsterdam 1987) 499–577.

Erasmus' poem is an amplification of Sir 7:36: 'In all you do, remember the end of your life [*novissima tua*], and then you will never sin.'

Metre: elegiac distich

1 Mortis amara dies = Alcuin *Carmina* 69.60

2 Phlegetontei – lacus] Cf Willem Hermans *Sylva odarum* sig f2^r: *Flegetontis stridula flamma.*

2 Phlegetontei ... lacus / the lake of Phlegethon] Cf Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.322; Virgil *Aeneid* 3.386, 6.134, and 8.296. The Phlegethon ('Blazing') was the river of fire in the underworld.

3 Iherusalem ... supernae / the heavenly Jerusalem] The familiar doctrine of the celestial Jerusalem is based on Rev 3:12 and 21:2–22:5.

3–4 luctus ignara ... Gaudia] Cf 94.67 above (of heaven): *Gaudia ... nescia luctus;* Rev 21:4.

4 non habitura modum = Fausto Andrelini *Livia* 1.6.42

5 sollicito ... pectore] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.125

5 sub pectore volvas] Virgil *Aeneid* 7.254 and 12.831

6 capient animum] Virgil *Aeneid* 5.465

7–10 Quicquid – gravem / And what before – burdensome] Cf *De puero Iesu* LB V 608A–B / CWE 29 68–9: 'as soon as the heavenly light touches our souls within, our perception of all things is immediately changed. So things which a little while ago seemed sweet are now bitter; things which were bitter grow sweet; what was loathsome is pleasing; what was pleasing is loathsome; what before seemed sparkling is now filthy; what was strong is weak; what was beautiful is ugly; what was noble is base; what was rich is poor; what was lofty is humble; what was gain is loss; what was wise is foolish; what was life is death; what was sought is shunned, and vice versa.' Cf also *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 76:994–6 / CWE 66 167: whoever experiences the joys of heaven in mystic rapture will find 'all pleasures of this world combined into one seem mean and despicable by comparison'; *Enchiridion* LB V 25A / CWE 66 60–1. For this dialectic of inversion see *Adagia* III iii 1: *Sileni Alcibiadis; Moria* ASD IV-3 104:578–91 / CWE 27 102–3; poem 2.177–9n above.

9 nebula citius fugientia / which flee even more swiftly than mist] Cf 83.14 (with note on 83.13–14) and 95.29 above. The comparison is biblical; cf

Wisd 2:4: 'our life will ... be scattered like mist that is chased by the rays of the sun.' Cf also 85.7n above.

9–10 fugientia mundi Gaudia] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 4.10.1 and 4.26.1: *fugitiva ... gaudia mundi.*

109 LB VIII 571–2 / R 6

Reedijk suggests that the friend addressed in this early ode might be Servatius Rogerus. There are indeed some close parallels to Erasmus' letters to Servatius of c 1487; see the note on lines 42–3 below. But, as Reedijk adds, it is also possible that the friend was Willem Hermans. In early 1488 it was above all Willem who helped Erasmus put the Servatius episode into perspective. No 104, which may well have been addressed to Willem, shares several parallels with this one; see the notes on lines 12, 17–18, 25, and 34 below. See also no 106, a joyous poem co-written with Willem, probably in spring 1488.

Is it the 'old' friend, Servatius, who is addressed in this poem, or the 'new' friend, Willem? The parallels to no 93 may well be decisive in answering this question. Nos 93 and 109, which are written in the same metre, also have the same underlying structure. In both odes the poet laments that his manifold sufferings have driven him to the brink of despair; but then a friend comes along who lifts his spirits again. The implication is that this has to be a *new* friend. That is demonstrably true for no 93 in its original form as an ode to Cornelis; and it is thus most likely valid also for no 109. A new friend is restoring the poet's soul, wounded for so long by grief (*dolor*), passion (*furor*), and hardship (*labor*); see line 25 below. These three words may be understood as a kind of code recalling the days when Erasmus was fighting hard to keep his friendship with Servatius from collapsing. *Furor*, of course, is a lover's word for unrequited passion; it is so used in 99.15–16 above. The words *dolor* and *labor* remind us of Vulg Ps 89:10 (RSV 90:10) with its description of the brevity of life, so full of toil and trouble (*labor et dolor*). Thus the phrase also recalls the theme of premature old age, which in no 99 (and implicitly also in 101) is said to be brought on by the cares of love.

We may thus identify Willem Hermans as the friend to whom Erasmus is referring here. The ode was probably written in early 1488, not long before the spring poem 106.

Metre: second Asclepiadean strophe

1–12 Non – comis] Cf Horace *Odes* 2.9.1–8; poem 99.1, 3, 5 above.

1–4 Non – gravis] Reedijk 77 believes that Gilbert Cousin imitates these verses in his *Opera multifarii argumenti* (Basel: H. Petri 1562) I 321:

> Non semper imbres a pluvio Iove
> Funduntur atri, nec Libyco mari
> Aut Eurus aut nymbosus Auster
> Usque vagas agitat triremes.

Cousin served as Erasmus' secretary from 1530–5 and as such might have had access to some of the humanist's papers. One of Cousin's poems (*Opera* I 402) could indeed be taken to suggest such access, for it is entitled *In [Erasmi] Pamphilum, et Eclogas*. Cousin is evidently referring to the *Carmen buccolicum* (102) and some other early poems of Erasmus. Which early poems? One naturally thinks of the ones in MS Scriverius (not Gouda MS 1323, in which the lovesick shepherd is called 'Rosphamus'). But Cousin may well be referring to Alaard's 1538 edition of the bucolic poem and to Erasmus' *Progymnasmata quaedam primae adolescentiae* (Louvain 1521). In any event, the similarities between Erasmus' and Cousin's odes are most readily explained as owing to a common model – Horace *Odes* 2.9.1–4. Cousin did, however, imitate no 52 above; see the headnote there.

3–4 defluus ... Imber] Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 4 metrum 6.29 (in similar context: the cycles of natural phenomena)

4 Imber ... gravis] Lucretius 6.290; Ovid *Fasti* 2.494

5 crepitans Africus] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 3.70.

5–6 Africus – fluctibus] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.1.15.

6 tumidis aequora fluctibus] Seneca *Hercules furens* 551; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 5.125–6; Lucan 2.457; poem 112.19 below.

7–8 procacibus ... Aquilonibus] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 1.536.

8 Stridet sylva Aquilonibus] Cf Ovid *Tristia* 1.11.19; Virgil *Aeneid* 2.418; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 6.9–10.

9 steriles ... agros] Virgil *Georgics* 1.84; *Aeneid* 3.141

9 nix tegit alta] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.50

11–12 viduum – comis] Cf 95.47n and 106.19n above.

12 triste nemus] Martial 11.41.5. The epithet *tristis* is often applied to winter; see poems 2.166–7n and 104.12n above.

13–20 Dura – perpeti] Cf 105.135–6 above.

13–14 Dura – Veris] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.4.1; poem 106.1–4 above.

13 Dura ... hyems] See 106.19n above.

15–16 vagis ... amnibus] Horace *Odes* 1.2.18–20; Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 3.270

17–18 Horrentem – Phaebus / After the frightful – lovely light] Cf the proverbial *post nubila Phoebus* 'after rain comes sunshine'; see 112.203n below. For the phrase *Horrentem ... umbram* see Virgil *Aeneid* 1.165.

17–18 placidus ... Phaebus] Cf 104.9 above.

17 lumen amabile] See 64.40n above.

19 Alternis – dies] Cf Alcuin *Carmina* 9.16–17: *Alternis vicibus ... redit unda maris. / Nunc micat alma dies, veniet nox atra tenebris;* cf poem 7.32 above.

20 faedere] See 111.18n below.

21–3 Aequis – temperat] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.12.15–16 (quoted in *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 298:3); poem 110.293–5 below.

21 astra, salum et solum] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.5: *astra, solum, mare;* poems 111.71 below and 96.83 above.

22 Alterna – levat] Cf Ovid *Heroides* 4.89 (quoted in Allen Ep 2431:264); poem 6.29 above.

23 Natura atque deus provida / God and provident nature] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.21, where it is said that 'god and better nature' created the ordered world out of primordial chaos.

23 Natura ... provida] Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 3 metrum 2.2–3, in similar context; cf poem 96.49n above.

25–8 Me – tristibus] Cf 7.1–2n above.

25 dolor ... furor et labor] Cf no 99 above, where the key words are *cura, dolor,* and *furor;* Ps 89:10 (Vulg): *labor et dolor;* poem 104.24 above.

27 fata sinunt] See 95.7n above.

31 puerum / a youth] The Latin word *puer* had a much wider range than our 'boy.' See Cicero *Ad familiares* 12.25.4 (describing Octavian, then nineteen or twenty); Silius Italicus 13.704 (applied to Scipio Africanus at about twenty); Eobanus Hessus *Encomium nuptiale divo Sigismundo Regi Poloniae scriptum* 215: *Nos humiles puerique sumus sine numine vates* (Eobanus had just turned twenty-four); E. Eyben 'Die Einteilung des menschlichen Lebens im römischen Altertum' *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* n s 116 (1973) 185. In Allen Ep 28:16–17 / CWE Ep 28:16–17, written in c March 1491 (see headnote on poem 50 above) Erasmus says that he is enclosing poems written when he was still 'a youth' (*puero*) and virtually still a layman – that is to say during his novitiate in 1487–8. In the letter to Grunnius, Erasmus also speaks of his having being a *puer* during the year of his novitiate; but there he claims he was only sixteen years old at the time; see Allen Ep 447:241–2, 289, 324, 352, and 364. In the *Compendium vitae* Erasmus at this stage of his life is called *adolescens* 'a youth.' Occasionally the mature Erasmus refers to himself as having been still a *puer* in c 1489, presumably to emphasize his youthfulness. In the 1521 edition of Ep 29, dated 1489, the heading explains: *scripsit puer* 'he wrote it as a youth.' Similarly he says in the preface to *Antibarbari,* Allen Ep 1110:17–21, that he began the work as *puer,* when he had not yet reached his twentieth year; in fact he must have started writing the work in early 1490.

34 Succeditque – caloribus] Cf 104.11 above.

35 campis ... patentibus] Virgil *Georgics* 4.77; *Aeneid* 4.153–4; 5.552. The manuscript reads *campis ... petentibus.*

35–6 gelidae ... nives] Ovid *Fasti* 1.680

36 pereunt nives] Ovid *Fasti* 3.236

42–3 O spes – doloribus] Cf Allen Epp 7:28–9: *tu una spes, tu animae dimidium, tu vitae solatium* and 9:43: *spes mea, vitae solatium unicum.* Both letters are addressed to Servatius Rogerus. For *spes* as a term of endearment see 64.8n above. The phrase *animae dimidium meae* is borrowed from Horace *Odes* 1.3.8. Erasmus was fond of this expression and its variations. See for instance also Allen Epp 9:23 and 13:37 (Servatius), 14:16 (Franciscus Theodoricus), and 17:29 (Cornelis Gerard); poem 93.158n above (also of Cornelis Gerard). Cf 10.16n and 13.7 above.

43 Lenimen ... dulce] Horace *Odes* 1.32.15 (of his lyre); Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.500

110 LB VIII 572–7 / R 19

In Allen Ep 95:20–1 / CWE Ep 95:23–4, dated 2 May 1499, Erasmus mentions that he is 'on very close terms indeed' with several poets, including Fausto Andrelini, and adds that he is having 'a very keen contest afoot with Delius.' Allen interprets this *certamen acerrimum* as 'perhaps an exchange of poems' with Gillis van Delft (Aegidius Delfus); cf CWE 1 187:24n and CEBR I 382–3; Erasmus *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 681:18–682:2 / CWE 28 425. Lending weight to Allen's supposition is Gillis' poem *ad Herasmum poetam* printed among his *Opuscula in laudem dive virginis Marie* ([Delft: Cornelis Corneliszen? c 1505]; see NK 4501). Reedijk 64 and 399, however, argues that the phrase might instead refer to some 'literary quarrel' with Gillis, possibly 'an exchange of invective verse.' Allen's and Reedijk's views are by no means incompatible. The word *certamen*, to be sure, must here refer to some contest in verse (cf the heading to no 106 above). But *acerrimum*, translated in CWE as 'very keen,' could be readily interpreted also as 'intense, almost to the point of hostility,' since the epithet is often applied to combat and warfare. This interpretation of the phrase appears confirmed by Allen Ep 103:3–5 / CWE Ep 103:4–6, written in the summer of 1499. There Erasmus says that an unidentified Parisian poet, whom he nicknames Scopus, had fought precisely such a poetic battle with Gillis van Delft – 'Delius Volscus, as he called himself.' This time Erasmus adds the wish, not untinged with antagonism: 'If only he [Scopus] had finished the man off: ye gods, what a celebration would have graced that victory!'

Recently Nicolaas van der Blom has revived the issue. In a review of CEBR, published in ERSY 6 (1986) 146, he reports that Gillis' book of poems, which Reedijk had been unable to find, is in fact still in the Sélestat library, though now under a new shelf mark: K 1081 k. The booklet, he adds, contains among other verses two poems in praise of the Virgin Mary. The first is dedicated to Bishop Friedrich of Baden and is entitled *De conceptionis virginee puritate* 'On the Immaculate Conception'; the other, a sapphic ode bearing the title *In vitam dive virginis Marie carmen sapphicum* 'A sapphic poem on the life of the Virgin Mary,' is addressed 'To Erasmus, the poet.' Quite possibly, Van der Blom reasons, Erasmus sent Gillis a similar poem on the Virgin, in the same metre. If so, that poem might well be the present ode, no 110.

This is an intriguing suggestion. It appears, however, to be contradicted by a statement on the title-page of MS Scriverius, to the effect that the poems in it belong to Erasmus' early days at Steyn when he was 'little more than a lad' (*fere puero*). Does this assertion not compel us, like Reedijk, to date this poem and the next two as well (111–12) in c 1489? Not necessarily. The title-page of MS Scriverius, written in 1570, represents very late evidence. How could the copyist, Bonaventura Vulcanius, know for sure that all the poems in his manuscript did indeed date from Erasmus' days at Steyn? Was his statement based on a mere impression of the general character of these poems? Did he infer from the heading of nos 102 and 106 that the other poems in his copy-text must also have derived from the early period? In this connection it is interesting to note that the 'Paean to St Mary' and nos 111 and 112 (which are closely linked to no 110 in content and phrasing) come at the end of the section of Erasmus' early poems. One wonders: might these three poems have derived from a different manuscript? Were they perhaps appended to the juvenilia by a later copyist? In 1570 Vulcanius would scarcely have been in a position to know which poems came from an earlier, or which from a later period in Erasmus' career.

Let us suppose, therefore, that the 'Paean to St Mary' was indeed written in competition with Gillis van Delft in spring 1499. Are there compelling parallels to other works of Erasmus dating from that time? There are indeed! The verse *Paean divae Mariae* is in tone and language closely akin to the prose *Paean Virgini Matri*, composed in early 1499 for Anna van Borssele (see Allen Ep 93:101–3 / CWE Ep 93:112–15). Both open with a praise of Mary who is queen of heaven and earth and terror of Tartarus – Mary who is honoured in heaven by the choirs of virgins, martyrs, prophets, apostles, angels, and all the inhabitants of heaven. In both works Erasmus goes on to say that her coming was predicted by the ancient pagan poets, the sibylline oracles inspired by Apollo, and the Old Testament prophets; and that the virgin birth was foreshadowed by the burning bush, Aaron's rod, the dewy fleece on the dry ground, and the temple door opening only to God. Both paeans furthermore see Judith and Esther as types of Mary. The God she bore, Erasmus explains in both works, is not the Thunderer, hurling lightning bolts, but a whimpering, crying baby: a redeemer, not an avenger. And both paeans end with a lengthy prayer to the Virgin, listing those who appeal to her – the shipwrecked sailor, the sick, the prisoner, the guilt-stricken sinner – and beg Mary to forgive the writer's grievous sins. Similar, though lesser, links exist between the verse paean and the *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam* and *Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum*, also written early in 1499.

We may conclude, therefore, that Erasmus wrote no 110 in competition with Gillis van Delft in April–May 1499. Nos 111 and 112, which are so closely linked to the present ode in theme and phrasing as to form 'a more or less coherent sequel' (Reedijk 174), can likewise be shown to have been written sometime in 1499; see the headnotes on those poems.

On the place of Mary in Erasmus' works see Léon-E. Halkin 'La Mariologie d'Erasme' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 68 (1977) 32–55; and Joaquín María Alonso *Erasmi Corpus Mariologicum* Marian Library Studies n s 11 and 12 (Dayton 1979–80), with a discussion and reprint of the *Paean* on pages 59–82.

Metre: Sapphic strophe

1–12 Huc – Camenam / Come hither – strain of my lyre] Cf the opening lines of Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice secunda* 1 in *Opera* I f 93v, addressed to St Catherine: 'Smile on me, holy virgin, for whom I write my thin-spun poem ... Grant me truth-telling songs, drawn not from ancient Helicon, but from Christ's sacred fountains. Do not give me a wreath of ivy or of laurel branches, but a wreath such as the one you yourself wear, woven from the fronds of the tree of life.' Erasmus disapproved of the medieval and Renaissance practice of invoking the Virgin Mary instead of the virgin Muses. He was more tolerant of poets who implore Mary to aid them in composing a fitting poem in her honour (as, for example, Baptista Mantuanus does in *Parthenice Mariana* 1.1–28). See *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 303:333–40; poem 88.2n above.

1 Huc ades] Baptista Mantuanus uses this phrase to invoke the Virgin in *Parthenice Mariana* 1.27; in *De calamitatibus temporum* page 19 he employs it in an invocation to God; cf poem 4.138 above.

2 Callida ... resonare] Horace *Odes* 3.11.3–4

2 aurato resonare plectro / making music – of gold] Cf Horace *Odes* 2.13.26–7: *sonantem ... aureo / ... plectro;* Sabellico *In natalem diem Mariae* 5 sig b1v: *aurato ... plectro.* Apollo's plectrum was traditionally golden, as was his lyre; cf poems 4.138 above and 115.8–9 below.

3–4 Mitte – Castaliamque / leave behind – Helicon] Cf Willem Hermans' invocation to the Muses in a poem dealing with the three Magi, *Sylva odarum* sig a5r: *umbrosas Heliconis oras / Linquite Musae* 'Leave behind, O Muses, the shady clime of Helicon.'

3 Heliconis oras] Horace *Odes* 1.12.5

5–8 Pone – virgo / Put aside – looks for lilies] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.26–30; poems 112.56–7 and 133.19–22 below. Since ivy was sacred to

Bacchus and associated with the lighter poetic genres, it is inappropriate for a sacred poem.

5 serpentes hederas] Fausto Andrelini *Eclogues* 1.33 (of the poet's garland). Andrelini's *Eclogues* were not published until 1501 but were known to Erasmus in manuscript as early as autumn 1495; see no 6 above.

9–10 Sophoclaeo ... cothurno Digna] Virgil *Eclogues* 8.10

11–12 tenuem ... Camenam] See 93.199n above.

13–52 Cuncta – tuorum / In your dwelling-place – holy lady, to you] Since Mary is said to be the queen of heaven, earth, and hell, she is praised in all creation; cf Sabellico *In natalem diem Mariae* 6 sig b2^{v}: *Te coelum, te terra colit, te pontus et aether, / Forsitan et Stygiae te venerantur aquae*; Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1228E–F and 1230A. This 'outdoes' the usual rhetorical schema of the encomium according to which 'the whole earth sings the praises of such-and-such'; cf Curtius ELLM 160–5.

14 decies beatam / thrice-blessed] Literally (but somewhat strangely to the modern ear) 'ten times blessed.' Cf 1.83–4n above. Like the numeral three, ten is often used in Latin to indicate an indefinite number.

17–28 Te – Caeligenaeque / The holy prophets – eternal hymns to you] Underlying these verses is a familiar liturgical scheme, probably of eastern origin, which lists seven or more classes of especially noteworthy heaven-dwellers: angels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins. It is found for example in the medieval Litany of the Saints; see *Missale Romanum* I 191–2. Cf Erasmus *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 559E–F / CWE 29 29 and *Ecclesiastes* ASD V-4 325:951–2. The scheme was first linked with Mary, as Queen of Heaven, in Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina spuria* 1.261–77. This linking subsequently became very popular. See Meersseman *Hymnos* II 59–61; Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1228E.

17–20 Te – clarae] Cf AH 53 104.12: *Te libri, virgo, concinunt / prophetarum, / chorus iubilat sacerdotum, / apostoli / Christique martyres praedicant.*

17 Te ... apostolorum = AH 48 19.3, to the Virgin: *Te prophetarum et apostolorum / Ordo praelatam sibi cernit unam / Post deitatem*

17–18 apostolorum ... senatus] AH 53 228.1; Erasmus *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 559E

19 Te sacerdotum chorus = AH 50 120.4

19–20 phalanges Sanguine clarae] Cf AH 3 12.9: *Ave phalanx purpurata / In cruoris flumine, / Innocenter candidata / Turba rubens sanguine*; Erasmus *Hyperaspistes* LB X 1315D: *martyrio sanguinis clari.*

21–4 Candidae – laudant / The white chorus – forbidden to chant] See Rev 14:3–4; Erasmus *Modus orandi Deum* ASD V-1 121:21–122:23.

21 dea / O divine lady] Mary was frequently hailed as *dea* (literally 'goddess') in medieval and Renaissance literature. See for instance Salzer *Sinnbilder* 424:26, 29, 38; Landino *Xandra* 2.10.14 and 2.16.2; Sabellico *In natalem diem Mariae* 3 sig a5^{r}; Willem Hermans *Sylva odarum* sig a5^{v}; Baptista Mantuanus *Eclogues* 8.122, 146; Sebastian Brant *Varia carmina* sigs C1^{r} and H4^{r}; see also lines 55, 389, and 395–6 below.

25 Cuncta – memorare] Cf 100.49n above.

27 caelicolae ... cuncti] Virgil *Aeneid* 10.96–7

29–36 Quin – Maria / Indeed, the black Styx – O Virgin Mary] Cf *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1228E: 'You are that august queen of heaven and earth ... before whose holy power even the depths of hell tremble' and 1232C: *Inferorum formido* 'terror of the spirits of hell'; Salzer *Sinnbilder* 589–91.

29 invisi / hateful] A conventional epithet for the underworld; see for example Virgil *Aeneid* 8.244–5; Horace *Odes* 1.34.10; Seneca *Hercules furens* 664.

29 nigra Styx] Cf 96.18n above.

30 Phlegetontis atri / dark Phlegethon] The Phlegethon ('Blazing') was the infernal river of fire; here it stands by metonymy for all of hell. For the concealed oxymoron 'dark fire' see 112.144n below.

32 Bellua / monster] Cf 50.54 above (Satan) and 112.90 below (the Leviathan, hell).

33–4 Rhadamantus ... Gnosius / Rhadamanthus of Crete] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.566. The son of Zeus and Europa, he was born on the island of Crete. He did not die, but went down to the nether world where he became one of the judges of the dead.

34–5 centum – sorores / the sisters swollen with numberless serpents] Cf 50.47–8n above (of the ancient serpent) and 112.79–80, 159 below. The sisters referred to are the three Furies, represented as having snaky locks.

37 Flecte ... huc ... ocellos] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.788; poem 114.1n below.

38–40 Non – orbe] Cf Alexander Hegius *Carmina* sig c8^{v}, in a long list of places around the world where the Virgin is venerated: *Nec in orbe sit angulus ullus / In quo tua laus taceatur.*

40 Angulus orbe] Cf Sebastian Brant *Varia carmina* sig h7^{r}: [*Te*] *nullus superabit unquam / Angulus orbis*; Erasmus *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 92:2; *Psalmi* 14 ASD V-2 290:119, 22 ASD V-2 336:239–40, and 85 ASD V-3 372:165; *De concordia* ASD V-3 292:180; *Adagia* LB II 967F; Propertius 4.9.65: *Angulus ... mundi.*

41–8 Ustus – sacellis] Cf 93.81–90 above (with note).

41 Ustus – axe] Cf Propertius 4.3.10.

41 Eoo Nabathaeus axe] Cf Sidonius *Carmina* 2.408.

42 ponto exerit ora Titan] Cf Ovid *Fasti* 1.458; poem 106.93n above.

43–4 fumis ... Sabaeis] Cf 64.87n above.

45–6 Luteae – aequor] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 2.122. The epithet *luteus* 'rosy' is commonly applied to Aurora and the morning sky, not to the setting sun.

45–6 quadrigae ... Phaebi] Cf 2.149 above.

53 decus unum Olymphi] Cf *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1227E: *Unicum coeli decus*; Virgil *Aeneid* 9.18; Horace *Carmen saeculare* 2.

55–6 vendicatrix ... vitae] Cf 2.244n above, of Christ as the restorer of life. Here the Virgin is regarded as the second Eve who restores the life lost by the first Eve.

57–60 Tuque – colla / And you are the one – triple-tongued mouth] Cf Gen 3:15; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.126–8; Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1229F.

57–8 saniem – ore] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.11.19–20 (referring to Cerberus).

58 Luridum – ore] Cf 112.175–6n below.

59 Candidis calcas pedibus] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 5.124

61–4 Aureum – Phaebes / In your beauty – yield to you] These are traditional comparisons, based on Song of Sol 6:10. See for example AH 1 9.1, 42 76.4a, 50 241.2b, and 54 245.17; Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1232C.

61 Aureum ... solem / the golden sun] Virgil *Georgics* 1.232 and 4.51; Ovid

Metamorphoses 7.663; cf Erasmus *In Prudentium* LB V 1344D / CWE 29 186: 'the word "golden" is ... appropriate to the sun's brightness.'

61 vincis speciosa solem] Cf AH 54 277.2, of the Virgin: *Super solem speciosa.* For the epithet *speciosa* 'beautiful' see Song of Sol 2:13 (Vulg); Salzer *Sinnbilder* 349–53 and 444.

62 divino ... decore] Virgil *Aeneid* 5.647

63–4 Roscidae ... Phaebes] Cf 114.12 below; Virgil *Georgics* 3.337.

65–8 quam – cinctam / whom that lofty seer – with the sun] See Rev 12:1. Cf Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1232B.

65 celsus speculator ille / that lofty seer] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 2.105 applies the word *speculator* to omniscient God. Because of the allusion to Rev 12:1, however, *speculator* must here refer to the apostle John as author of the book of Revelations. John is termed *celsus* 'lofty,' both because he saw visions of heaven and the apocalypse and because he is traditionally symbolized by the high-flying and keen-sighted eagle – the only creature that can gaze directly into the sun. See Gregory the Great *Moralia in Iob* 31.47.94 (CCSL 143B 1615–16), basing himself on Ezek 1:10 and Rev 4:7: the eagle, identified with the apostle John, 'leaves the earth behind in his flight, because with keen insight he sees the divine Word itself and penetrates the inmost mysteries.'

66 lunam pedibus prementem] Cf Poliziano *Hymni* 1.18: *Tu lunam premis pedibus.*

69–80 Providi – imago / Prophetic bards – coming even then] Three groups of people prophesied the Virgin: the pagan poets (in particular Virgil), the Sibyls (especially the Cumaean Sibyl), and the Old Testament writers; Erasmus says this also in *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1229F–1230B.

69–72 Providi – terris / Prophetic bards – world in decay] Erasmus is alluding to Virgil *Eclogues* 4.6–7, traditionally interpreted as referring to the Virgin: *iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna, / iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto;* cf Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1229F–1230A: *Te doctorum poetarum ora non intellectis oraculis praecinuerunt. Tu Virgo illa, aurei seculi renovatrix.* Cf also *In Prudentium* LB V 1344B–C / CWE 29 186, on *Cathemerinon* 11.57–60. For the medieval tradition that gave Virgil a place among the prophets see Domenico Comparetti *Vergil in the Middle Ages* trans E.F.M. Benecke 2nd ed (London 1908; repr Hamden, Conn 1966) 99–103.

69–70 cecinere vates Te] Sabellico *In natalem diem Mariae* 1 sig a2^r: *Venturam cecinere pii te carmine vates*

70–1 casto ... edituram Ventre / bring forth ... from your chaste womb] See Isa 7:14.

71–2 collapsis – terris] Cf 50.155–6 above.

71–2 nova ... Secula] Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 3.255 and *In laudem Ioannis Baptistae* in *Opera* I f 247^r

73–6 Regis – virgo / The writings – eternal king] Cf *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1229F: *te Phoebi tripodes, te Sibyllarum folia portendebant* 'Apollo's tripods and the Sibyls' leaves foretold you.' The Sibyls were pagan prophetesses. Originally there was only one, but different authors placed her in different locations. Best known was the Cumaean Sibyl, whose prophecy inspired Virgil's fourth eclogue and who was Aeneas' guide in the underworld

(*Aeneid* 6). Later the number of Sibyls grew. Lactantius for example lists ten of them in *Institutiones divinae* 1.6.8–12 (CSEL 19 21–2). Their prophecies were collected in the Sibylline books. Fairly early in the Christian era forgeries made their way into these collections, prophesying Mary and the virgin birth of Christ. See Johannes B. Bauer 'Die Messiasmutter in den Oracula Sibyllina' *Marianum* 18 (1956) 118–24; Edgar Hennecke *New Testament Apocrypha* ed Wilhelm Schneemelcher, English trans ed by R.McL. Wilson, 2 vols (Philadelphia 1963) II 703–40, especially 708–9, 734, and 740. These interpolations, together with the prophecy of the Cumaean Sibyl in Virgil's fourth eclogue, gave the Sibyls an extraordinary reputation throughout the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, almost on a par with the Old Testament prophets. In *Ciceronianus* ASD I-2 700:30 / CWE 28 437 Erasmus criticizes Sannazaro *De partu Virginis* 1.93–4 for having the Virgin meditate on the sibylline oracles rather than on Isaiah's prophecy.

74 Deliae / Apollo's] Literally 'Delian.' Apollo's birthplace was the island Delos in the Aegean Sea. Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.10–12.

74–5 cantant ... Sybillae Scripta] Cf Propertius 2.34.87: *haec ... cantarunt scripta Catulli.* The Sibyl mentioned here is the Cumaean Sibyl, who in Virgil's fourth eclogue prophesies the return of the Virgin (Astraea, but interpreted by Christians as the second Eve, Mary) and the birth of a child who inaugurates a new golden age.

74 Sybillae] Probably a genitive singular, not a plural form; cf Vredeveld 'Edition' 131–2. Erasmus does, however, think of the Sibyls in the plural in *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1229F, in very similar context: *te Phoebi tripodes, te Sibyllarum folia portendebant* 'Apollo's tripods and the Sibyls' leaves foretold you.' In MS Scriverius line 74 ends in a colon; LB prints a comma there.

75–6 Scripta – Credita / The writings – fallen leaves] The Cumaean Sibyl wrote her prophecies on palm-leaves; see *Adagia* I vii 91. The 'rashness' to which Erasmus refers is an allusion to Virgil *Aeneid* 3.443–51. There the Sibyl foretells the future, but strangely entrusts her knowledge to leaves that the winds scatter about. In *Aeneid* 6.74–5 Aeneas appeals to her: 'do not commit your prophecies to leaves, lest the rushing winds tumble them around for their sport.' In view of this background the word *membranis* in line 75, though normally referring to animal membranes ('parchment'), should here be understood as vegetable membranes ('leaves'). The adjective *caducus* is often applied to fallen leaves; see Virgil *Georgics* 1.368; Ovid *Amores* 2.16.45; *Metamorphoses* 7.840 and 9.651; *Tristia* 3.1.45; Seneca *Oedipus* 600.

78 Praeviis ... umbris] Cf for instance the paraphrase on Matt 1:1 (LB VII 1C): *variis figurarum involucris atque umbris ... veluti praeludens* and 1:5 (LB VII 4D): *typis et umbris praeludentibus.*

79–80 mendax Lusit imago] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.27.40–1 (of a dream): *Ludit imago / Vana*; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 6.46 (dreams): *mendax imago.* For the meaning of *imago* here ('not a lying dream but a foreshadowing') see also 112.209 below. Erasmus' use of *lusit* in the sense of *praelusit* 'prefigures' appears to be unparalleled.

81–100 Sylva – regi / The thicket – a sign of you] These prefigurations, with the exception of the tabernacle containing the manna, are also given in *Paean Virgini Matri,* LB V 1230E–1231B. They and many others are frequently mentioned in medieval sermons and hymns; see Salzer *Sinnbilder* 3–42 and 471–506.

81–2 Sylva – flamma / The thicket – did not burn it] Exod 3:2; Salzer *Sinnbilder* 12–14

85–8 Caelicum – sacello / The ark – chaste womb] Cf Exod 16:33–4; Heb 9:4; Salzer *Sinnbilder* 495–6.

87 Pabulum vitae / the food of life] See 107.22n above.

88 sacello / the chapel] Cf line 302 below; Honorius Augustodunensis *Sigillum Beatae Mariae* PL 172 497A (the Virgin Mary): *sancti Spiritus sacellum* 'the chapel of the Holy Spirit.' The Virgin is often called the temple of God; see Salzer *Sinnbilder* 36–7.

89–90 Virga – florum / The rod – handsome nuts] Num 17:8; Salzer *Sinnbilder* 33–5

91–2 Rore – arvis / the fleece soaked – was dry] Cf Judg 6:36–8; Salzer *Sinnbilder* 40–2; poem 120.20–2 below.

91–2 siccis ... arvis] Lucan 6.377. For *arvis* MS Scriverius and LB read *armis*.

91–2 madidum ... Vellus] AH 50 52.21: *Area vellus habet, madido sed vellere sicca est* and 54 224.6 (referring to the Virgin): *Tu ... Madidum vellus Gedeon*

93 Hester] Salzer *Sinnbilder* 473–6. Esther became a prefiguration of Mary not only on account of her beauty, but also because she received the king's golden sceptre and interceded for her people with King Ahasuerus against the evil one, Haman; cf *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1231B.

95–6 Splendide – aevum] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.11.35–6: *Splendide mendax et in omne virgo / Nobilis aevum.*

95–6 in omne – aevum / Judith, famous throughout all ages] Cf Jth 13:20; Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1231B: *Tu, seculis omnibus celebranda Iudit* 'You [are] the Judith who is to be celebrated throughout all ages.' Since Judith delivered God's people from their enemy Holofernes, she was regarded as a prefiguration of Mary; see Salzer *Sinnbilder* 492–4.

97–100 Porta – regi / The prophet's – sign of you] Cf Ezek 44:1–3, a passage traditionally interpreted as foreshadowing the virgin birth; see Salzer *Sinnbilder* 26–8. Erasmus chose Ezek 44:1–3 as one of the two alternative lections for his Loretan liturgy, ASD V-1 97:15–21; see also ASD V-1 105:306–10; *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 245:198–246:213; *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1230F–1231A; *In Prudentium* LB V 1339F / CWE 29 176. For the phrase *Porta ... Pervia regi* cf for instance AH 27 82.2.4, 42 79.3a, 48 392.3b, and 54 222.13: *Porta regis pervia.*

98 terras ... Eoas] Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.537

101–4 Hisce – umbras] Cf *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1230B: *illi [fatidici vates] te laetis oraculis nondum natam praecinunt ... Illi promissis haud vanis orbem moestum in spem surrigunt.*

102 vasti fabricator orbis] Cf Cicero *Timaeus* 6; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.57; Manilius 5.31: *magni ... fabricator Olympi*; Sabellico *In natalem diem Mariae* 4 sig a6^{v}: *immensi coeli fabricator.*

106–8 Lucifer – noctis] Cf 50.42–68, 197–8n, and 202 above.

107 Fulminis ritu / like a lightning bolt] Silius Italicus 1.356; Erasmus *In Prudentium* LB V 1348E. The image is biblical; see Luke 10:18: 'I saw Satan fall like lightning [*sicut fulgur*] from heaven.' In his paraphrase on this text (LB VII

375E) Erasmus writes: *Videbam ... Satanam fulguris ritu de coelo cadentem;* cf poem 50.51n above.

109 tantae miserens ruinae] Statius *Thebaid* 9.389

110–12 lapsum – caeli / The fallen ranks – be restored] The doctrine that man was created in order to replenish the ranks of heaven is patristic; see for example Augustine *Enchiridion* 9.29 (CCSL 46 65) and 16.61 (CCSL 46 82); *City of God* 22.1 (CCSL 48 807). From the twelfth century on the doctrine was increasingly being questioned; see M.-D. Chenu 'Cur homo? Le sous-sol d'une controverse' in *La théologie au douzième siècle* (Paris 1957) 52–61. Renaissance poets, however, continued to cite the doctrine; see for instance Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 1.546–9; Sebastian Brant *Varia carmina* sig a2^r; Vida *Christiad* 4.80–3; Milton *Paradise Lost* 7.150–61.

113–25 Fingitur – Terra] Erasmus' model is Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.96–105.

113–16 Fingitur – massae] Cf *De puero Iesu* LB V 602A–B: *nos finxit ... ad sui ipsius imaginem ... ac sacro sui oris afflatu spiritum vitalem indidit; De immensa Dei misericordia* LB V 571A: *corpus finxit e limo, animum indidit afflatu oris sui;* lines 223–4n below.

113 rubro ... limo / red clay] According to Jerome *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum* Gen (CCSL 72 60), one of the meanings of Adam's name is *terra rubra* 'red earth.'

115 opifex] The term *opifex* 'workmaster,' 'artisan' was often applied to the Deity; see for example Cicero *De natura deorum* 1.8.18; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.79; Prudentius *Amartigenia* 116, 283, and 697 (God as creator of Adam).

117–32 Inde – surclo] Cf *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 80:110–20 / CWE 66 171.

117 sedes nemorum beatas] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.639 (Elysium); Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 1.54 (heaven)

118 apricis ... campis] See 106.87n above; cf *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1230C (as an allegory of the Virgin): *apricus ... paradisus;* poem 112.348 below.

119–20 Dulcibus – amnis] Cf *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1227F (as an allegory of the Virgin): *quatuor amnes ... glaream foecundis scatebris irrigaturi.*

119–20 quadrifluus ... amnis] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.105, based on Gen 2:10

121–32 Illic – surclo] Erasmus paraphrases Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 5.113–20 (the heavenly paradise).

121 Illic – vere] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.103 (paradise); cf poem 2.241n above.

123 Mollibus ... violis] Virgil *Eclogues* 5.38; *Aeneid* 11.69; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 5.115

125–6 viduantur ... Frondibus sylvae] Cf Horace *Odes* 2.9.8; poem 106.19n above.

127–8 viridis ... Pampinus] Horace *Odes* 3.25.20 and 4.8.33

127–8 tumenti ... uvae] Cf Ovid *Amores* 1.15.11; *Metamorphoses* 15.77.

128 Pampinus uvae] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 1.448.

129 Spiritum – suavem] Cf Lucretius 3.222.

130–1 patulis ... Naribus] Lucretius 5.1076; Virgil *Georgics* 1.376; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.686

131 lachrymant] Ovid *Fasti* 1.339; Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.17

133–60 Hisce – atque] These verses amplify Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.106–15.

140 Carpere faetus] Nemesianus 3.39

141 duram ... mortem] See 94.95n above.

143 tibi blandienti = Horace *Odes* 3.11.15

145–6 honores ... livor] Cf 93.165n and 2.5 above.

146 Viperae livor / the envious serpent] Cf Wisd 2:24: 'through the devil's envy death entered the world.'

146–8 vetuisse ... succedere caelo] Statius *Achilleid* 1.2: *patrio vetitam succedere caelo;* cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.227. For some recent discussions about the meaning of this phrase see Vredeveld 'Edition' 132–3.

147–8 perdito ... caelo] Cf 50.194 above: *sedes ... ademptas.*

155–6 vidit ... momordit, Occidit] Cf Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 3 metrum 12.51: *Orpheus Eurydicen suam / vidit, perdidit, occidit.*

157–8 socium ... Coniugem] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.113.

158 tenero ... amori] Tibullus 1.3.57 and 2.6.1; Ovid *Amores* 2.18.4, 19; and elsewhere

158–9 amori Cessit] Virgil *Eclogues* 10.69

161–2 dies – lachrymanda / day always – with tears] Cf Girolamo Balbi *Carmina* 29.13 (page 160): *Atra dies nigro semper damnanda lapillo.* For the proverbial custom of marking unlucky days with a black stone see 64.3n above.

161–2 atro ... Calculo] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.44

165–8 Nam – nepotes] Erasmus imitates Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.131–5.

171–2 imas Mortis ad umbras] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.404.

172 Mortis ... umbras] Vulg Job 3:5, 10:22, 34:22, Ps 22:4, Isa 9:2, and elsewhere

179–80 parens mortis ... Noxa / sin ... the progenitor of death] Cf James 1:15.

179 simili ruina = Jean Gerson *Deploratio studii Parisiensis* 22 in *Oeuvres complètes* IV 5: *Non tuae pridem cecidere doctae / Pallas Athenae simili ruina*

185–6 meritas ... luat paenas] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.689

191–2 Arte – aliena / he who was entrapped – not his own] The explanation why mankind, but not the devil, could be redeemed is traditional; see for example Gregory the Great *Moralia in Iob* 4.3.8 (CCSL 143 168–9); Alcuin *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesin* 4 (PL 100 517C–D); Hugh of St Victor *De sacramentis* 1.3.9 (PL 176 290B–C); and Peter Lombard *Sententiae* 2 dist 21 ch 7. Peter Lombard adds that, since man was seduced by someone else, he should also be redeemed by someone else.

191 redimendus arte] See 50.121n above.

193 Summus – parentis] Cf Prudentius *Apotheosis* 254–5.

194–6 Fons – census / the inexhaustible fountain – Father's heart] Cf paraphrase on Col 2:10 (LB VII 1010B): *est fons inexhaustus omnis sapientiae; De taedio Iesu* LB V 1276A: *sapientiae fonti.* Christ is traditionally the wisdom of the Father, and hence utters the thoughts of the Father. See 43.23n above; also for instance *Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum* LB V 1214F; *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1230C; *De puero Iesu* LB V 606B / CWE 29 65.

197–204 Arte – sacro] For these correspondences cf AH 50 66.2–3 (Venantius Fortunatus' famous hymn on the cross): *Quando pomi noxialis / morte morsu corruit, / Ipse lignum tunc notavit, / damna ligni ut solveret. / Hoc opus nostrae salutis / ordo depoposcerat, / Multiformis perditoris / arte ut artem falleret / Et medelam ferret inde, / hostis unde laeserat.* The hymn was especially familiar because of its use in the Good Friday liturgy; see *Missale Romanum* I 172.

198 dextra dominante] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.37.

201–9 Et caro – morte est] Cf Augustine *De doctrina christiana* 1.14.13 (CCSL 32

14): *per feminam deceptos per feminam natus, homo homines, mortalis mortales, morte mortuos liberavit;* Erasmus' paraphrase on Luke 3:34–8 (LB VII 317C–F), with a lengthy series of correspondences such as these.

201 caro – carne] Cf AH 50 53.2: *Beatus auctor saeculi / Servile corpus induit, / Ut carne carnem liberans / Non perderet, quod condidit.*

202–4 ligno – sacro] Cf AH 50 66.2 (Venantius Fortunatus' hymn on the cross): *Ipse lignum tunc notavit, / damna ligni ut solveret* and 51 86.4: *Vita ante per lignum periit, / Nunc vita per lignum viget.* The word *lignum* 'wood,' 'tree' was commonly used for the cross. See particularly Ps 95:10 (Vulg), with the Christian addition cited in patristic texts and throughout the Middle Ages: *Dominus regnavit a ligno* 'the Lord reigned from the tree.' See for example Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 368:165–6; also 112.61 below. The word *stipes* is used for the cross in Prudentius *Peristefanon* 2.24; cf *Cathemerinon* 3.109 (of the tree of knowledge in Eden).

205–8 Aedidit – vita / But because a woman – life again] Mary is the second Eve who restored life and salvation; see Salzer *Sinnbilder* 476–87. As part of the elaborate correspondences, the serpent's hisses are set over against the breath of the Spirit. Cf Erasmus *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 254:452–3.

207–8 flante Numine] Cf Luke 1:35; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.187: *flante Deo; Apotheosis* 783–4.

209 Mors – morte est] Cf Prudentius *Peristefanon* 2.19: *morte mortem diruit;* AH 51 51.4, 51 71.3, and 53 32.13; Erasmus *In Prudentium* LB V 1343D / CWE 29 184; *Psalmi* 22 ASD V-2 332:110; poems 1.79–81 and 11.9–10 above and 112.59 below.

212 Vulnere vulnus = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.94; Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 19.530: *et peiore prius curaret vulnere vulnus*

213 vitio laborat] Horace *Satires* 1.2.76

215–16 acerbi ... fati] Horace *Epodes* 7.17; Virgil *Aeneid* 11.587

217–18 cui – Demus] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.2.29–30.

220 Vincula mortis = Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 31.221

221 nostri ... imago / our own image] Gen 1:26–7; cf poem 94.57–8 above.

222 aeternas ... paenas] 2 Thess 1:9 (Vulg)

223–4 Dei – capacem] Cf Prudentius *Amartigenia* 544–5: *ignitum ... deus indidit olli / ingenium;* poem 94.57n and lines 113–16n above.

226 Carne ... caduca] Avitus *Carmina* 6.123

227 Summus ... deus] Vulg Tob 3:24, 4:12, and Heb 7:1; Ovid *Fasti* 2.592; *Ex Ponto* 4.3.56; and often; poems 111.29 and 112.164 below

228 Corporis umbra / shadowed by a human body] The phrase *corporis umbra* occurs as a hexameter tag also in Ovid *Amores* 3.9.65 and *Ex Ponto* 3.3.3. Erasmus is of course not embracing the docetic heresy that Christ's body was merely a phantom (*umbra, phantasma*), but is saying that Christ, the true sun, was clothed in flesh. Cf Marbod *Carmina varia* 26 (*De Epiphania* PL 171 1662A): *Obscurum solem, carnis sub nube latentem* 'the darkened sun, hiding under the cloud of the flesh'; AH 37 13.1a: *Verus sol divinitus / Carnis nube conditus* 'The true sun from heaven, hidden in the cloud of flesh.'

229 blando ... ore] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.555

233–4 thalamum ... Ventris / bridal-chamber of your womb] AH 30 58 *Ad vesperas* 2 (page 136): *Gaude, quae Dei filium / Tuum per carnem proprium / Ventris* *portasti thalamo;* Jean Gerson *Josephina* in *Oeuvres complètes* IV 57: *Virginei ventris thalamo;* cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina spuria* 1.29 (of Mary): *uteri thalamus.* The idea that Mary's womb was Christ's bridal-chamber or dressing-room derives from a patristic interpretation of Ps 19:4–5 (Vulg Ps 18:6): 'In them he has set a tent for the sun, which comes forth like a bridegroom leaving his chamber [*tanquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo*].' This verse was traditionally interpreted as foreshadowing the incarnation. Mary was Christ's 'tent' (*tabernaculum*) and her womb was Christ's 'bridal-chamber' (*thalamus*). There his two natures, the divine and the human, were wedded; and from this chamber he came forth to become the bridegroom of his church. See for instance Augustine *Sermones* 187.4.4 (PL 38 1002), 191.1.2–2.3 (PL 38 1010), 192.3.3 (PL 38 1013), and 195.3 (PL 38 1018–19); Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 2.49–51; AH 2 18.3, 2 21.4 (quoted in Erasmus *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 176:184–5), and 51 47.3; Erasmus *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam* LB V 1236E; *Liturgia Virginis Matris* ASD V-1 105:297–310; and paraphrase on Luke 1:42 (LB VII 291F).

233 thalamum pudicum] AH 1 184.4 and 1 202.3; Sebastian Brant *Varia carmina* sig A5^{v} (all with reference to the Virgin Mary)

235 sermo / the Speech] When Erasmus later used *sermo* 'the Speech' instead of the traditional *verbum* 'the Word' in his translation of John 1:1 (2nd ed, Basel: J. Froben, March 1519) there was a great uproar from conservative theologians. But *sermo* for *verbum* can be readily documented in patristic and later theological literature, as Erasmus and Thomas More gleefully reminded the critics. In poetry it occurs for instance in Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.141, 6.3, and 11.52; *Apotheosis* 155. See Erasmus *Apologia de 'In principio erat sermo'* LB IX 115–18; Allen Ep 1060:24–6 / CWE Ep 1060:31–2; and Thomas More *Letter to a Monk* CW XV 236–49. On the controversy see C.A.L. Jarrott 'Erasmus' *In Principio Erat Sermo:* A Controversial Translation' *Studies in Philology* 61 (1964) 35–40; O'Rourke Boyle 3–31. In the title of the present ode Erasmus uses the traditional *verbum.*

236 odore] Cf *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1231E, alluding to Hos 14:6: *Tu, procera illa Libani cedrus, late virtutum spargens odorem;* Salzer *Sinnbilder* 157–61 and 282:1–2; poem 133.1, 23 below.

237 Ocior – sagitta] Cf 95.25–7 above (with notes).

237 celeri sagitta] Horace *Odes* 3.20.9; Virgil *Aeneid* 1.187, 5.485, and elsewhere

238 paranymphus / the best man of the bridegroom] Gabriel is often called *paranymphus* 'bridesman' because it was he who conducted the Virgin to her bridegroom, God. See for example Augustine *Sermones supposititii* 121.3 (PL 39 1988) and 195.2, 6 (PL 39 2108–9); Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina spuria* 1.325; AH 1 96.8, 1 203.1, 1 214.1, and 50 147.1; Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 1.335; *Eclogues* 8.209; Erasmus *Institutio christiani matrimonii* LB V 622D; paraphrase on Luke 1:26 (LB VII 288F); *Responsio ad annotationes Lei* LB IX 152D; *Purgatio adversus epistolam Lutheri* ASD IX-1 466:640–56; cf *Liturgia Virginis Matris* ASD V-1 102:184–5.

239 secrete / secretly] The devil is not to discover the secret of the incarnation until after the crucifixion; see 50.121n, 127–8n.

241 novas ... salutes / his unparalleled salutation] In *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* LB VI 223E and 224E and in his paraphrase on Luke 1:28–9 (LB VII

289B–C) Erasmus notes the unusual quality (*novitas*) of Gabriel's salutation. Cf Origen *In Lucam* 6 (PG 13 1815D); Ambrose *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* 2.9 (CCSL 14 34); Augustine *Sermones supposititii* 119.4 (PL 39 1983) and 194.4 (PL 39 2106).

243–4 tacito volutat Pectore] Cf 88.63 above and notes.

250 Anxii ... timoris] Virgil *Aeneid* 9.89; Ovid *Heroides* 13.149–50; and AH 51 18.4

250 pallor socius timoris / pallor, the companion of ... fear] Cf *Adagia* I ii 89; *In Nucem Ovidii commentarius* ASD I-1 173:19 / CWE 29 167: 'Great fear induces pallor'; poems 9.2 above, 111.3–4 and 112.84n below.

253–4 superni Patris] Cf line 322 below.

254 interpres / as a messenger] The word *interpres* is applied to Mercury as the messenger of the gods in Virgil *Aeneid* 4.356: *interpres divum;* Erasmus *Euripidis Iphigenia in Aulide* ASD I-1 342:1847: *Iovis interpres; Adagia* ASD II-4 284:117: *interpres deorum.* For the association of Gabriel with Mercury see 50.131n above.

258 Regiae stirpis ... proles] Cf AH 2 30.1 and 51 126.1: *Stirpis Davidicae regia proles.*

259–60 Tu – florem / rod of Jesse – Nazareth] Cf Isa 11:1. Jerome's interpretation of this verse as referring to Mary and Jesus was widely accepted; see his *Commentarii in Esaiam* 4.11.1–3 (CCSL 73 147); Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina spuria* 1.11: *virgo haec virga fuit;* Salzer *Sinnbilder* 29–31.

261 Fuge suspicari = Horace *Odes* 2.4.22

262–4 Carnis – lecti] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.141–5: *Fit caro vivida sermo patris / ... quam ... / non thalamo neque iure tori / nec genialibus inlecebris / intemerata puella parit;* Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina spuria* 1.245, in praise of Mary: *fecunda et libera nexu, / ignara amplexu mater opima sinu.*

262 genii] The genius or tutelary spirit of the marriage bed; cf for instance Juvenal 6.22: *sacri genium ... fulcri,* quoted and explained by Erasmus in *Institutio christiani matrimonii* LB V 655F. Here, by metonymy, the word means sexual intercourse.

264 Faedera lecti = Tibullus 1.5.7; Propertius 4.3.69; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 3.593; and often

265 taedas ... nuptiales / bridal torches] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.11.33: *face nuptiali.*

266 verbum paritura verbo es] Cf AH 50 348.3: *Dum verbum aure percipis, / In verbo verbum concipis* and 54 280.6: *Verbum verbo concepisti.*

267–8 Spiritus – faeta / You will conceive – of the Holy Spirit] Cf Luke 1:35.

267–8 rutilante ... Numine faeta / conceive by the divine light] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.141–2: *Fit caro vivida sermo patris, / numine quam rutilante gravis / ... / ... / intemerata puella parit.* In medieval iconography a dove representing the Holy Spirit comes down to Mary's ear or lap on a long line of light rays; see Réau *Iconographie* II-2 185 and 190; cf lines 273–4 and 286n below.

269 Virgo faecunda] Prudentius *Apotheosis* 1013; AH 1 9.4 and 52 49.5

269 genitrix pudica = Mone II 559.5 and 560.1 (both composed by Adam Wernher of Themar in 1490)

270–2 Nec – honorem / the fruit – honour of motherhood] See Salzer *Sinnbilder* 106–9.

273–4 Ut iubar – vitrum / As a sun-ray – breaking it] This is a traditional comparison; see Salzer *Sinnbilder* 71–4; Yrjö Hirn 'La verrière symbole de la maternité virginale' *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 29 (1928) 33–9; Walther 29914c, 29914d, 29915, and 29917. Cf also poem 88.106–7 above (with note on 88.106–8), where Erasmus emphasizes that the light is 'coloured' as it passes through glass – a variation that was used to explain how Christ could become human without changing his essential nature.

275 aucti / exalted] Mary's chastity is 'exalted' because crowned with the honour of motherhood; see lines 270–2 above; *In Prudentium* LB V 1344A–B / CWE 29 185–6.

276 Claustra pudoris = *Anthologia Latina* 20.3; cf AH 50 8.4: *Alvus tumescit virginis, / Claustrum pudoris permanet*; Erasmus' paraphrase on Luke 24:27 (LB VII 477C).

277–80 Fundit – prolem] Cf Mone II 457.25–30: *sicut flos propter odorem / suum non perdit decorem / cum odor emittitur, / sic nec propter creatorem / virginitatis candorem / tu perdis, cum nascitur.*

277 Fundit ... vapores] Prudentius *Apotheosis* 837

281–2 facili ... Aure] Juvenal 3.122; cf lines 393–4 below. The epithet *facilis* is applied to Eve in line 153 above.

283–4 pictis – pennis] Cf 50.131–2 above and notes; cf also Virgil *Georgics* 1.406, 409; *Aeneid* 7.65; *Ciris* 538, 541; Horace *Odes* 2.20.2; Tibullus 4.1.210; *Ecloga Theoduli* 101: *aptatis liquidum secat aëra pennis.*

285–8 summis – alvum] Cf *Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum* LB V 1213E: *a sinu Dei parentis in uterum Virginis*; *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1232C: *Dei verbum e sinu Patris in tuum ipsius uterum ... fecerit avolare*; *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 176:187–8.

285 summis ... astris] Statius *Thebaid* 10.782 and 12.128; *Silvae* 3.4.49

286 rutilat] The infant Christ, preceded by the Holy Spirit (see lines 267–8n), is often shown in medieval art descending on a long line of light rays which emanate from God's mouth and plunge down toward the Virgin's ear or lap. See Réau *Iconographie* II-2 190.

288 Virginis alvum = Prudentius *Apotheosis* 106 and 1013

289–352 O stupor – amomum] These lines imitate and amplify Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 11.53–80; cf Erasmus' commentary on these lines in *In Prudentium* LB V 1343F–1346C / CWE 29 185–90.

291 ter faelix] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.51; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 52:347; *Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum* LB V 1211B; *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam* LB V 1236C; poem 6.58n above

293–304 Ipse – orbis / The very one – round of the world] The paradox of 'Immensity cloysterd in thy deare wombe' (John Donne 'Annunciation') is traditional; see for example Augustine *Sermones supposititii* 123.1 (PL 39 1991) and 194.3 (PL 39 2106); Claudian *Carmina minora* 32.12–15; Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina spuria* 1.141–2; AH 11 83.1, 11 85.1, 11 90.5, and 50 72.1–4; Cornelis Gerard *Marias* 4 f 51^{v}: *Qui palmo terras, celos metitur et undas, / Virgineo immensus clauditur ecce sinu*; cf poems 42.7–10n above and lines 365–7 below.

293–5 Ipse – Temperat] Cf 109.21–3n above.

293 solo ... nutu] Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 1.38: *Dei solo qui temperat omnia nutu*; Erasmus *De puero Iesu* LB V 601D; *Moria* ASD IV-3 174:801;

Adagia LB II 1153E; paraphrase on Luke 1:34 (LB VII 289F); cf poems 43.69 and 49.2 above.

293 quatit astra nutu] Cf Job 26:11 (Vulg); Virgil *Aeneid* 9.106 and 10.115; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.849; *Fasti* 2.489–90.

294–6 Qui – terram] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.4.45–6.

294 fretum ... tumidum] Cf 95.18 above.

294 saevis ... procellis] See 105.121n above.

296 Sidere] MS Scriverius reads *Sydere.*

297 quicquid – summo] Cf 112.344 below.

301–2 sub antro Pectoris] Prudentius *Psychomachia* 774

302 sacello] See line 88n above.

303 circundans / enclosing] Cf Jer 31:22 (AV): 'A woman shall compass [*circumdabit*] a man.' This verse was traditionally interpreted as a prophecy of Christ's birth; see for instance Augustine *Sermones supposititii* 119.3 (PL 39 1983) and 194.3 (PL 39 2106); AH 11 239.6, 18 25 *Ad Magnificat,* and 18 25 *In 1 nocturno, antiphona* 3.

303–4 rotundus ... orbis] AH 51 172.1; Sebastian Brant *Varia carmina* sig F8^{v} (in a poem on the birth of Christ)

306 Pone singultus] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.27.74 (in the same metrical position): *Mitte singultus.*

306–7 populique – cathenas / and all you peoples – barbarous victor] The barbaric overlord is the devil, who keeps mankind enslaved in the bonds of sin. Cf lines 390–2n below.

310–16 Non quidem – terris / not indeed threatening – wretched world] Cf *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1229B: 'You gave birth not to a Thunderer, not to one who brandishes lightning bolts, but to a crying baby; you bore not an avenger but a reconciler, the source not of punishment but of salvation.'

311–12 inimica mittens Fulmina] Horace *Odes* 1.12.59–60

313–17 a vetustis Imminens seclis ... Emica] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 9.25–7: *quem vates vetustis concinebant saeculis / ... / emicat.* The phrase *vetustis seclis* also occurs in Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1229F: *Te vetustis seculis gentilium oracula obscuris ambagibus denotabant;* and poem 42.5 above. For the verb *emica* in line 317 see 42.35n.

314 face] The word (literally 'torch') is often used of the sun and its light; see for example 111.38 and 111.85 below. Christ, of course, is the true sun; see 111.76n.

315–16 Secla – terris / will very soon – wretched world] In *In Prudentium* LB V 1344B–C / CWE 29 186 Erasmus links *Cathemerinon* 11.57–60 with Virgil's fourth eclogue and adds: 'The birth of Jesus ... renewed everything and brought us back the golden age.' Cf also *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1230A (of Mary): *aurei seculi renovatrix* 'renewer of the golden age'; poem 50.155–6 and lines 69–76 above with notes; AH 53 20.8–9.

315–16 Secla ... Aurea / a golden age] Cf 4.52–4n above.

317–18 Emica – dulcis / Shine forth – little boy] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 11.13–14: *Emerge, dulcis pusio, / quem mater edit castitas.* Erasmus paraphrases these lines as follows in *In Prudentium* LB V 1340E / CWE 29 178: 'Now, as though eager for the light to rise, the poet uses apostrophe to invite the child to "come forth" [*emergat*] from its hiding-place [*latebris*] in the Virgin's body.'

317 caecis ... latebris] Lucretius 1.408; Virgil *Aeneid* 3.232, 424; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.388

317 uteri latebris] See 64.76n above.

318 Pusio dulcis] Erasmus uses Prudentius' phrase also in *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam* LB V 1236E; cf poem 1.90 above.

318–20 trepido – frontem] Cf 112.315–29 below.

318 trepido tumultu] See 43.7n above.

319 Cerne – fabricam / See how – tipping over] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 4.50 (= poem 112.315 below): *aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum* 'look how the world is rocked under the weight of its dome.' In Virgil's poem the sentence is addressed, as here, to the baby who is about to inaugurate the new golden age.

321 O dies – aevo] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.39: *salve, festa dies, toto venerabilis aevo, / qua deus infernum vicit.* Erasmus' verse is meant to contrast with lines 161–2 above.

322 patris ... superni] Cf lines 253–4 above.

323 Carne vestitus lutea / clothed in fleshly clay] Cf *Virginis et martyris comparatio* LB V 591B: *humana carne vestitum; Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1230D; Arator 2.98: *carnis vestitus amictu / Christus.* Mary's womb is the bridegroom's dressing-room (lines 233–4n), where the divinity puts on the gown of human flesh. See Salzer *Sinnbilder* 87–8; Meersseman *Hymnos* I 31–5; Erasmus *Liturgia Virginis Matris* ASD V-1 105:304–10.

330–2 prope – Phaebus / Phoebus – almost cut off] After the winter solstice the days begin to lengthen once more as the sun rises in the zodiac. Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 11.7–8: *quam paene subductam facem / sensim recisa extinxerat*; and Erasmus' commentary on these verses in LB V 1340C / CWE 29 177.

335–6 Orbis – Chaldi / From the furthest – to find you] Matt 2:1–12. The Magi are here called 'Chaldeans' because the Chaldeans were famed for their astronomical and astrological knowledge. Cf 111.40 below.

337–40 Te – bubus] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 11.81–8.

337–8 Te – Bruta] Cf 42.36–7n above.

341–2 umbrosas ... sylvas] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.693; *Epicedion Drusi* 105

343–4 viruisse pratum ... Gramine] See 106.92n above.

344 Gramine laeto = Virgil *Georgics* 2.525

345–6 Iam – vitem] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 1.132; Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.353.

350 Ismarae cautes] Cf 102.103 above.

351–2 Syrum ... amomum] See 4.144n above.

353–5 Inter – Pectus] Cf 93.201n above.

353–5 saliisse ... Gaudio ... Pectus] Cf 64.80n, 81 above.

355 immensi ... orbis] See 98.10n above.

358–62 Mater – pascit] Cf Cornelis Gerard *Marias* 7 f 75^v: *O quam grandis amor, huius ad ubera pendet alendus / Mundum qui saciat fertilitate cibi*; Erasmus *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam* LB V 1237A: *noto admovens pectusculo, de virginea papillula suspenderes immensam mundi machinam digito librantem ... ... niveo liquore nutricares universa pascentem*; poem 42.7–10n above.

358–60 Mater – Olymphi] Cf Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 3.140–3: *Regem … Olympi / quaerite … / … / Candida formosae iam pendet ad ubera matris.*

358 niveis / white as snow] Mary's purity was commonly likened to snow; see Salzer *Sinnbilder* 335–6; Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1230D: *Tui nivei pectoris,* 1232B: *nivea tempora;* poem 133.22 below. Cf Otto 1231.

360 Rector Olymphi = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.60 and 9.499

362–4 vehit – quicquid] Cf 112.344–5n below.

365–7 In sinu – Concipit] Cf lines 293–304n above.

366 Ambitus … sinuosus / the winding orbits] Erasmus is referring to the heavenly spheres; cf 49.3n (*volumina caeli*) and 76.2–4n above.

366 aethrae] The manuscript reads *aethre.* For the contracted form see also 105.138 above.

369 pre – decorus / one more beautiful – sons of men] Cf Ps 45:2: 'You are the fairest of the sons of men' (*Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum*). The phrase was traditionally interpreted to refer to Christ; see for instance Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 2.51–2; Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina spuria* 1.164; Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1232B; *Virginis et martyris comparatio* LB V 589C; *Psalmi* 85 ASD V-3 341:288 and 410:175–6; cf poem 43.11n above.

370 exemplar / the pattern] AH 50 135.4, of Adam: *Dei exemplar* 'the pattern of God'; cf Gen 1:26. Christ is the second Adam, the true image of God on earth.

373–6 Quid – honore] Cf 1.87–94 above (with notes).

373–4 Quid – Filius] Cf AH 1 1.2, 1 145.4, 48 450.2: *Et si mille petis, ille / Nil negare poterit,* 50 241.7a: *Audi nos, / nam te filius / nihil negans honorat,* 50 306.14–15, and 50 314.14–15; Sebastian Brant *Varia carmina* sig B7^{v}: *Filius ipse negat tibi nil;* Salzer *Sinnbilder* 570–4, 580–1, and 594–6. Erasmus later criticized this attitude as superstitious; see *Colloquia* ASD I-3 473:82–6 and *Apologia adversus rhapsodias Alberti Pii* LB IX 1166C–D.

377–96 te cuncti – regem] Cf Ps 107:4–29; Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 1.270–84 (the Virgin aids mariners at sea, those wounded in battle, prisoners, the hungry, sinners); Fausto Andrelini *Elegiae* 1 sig a7^{r}; Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1232D–1233A.

377–8 querulis … precibus] Cf 50.239 above.

377–8 fatigant … precibus] Horace *Odes* 1.2.26

381–8 Qui – diva / For sailors – humble entreaties] As 'star of the sea' Mary is the patron saint of sailors. They appeal to her when storms rend the sails; cf *Paean Virgini Matris* LB V 1232E; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 327:71–4. Tropologically, she guides mankind through the storms of life to the safe harbour; see Salzer *Sinnbilder* 400–18, 527–31; poem 4.136n above.

381 cavis … trabibus] Virgil *Aeneid* 3.191

381–2 tentant trabibus … fluctus] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 4.32.

381–2 minaces – Syrtes / threatening waves – raging Syrtes] The Adriatic was notorious for its storms; see for instance Horace *Odes* 1.3.14–16 and 1.33.15; Erasmus *Adagia* IV vi 89. The Syrtes were two seas off the coast of North Africa – the gulf of Sidra and the gulf of Gabes – that were dangerous to shipping because of their storms and shoals; see for example Horace *Odes* 1.22.5; *Epodes* 9.31; Acts 27:17; Erasmus *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 42:60–1 and 42:87–8 / CWE 66 137. Cf also *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam*

LB V 1234E, where Mary is said to be the lodestar that guides us past the stormy shoals of Syrtes.

383–4 nautis ... Stella refulges] Horace *Odes* 1.12.27–8

389–90 Te – languor / Anyone stricken – his prayers] Mary is often called 'medicine' or *remedium languoris;* see Salzer *Sinnbilder* 513–15.

390 languor] Cf 88.78 above.

390–2 domini – cathenis / Anyone whose – seeks you out] Cf lines 306–7n above, where the 'chains of a barbarous victor' tropologically refer to the bonds of sin, imposed by Satan. Here the 'barbarian overlord' may well refer specifically to the Turk, the 'new barbarian' from the east, who enslaved Christians. See Robert Schwoebel *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)* (New York 1967) 147–75.

391–2 saevis ... cathenis] Horace *Odes* 3.11.45; Statius *Thebaid* 10.562

391–2 vinctus Colla cathenis] Silius Italicus 9.634

393–4 aures ... faciles] See lines 281–2n above.

395 reis ... trepidis] Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.460; *Fasti* 1.22; *Ex Ponto* 1.2.116 and 2.2.50; Sebastian Brant *Varia carmina* sig H4^{r} (on Joachim): *Quis nobis miseris et trepidis reis / Imploret veniam, crimine consciis?* The word *reus* in the sense of 'sinner' is common in medieval hymns; see also 118.1 below.

397–400 En ego – pudendis / Behold, I struggle – shameful chains] The three kinds of disasters mentioned in the preceding strophes are now tropologically applied to the speaker's own soul; he is sick in soul, he is in danger of drowning in the seas of this world, and he is enslaved in sin. Cf *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1234C; *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam* LB V 1238F–1240A.

397 morbis animi / diseases of the mind] For the ancient idea that the soul has its diseases just like the body see for example Plato *Sophist* 228E; *Timaeus* 86B–D; Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 3.4.7–9 and 4.10.23. It frequently occurs in Erasmus' writings; see for instance *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 58:510–11 / CWE 66 151; *Enchiridion* LB V 13D / CWE 66 42; *De copia* ASD I-6 128:528–9 and 531 / CWE 24 431:1–2 and 9–10; *Exomologesis* LB V 150A–D and 156E.

398 immani scelerum baratro] Cf *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1234B: *altissimo vitiorum barathro; Psalmi* 85 ASD V-3 399:899: *barathrum criminum.* The word *scelus* 'crime,' 'guilt' in Christian poetic usage often means 'sin.' See for example AH 32 10.8 (in a prayer to the Virgin Mary): *visita me miserum, / Oppressum mole scelerum* and 50 323.9.19 (to the Virgin): *solve moles, / Quae me premunt, scelerum;* Alcuin *Carmina* 88.4.16: *Alcuino veniam scelerum da, Christe, precamur;* Sebastian Brant *Varia carmina* sig B8^{r} (in a poem to the Virgin): *Ipse ego peccator, scelerum quoque mole gravatus;* and poem 2.237n above.

111 LB VIII 577–9 / R 20

From thematic and verbal similarities to no 112 and from its position in MS Scriverius between nos 110 and 112, both of which were written in

1499, we may infer that this poem dates from the same year. The date is corroborated by parallels in lines 37–8 and 85–6 to Gregorio Tifernate *Carmina*, first published at Venice in 1498. See also the note on line 75, with a reminiscence of Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* (Venice 29 March 1499).

Lines 1–48 represent the fear of the unbelieving Jews at the time of Christ's death, at the ninth hour (mid-afternoon), when the sun had been darkened for three hours already, the earth quaked, and the rocks were split (Matt 27:45–51; cf Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44–5). In lines 49–62 we hear the expert opinion of the Greek and Chaldean astronomers to whom the Jews appeal. The poem concludes with the Christian interpretation of the events at the crucifixion and a condemnation of the blind fury of the Jews (lines 63–100).

Metre: lesser Asclepiad alternating with an iambic dimeter. Erasmus' model for this rare combination is Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 3 metrum 8, a poem lamenting man's ignorance of the true good.

1–2 Quis – tremor] For this 'exordium that begins with a question' cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 11.1–2 (with Erasmus' commentary in LB V 1339A / CWE 29 174).

1 turbo / whirlwind] According to one ancient theory, still widely accepted in the Renaissance, earthquakes were caused by powerful subterranean winds; see Aristotle *Meteorologica* 2.8; Lucretius 6.557–607; Seneca *Naturales quaestiones* 6.12.1–6.21.1; Allen Ep 1756:81–3; cf line 9 and poem 112.85–6 below.

3–4 Nostra – occupat] Cf 110.250n above.

3 mens trepidat metu] Horace *Odes* 2.19.5; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 2.685 and 6.491; Ovid *Tristia* 1.5.37; line 65 below.

4 Vultum ... pallor occupat] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.499: *pallor ... occupat ora*; Erasmus *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 551E: *ora pallor occupat.*

5 Phaebus – aethera] Cf 102.57 and note above.

6 Nonam recurrens lineam / circling back to the ninth hour-line] That is, it was the ninth hour, or mid-afternoon according to the ancient reckoning; see the headnote. The word *lineam* refers to the line which marks the hour on the sundial; cf Persius 3.4 and Pliny *Naturalis historia* 7.60.214. Here the word is used by metonymy for the hour itself.

9 ingente] Instead of the classical ablative singular form *ingenti*, which does not fit the metre. For another sign of hasty composition see line 98n below.

9 turbine] See line 1n above.

11–58 Convexoque – deus / the frame of the universe – bound all things together] Cf 112.315–22 below (with notes). The Jews and the astronomers agree that the world, which God had bound together out of disparate elements, is about to revert to unbounded chaos. The firmament, it is feared, will collapse; the abyss will gape open and swallow up all light, and the world will come to an end. Lucretius 6.596–607 describes such fears during earthquakes. Cf Virgil *Georgics* 1.466–8; Lucan 1.72–80, 2.290–1, and 5.627–36; Rev 6:12–14 (when the sixth seal is opened); Seneca *Thyestes* 789–884; Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 1.42–5 (cf line 19n below) and 1.113–16; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 9.79–81 (at the crucifixion). Cf also AH 53 36.19: [*Tellus,*] *quae tremula / eius morte se ca- / suram minitat.*

11–12 Convexo – inferos] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 12.205: [*si*] *caelum ... in Tartara solvat.*

14 Toti – solo] Cf 50.139n above.

15–16 Tantum – legibus] Cf 112.105–6 (at the crucifixion).

15–16 territa ... Natura] Arator 1.8–9 (at the crucifixion)

17–18 Et totam – faedera] Cf 112.318–19 below; Lucan 1.79–80: *totaque discors / Machina divolsi turbabit foedera mundi.*

17 solvere machinam] Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 2 metrum 8.21

18 Rerum ... faedera] Lucan 2.2; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 5.43, 4 metrum 6.4, and 5 metrum 3.1; cf poem 109.20 above and line 57 below; Erasmus *Precatio pro pace ecclesiae* LB IV 654E and V 1217B.

19 caeleste iubar] Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 1.45 (in similar context)

19–20 Tartareum – obicem] Cf Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 10.131–2 (Satan fears that Alexander, arriving in the underworld, may be Christ): *rupto parat obice terrae / Tartareum penetrare Chaos.*

19 Tartareum cahos] See 99.18n above.

25–8 Quod si – crastina / But if now – universal frame] If the underworld were now to yawn wide open, the shades of the dead would see the light of day and the upper world would sink back into primeval chaos. The motif is a commonplace in epics since Homer *Iliad* 20.61–5 (during an earthquake). See for example Lucretius 6.597–600 (earthquake); Virgil *Aeneid* 8.243–6; and Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.356–8.

29 summe deus] See 110.227n above.

30 Magni ... aetheris] Virgil *Aeneid* 10.356, 459

32 Invicta virtus] Ovid *Ex Ponto* 3.4.111

37–8 Phaebe – facem / Perhaps Phoebe – massive body] In the *Gospel of Nicodemus* 11.2 the Jews tell Pilate that the darkening of the sun is merely a solar eclipse. But in lines 59–62 below, the astronomers deny that possibility. Cf Gregorio Tifernate *Carmina* sig A2^{v}: 'there were no clouds [at the crucifixion] to disturb the sky, nor did Phoebe block her brother's golden light.' The possibility that a miraculous eclipse caused the darkening of the sun at the crucifixion was proposed by Pseudo-Dionysius in a well-known passage of *Letters* 7.2, purporting to be an eyewitness account. He is followed for example by Albertus Magnus *Enarrationes in Evangelium Lucae* 23:45 in *Opera* 23 733–4. The possibility is also discussed at length by Marsilio Ficino *De christiana religione* 10 in *Opera* I 13–14.

38 facem] See 110.314n above.

39–40 Huc huc – regio] Cf 112.23 below.

40 Chaldaea] Cf 110.335–6n above.

43 luna ... menstrua] Virgil *Georgics* 1.353; Propertius 3.5.28; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 12.10

49–50 terrae – clauditur] Cf 112.344–5n below.

51–2 fata ... sinistra] Juvenal 10.129

54 ruentis aetheris] Cf Lucan 2.290 (return of chaos): *cum ruat arduus aether;* Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 11.108 (at the end of time).

56 Solvenda ... secula] Cf AH 54 178.1: *Dies irae, dies illa / Solvet saeclum in favilla.*

57 faederis] See line 18n above.

59–60 Nam – lampadem / For it is – the sun] The astronomers know from expert knowledge that a solar eclipse (lines 37–8) does not last three hours and can besides only occur during the time of new moon. But as the passover is celebrated at the time of the first full moon after the vernal equinox, the moon has just been full.

60 Solis ... lampadem] Silius Italicus 6.157 and 7.143; cf poem 112.137n below.

63 strepit murmure] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.709

64 Quis tantus ... timor] Statius *Thebaid* 11.182

65 trepidat ... metu] See line 3n above.

67–100 O caecam – deum / O blind frenzy – one you kill is God] For Erasmus' attitude toward the Jews see Guido Kisch *Erasmus' Stellung zu Juden und Judentum* (Tübingen 1969); Cornelis Augustijn 'Erasmus und die Juden' NAKG n s 60 (1980) 22–38; Heiko A. Oberman *Wurzeln des Antisemitismus: Christenangst und Judenplage im Zeitalter von Humanismus und Reformation* (Berlin 1981) 48–51; Shimon Markish *Erasmus and the Jews* trans Anthony Olcott (Chicago 1986).

69 plebs ... perfida / faithless people] Cf Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 5.144: *gens perfida* (the Jews). Before it was finally suppressed in the aftermath of the Holocaust, a petition in the Good Friday prayer for all humanity urged Christians to 'pray also for the perfidious Jews' (*Oremus et pro perfidis Iudaeis*). The epithet *perfidis,* originally intended to mean 'unbelieving,' was popularly understood in the hostile sense of 'perfidious.'

70 citata furiis / driven by blind fury] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 11.92 (of the Jewish people, which does not recognize Christ as God): *furiis ... lymfatam* 'maddened by Furies.'

71 Qui – mare] Cf Horace *Odes* 3.4.45: *Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat.*

71 caelum ... solum ... mare] Cf 109.21n above.

73 lacero ... corpore] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.562 and 15.532; *Fasti* 6.744

74 morte pallet] Virgil *Aeneid* 8.709

75 Duram ... vita necem ... pertulit] Cf Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c1$^{\text{v}}$: *saevam ... tuli ... mortem / Vitae auctor.*

75 Duram ... necem] Cf 94.95n above. For *Duram* the manuscript reads *Dura.*

75 vita ... mortua / Life ... is dead] See 94.84 above (with note on 94.83–4). In the present line the paradoxical phrase refers to Christ, the Life (43.37 above) that has died on the cross. Cf AH 11 21.4: *mors ... / In qua nostra semel mortua vita fuit* 'the death, in which our Life was once dead' and 50 102.30: *Mortua vita mortis regnum diripit* 'the Life that was dead has harrowed the kingdom of death.'

76 Sol ... occidit] See 88.56n above. There is a wordplay here on the two meanings of *occidit*: 'set' and 'die.' Cf Erasmus *In Prudentium* LB V 1339F.

76 Sol ... verus / That true sun] The phrase is very common in medieval literature; see for instance Arator 2.541; AH 1 37.1, 48 158.2, and 52 106.4. Erasmus discusses the image in *In Prudentium* LB V 1339D–1340A / CWE 29

175–6; cf poems 42.35n and 88.106 (with note on 88.106–8) above, 112.135–8 and notes and 112.342 below.

77–88 Quid ni – radicibus] Cf paraphrase on Matt 27:45 (LB VII 142B) and especially on Luke 23:45 (LB VII 463F–464A).

77 nefas expaveant] Lucan 4.556 and 10.453

80 Orbata ... patre] Cf Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 5.238 (at the ninth hour): [*elementa*] *Auxiliis orbata patris.*

83 cornibus] See 93.83n above.

85–6 Obduxitque – funera / and covered his light – undeserved death] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.329–30 (at Phaethon's death): *pater obductos, luctu miserabilis aegro, / condiderat vultus;* Gregorio Tifernate *Carmina* sig A2^v (at Christ's death): *Talia ne clarus spectaret crimina Titan / Defecit, vultusque suos lucemque negavit.* The thought that the sun hid his face in horror at the crucifixion is a commonplace; see Franz J. Dölger *Sol salutis: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum* (Münster 1925) 352–3; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 9.79–80; AH 2 section 3 20.5 (page 139), 48 158.1, and 51 16.4; cf also lines 97–100n and poem 112.2–3 below.

85 facem] See 110.314n above.

86 indigna ... funera] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.617–18; cf poem 112.65n below.

87–94 Et tellus – roboret] Cf Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 5.245–51.

88 Imis ... radicibus] Lucretius 1.352 and 6.141; Virgil *Georgics* 1.319; *Aeneid* 8.237–8

93–4 Non – roboret / Not only – what is weak] Cf Luke 9:56: 'the Son of man came not to destroy men's lives but to save them.'

95–100 Quae – deum / What kind of – God] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 11.81–116. There Prudentius says that the cattle and the shepherds recognize their Lord, but the Jews do not (cf 42.36–7n above). Only at the Last Judgment, when they are struck by the thunderbolt of the cross, will they understand who he was whom they crucified. Erasmus comments on the Prudentius passage in *In Prudentium* LB V 1346D–1348E / CWE 29 191–5.

96 Gens – durior] Cf Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 5.14 (the Jews): *O gens caeca oculis, o gens durissima corde;* Arator 2.246 (the Jews): *Gens dura.*

96 caeca / blind] The blindness refers to the Jews' sacrilege in killing Christ – the true sun whom they cannot see in their blindness. See lines 67–70 above; *Ratio* LB V 95D; Augustine *Sermones* 136.4 (PL 38 753): 'Hardened and blinded, those who boasted that they saw the light crucified the Light. What blindness! They have killed the Light.' Cf also Rom 11:25; Erasmus *Psalmi* 2 ASD V-2 110:446–7: *caecitas vel potius impietas.*

96 saxo durior] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 14.712–13; Allen Ep 7:11; cf poem 103.20n above.

97–100 En sol – deum / Lo, the sun – God] Cf Arator 1.321–3 (to the Jews): 'The sun goes down in darkness, but you rebel with darkness in your heart. The earth quakes, but you remain all the more unmoved. The rocks burst asunder, but you stay hard'; Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 333:8–9 / CWE 25 85–6: '"The sun mourned [*luxit*, derived from *lugeo*, not *luceo*] as Christ died; what should man do?" "His death could make stones split asunder; will it not soften the mind of man?"'

98 Tellus ... stolida] Cf 94.19n above. The first syllable of *stolida*, contrary to

classical practice, is long in the present passage – a sign of hasty composition (see also line 9n). Erasmus does scan it short in 94.19.

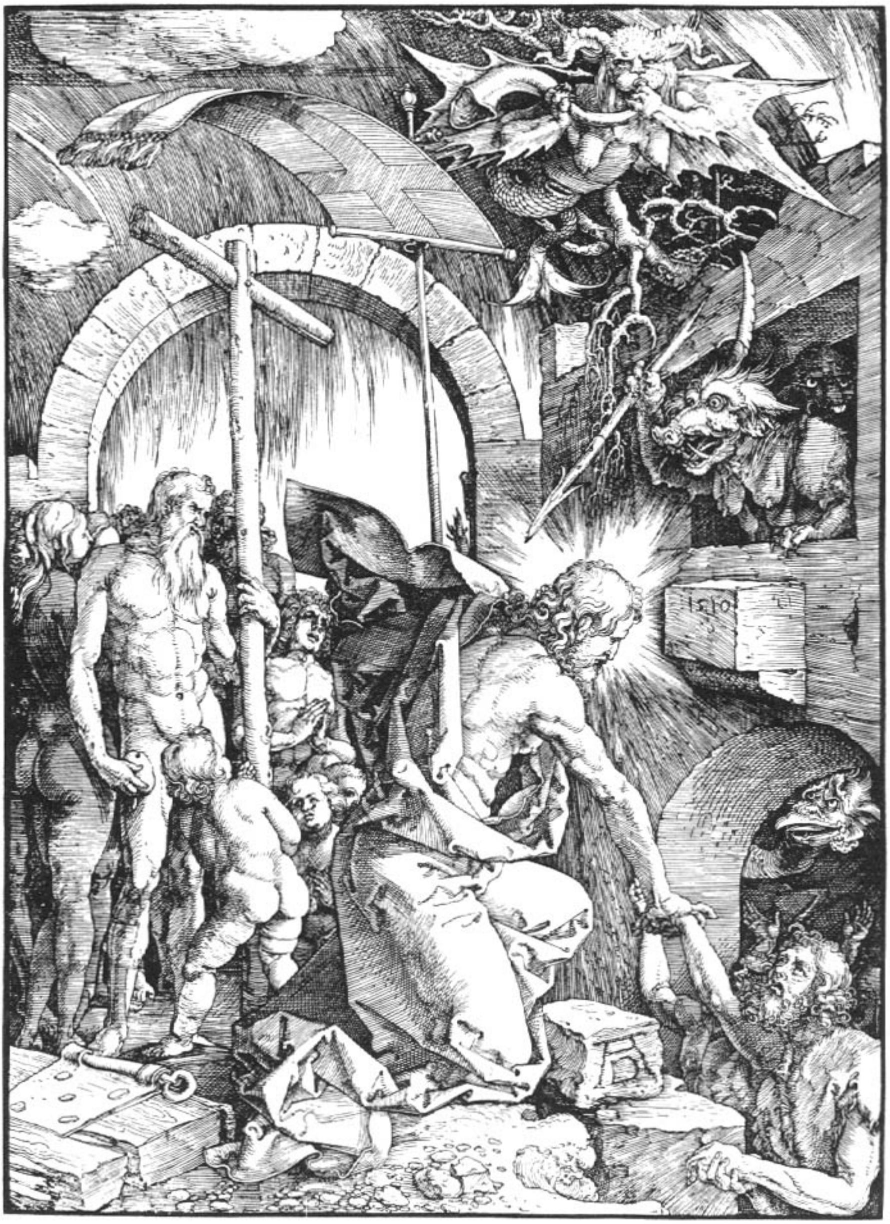
112 LB VIII 579–84 / R 21

Since nos 110, 111, and 112 are so closely linked in theme and phrasing that they form 'a more or less coherent sequel' (Reedijk 174), we may infer that no 112 too was composed sometime in 1499. Further evidence permits us to confirm this date and narrow it down to about the summer of 1499 – not long after Erasmus finished writing no 110. A *terminus post quem* is provided by the publication date of what must have been Erasmus' inspiration for this epyllion: Macarius Mutius' *De triumpho Christi* (Venice: F. Lucensis and A. Francisci Venetus, 29 March 1499), the first neo-Latin epyllion on the harrowing of hell. Apart from the obvious similarity of theme and length (Mutius' poem consists of 317 lines, Erasmus' of 353), there are numerous parallels in wording and motifs. Both Mutius and Erasmus preface their narrative with the same exhortation to their muse to begin: *incipe*. Both introduce a catalogue of musical instruments, including the lute, lyre, flute, and tambourine (*sistrum*) in order to praise Christ's triumph. Both poets call the music thus produced 'a heavenly melody' (*caeleste melos*). Both describe how the Saviour's arrival in Hades causes Cerberus to bristle with fear, how Christ breaks down the gates of hell, how the Furies and the other monsters of hell tremble and hide, and how the sceptres fall from their hands. And both go on to describe how Christ, walking serenely through the silence of hell, dispels the darkness and causes the Styx and Cocytus to stop their flow. At that, the horrified demons fling themselves headlong down into the deepest abyss of hell, while Christ preaches to the dead and harrows hell. This done, both Mutius and Erasmus feel the need to collect themselves before rising to the heights of their theme and depicting the procession of the righteous to heaven. Both poets, accordingly, employ a second exordium to invoke Christ – that heavenly muse who alone can reveal the secrets of God to man. Now the triumphal procession can be told in proper fashion. Like Mutius, Erasmus mentions the Old Testament patriarchs, kings, and prophets, the throngs of men, women, and children; but unlike his model, he does not regale the reader with a Homeric catalogue of the names of the souls released from limbo. As Christ rises on the third day, both epics show nature rejoicing as never before; never had the sun shone more brilliantly than on the day of the resurrection of its Lord.

From these parallels it is evident that Erasmus' poem on Christ's triumph in the underworld must have been inspired, at least in part, by Mutius' *De triumpho Christi*. Since this short epic on the harrowing of hell was published at the end of March, Erasmus could have read it in spring 1499, when he was still in Paris, or in the summer of that year, when he was in England. A *terminus post quem non* is, to all appearances, provided by Epp 112 and 113 (late October 1499). In these two letters Erasmus and Johannes Sixtinus discuss some significant poems of Erasmus', written more or less extemporaneously in various metres and in a middle style that Erasmus characterizes as too learned for the unlearned, too unlearned for the learned. These poems have hitherto been regarded as lost; see Cornelis Reedijk 'Verdwenen poëzie van Erasmus' *Het Boek* 31 (1952–4) 115–17 and *Poems* 398–9. But the poems discussed at such length in Epp 112–13 quite probably included nos 110–12 as well as some or all of the ones found in MS Egerton 1651 (especially nos 1, 50, and 117, which treat religious themes). See Vredeveld 'Lost Poems.'

The doctrine of Christ's descent into hell goes back to several New Testament passages, particularly Acts 2:31, Rom 10:7, Eph 4:9, 1 Pet 3:19 and 4:6; see J.M. Robinson 'Descent into Hades' *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* 4 vols (New York 1962) I 826–8. Patristic authors speculated that Christ went down to hell to preach to the spirits of the damned and to release the souls of the Old Testament saints from their prison, the *limbus patrum*. The fullest and most influential telling of the story is that of the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*. For the development of the doctrine see J.A. MacCulloch *The Harrowing of Hell* (Edinburgh 1930); Kroll *Gott*; Heinz-Jürgen Vogels *Christi Abstieg ins Totenreich und das Läuterungsgericht an den Toten* (Freiburg 1976); and Jackson J. Campbell 'To Hell and Back: Latin Tradition and literary Use of the "Descensus ad Inferos" in Old English' *Viator* 13 (1982) 107–58. For Erasmus' views on the descent see *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 257:545–259:594; *Psalmi* 22 ASD V-2 332:106–13; *Colloquia* ASD I-3 369:175–84; and his paraphrases of the New Testament passages mentioned above. Craig R. Thompson discusses Erasmus' opinions in *Inquisitio de Fide: A Colloquy by Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus 1524* (New Haven 1950) 89–93.

Macarius Mutius' epyllion *De triumpho Christi* was especially popular in Germany and the Low Countries. It was reprinted at least eight times in the sixteenth century, with, among others, editions at



The harrowing of hell
Woodcut from Albrecht Dürer's *Large Passion* (1510)
Courtesy Robarts Library, University of Toronto

Venice in 1501, Deventer c 1512, Strasbourg 1514, Cologne 1515, and Erfurt c 1515. Erasmus was the first to imitate Mutius. Matthias Funck followed with a *Triumphus christianus* (Frankfurt an der Oder 1514). Eobanus Hessus then published a *Victoria Christi ab inferis* (Erfurt 1517), based in part on Mutius' and Funck's poems, in part on the little-known Pseudo-Iuvencus *Triumphus Christi heroicus* PL 19 385–8; see Harry Vredeveld 'The Unsuspected Source of Eobanus Hessus's *Victoria Christi ab Inferis*' in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreani* ed I.D. McFarlane (Binghamton 1986) 293–7.

Metre: hexameter

1–21 Clara – solvat / Let the bright stars – in new joys] Cf Ps 96:11–13: 'Let the heavens be glad [*Laetentur caeli*], and let the earth rejoice; let the sea roar, and all that fills it; let the field exult, and everything in it! Then shall all the trees of the wood sing for joy before the Lord, for he comes ...' Erasmus' immediate model for the lengthy series of exhortations, however, was Alexander Hegius 'Exhortation to Rejoice at the Glorious Resurrection of Jesus' in *Carmina* sig E4^{v}:

> Let no one be without joy: Jesus has returned to life. Let birds of all kinds sing: Jesus has risen. Let the nightingale's song return: Jesus has risen ... Let leaves return to the trees: Jesus has risen. Let grass now return to the meadows: Jesus has risen. Let all the woods blossom, since Jesus has risen. Let the sea be covered with sails: Jesus has risen. Let the earth be fruitful with grain: Jesus has risen ... Let the dreadful north wind depart: Jesus has risen. Let the flower-bringing zephyrs blow: Jesus has risen ... Let the choir of angels exult: Jesus has risen ... Let wintry frost flee away: Jesus has risen. Let the sailor give his sails to the winds: Jesus has risen.

And so forth.

The motif of exhorting all creation to rejoice at the resurrection of her Lord is traditional; see AH 50 91.1: *Laetare, caelum, desuper, / Adplaude, tellus ac mare,* 51 86.1–2, and 53 36.21. Other poets describe nature's joy at Christ's return and link the resurrection with the renewal of nature in springtime; see for instance Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.1–46; AH 1 62.1, 53 36.18–19, and 54 148.1–4; lines 336–46 below.

1–11 Clara – tellus] Cf AH 53 36.19: *Lucent clarius / sol et luna morte / Christi turbida; / Tellus herbida / resurgenti plaudit / Christo.*

1 Clara – caeli] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.8 (at Easter): *laetitiamque suam sidera clara probant;* Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 1.250: *Clara serenatis infundere lumina terris.*

1 serenati ... caeli = Statius *Silvae* 1.2.51

1 sydera caeli = Virgil *Georgics* 2.1, 4.58; and often

2–3 choruscos Condiderant radios] Cf Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 5.234–5 (at the crucifixion): *sol nube coruscos / Abscondens radios;* Ovid *Metamorphoses*

1.768: *radiis ... coruscis* and 2.329–30 (the sun-god grieving over the death of his son Phaethon): *obductos ... / condiderat vultus*; poem 111.85–6n above.

3 caligine turbida tristi] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 11.876.

5 Umbris ... nox ... nigrantibus] Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 77: *Iam nox atra caput velata nigrantibus umbris*; cf Silius Italicus 9.148.

5 ut quid enim = Martial 3.77.10

5–6 nox ... Occupat atra polum] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 5.721.

8 lux ... amabilis] Cf 64.40n above.

9 Diespiter] This archaic form of *Iuppiter*, occasionally used among others by Plautus and Horace, more clearly recalls the name's etymological meaning as 'sky-father,' 'father of daylight.'

11 plaudat] Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.24, 43 (at Easter); AH 51 86.2 (calling on all creation in heaven and earth): *In laude Christi plaudite*, 53 36.19. For *plaudat* MS Scriverius reads *plaudit*.

11 fundat – tellus] Cf 96.48 and 106.91n above.

12 blandis – ornet] Cf lines 340–1 below.

12 blandis ... floribus] Virgil *Eclogues* 4.23

12 floribus ornet] Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 2.19: *ut terram roseis floribus ornet*

14 festa ... fronde] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.249

14 fronde coronet = Horace *Epistles* 1.18.64; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.506.

16 in aethere voces = Lucan 3.540

17 inaequales ... procellas] Horace *Odes* 2.9.3

18 Nothus ... et Auster] Silius Italicus 16.97; Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 86, also with two subjects and a singular verb: *Notusque / Occidit et ... Auster*

18–9 Auster – fluctus] Cf 99.3 above.

19 tumidos ... fluctus] See 109.6n above.

21 nova gaudia = 99.7 above, where see note

23 Huc – regio] Cf 111.39–40 above.

24 Aetheris indigenas] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.32

25–6 mollia rumpant Nubila iam] Cf Statius *Achilleid* 1.372–3.

27 nova gaudia = 99.7 above, where see note

29–38 Sed pater – uno] Cf *Institutio christiani matrimonii* LB V 620B–C.

29 communia cuncta] Cf 49.24n above.

32 nulla simultas = Ovid *Remedia amoris* 661

33 limum] Cf 110.323 above: *Carne ... lutea.*

36 commertia] This word was often used to describe the incarnation as a kind of exchange whereby God was made into a man, mankind in a fashion into gods, and whereby the highest was mixed with the lowest and the lowest raised to the heights (as Erasmus puts it in his paraphrase on John 1:18, LB VII 505F / CWE 46 25). See for example Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 10.55–6; AH 1 184.3, 1 205.1: *O mirandum commercium, / Finis et initium / Corpus sumit humanum*, 46 44.2, and 54 255.1. On the doctrine of the *commercium admirabile* see *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* III (Freiburg 1959) 20–2.

37 commiscuit infima summis] Cf AH 46 50.3: ... *Ubi summis / ima coniunxisti, / Cum benigne / tecum univisti / Substantiam hominis*, 54 146.2: [*Christus*]

reconciliat / Summis ima; Jean Gerson *Josephina* in *Oeuvres complètes* IV 56, of the incarnation: *Infima ... iungat summis.*

39–49 homini – tryumphos] Cf 107.1–2 above.

40 demissus Olympo = 137.19 below; cf Boccaccio *Eclogues* 14.92: *dimissus Olympo;* Virgil *Aeneid* 4.268 and 694, 12.634–5.

41 Sedibus in nostris = Pseudo-Ovid *Nux* 150

44–9 Ille – tryumphos / Let that choir sing – procession of the Lord] Cf Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c6^{v}: the heavenly host praises the harrowing of hell in a *caeleste melos,* by singing, by strumming the *cithara* and the *lyra,* and by making music on diverse stringed instruments as well as the *tibia,* the *sistra,* and so forth. In Erasmus' text the angels sing a *caeleste melos* while men join in with their voices and instruments to celebrate Christ's triumphal return.

49 Tibia blanda modos = 105.30 above

50–1 tenui ... Carmine] Cf 93.199n above.

52 solemnes ducere pompas = Virgil *Georgics* 3.22

53–63 Ergo age – patres / Come then, my muse – fathers in prison] The epic *propositio* and invocation of the Muse. Cf Erasmus' commentary on Pseudo-Ovid *Nux* ASD I-1 147:11–148:12 / CWE 29 129–30.

53–5 Camaena ... incipe carmen. Incipe – honores] Cf Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* 3–4 sig c1^{r}: *Christi pia Musa triumphum / Incipe: siderei dicam spectacula regni;* lines 221–2 below (the second exordium).

54 nunc hora ... nunc = Silius Italicus 11.194

56–7 Fronte – oliva] Cf 110.5–8n above. The laurel, being sacred to Apollo, was symbolic of the higher genres and was associated with victory.

56 hederas ... lauro] Virgil *Eclogues* 8.13

56–7 tempora lauro Cinge] Ovid *Tristia* 4.2.51; *Epicedion Drusi* 459

56 tempora lauro = Virgil *Aeneid* 3.81 and 5.246, 539

56–7 lauro ... sacra] See 102.61n above.

57 imbellis ... oliva] Valerius Flaccus 5.361

57 amica pacis oliva / the peace-loving olive] The olive branch is an ancient symbol of peace; cf for instance Virgil *Aeneid* 8.116; Statius *Achilleid* 1.727; Silius Italicus 13.68–9. Since the dove took an olive branch back to Noah's ark, it was also thought to foreshadow Christ's victory and his reign of peace after the flood of sin; see 50.154–6n above. For this reason the triumphant Christ wears an olive wreath; see line 267 below.

59 Vicerit – mortem] Cf 110.209n above.

60 Tartareae ... noctis] Seneca *Thyestes* 1071

61 Regna – ligno] The line is based on Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 10.139, in similar context (Satan fears that Alexander may be the one who will harrow hell): *Nostra triumphali populabitur atria ligno.* Cf 110.202–4n above.

61 Regna ... infera] See 49.12n above.

62 Duraque – gentis] Cf line 174n below. The form *dimorit* is a contraction of *dimoverit.*

65 indigna morte peremit] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.163; cf poem 111.86n above.

66–7 bacillo – colubri] Cf Erasmus *Psalmi* 22 ASD V-2 332:117.

67 contriverat ora colubri / crushed the ... head of the ... serpent] Cf Gen 3:15.

68 squalentia ... tenebris / squalid camp, enshrouded in ... darkness] The foul squalor of Tartarus is well attested; see for example Pseudo-Virgil *Culex* 333; Virgil *Aeneid* 6.299 (Charon); Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.339; line 155 below. Since *squalentia* governs *tenebris*, it also means 'enshrouded'; cf 121.2 below: *scalebat* [ie *squalebat*] ... *caligine*.

69 Laetus adit = Virgil *Aeneid* 8.544

69 praedam / booty] The word *praeda* is commonplace in this context; see for example Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 2.6.24; AH 2 131.3, 50 215.3, and 51 100.10; Erasmus *Psalmi* 22 ASD V-2 332:113 and 85 ASD V-3 394:779–80. See also lines 89, 225, 239, and 352 below.

70–84 Ast tenebrosa – timore / But, when the dark cohort – pale with chilling fear] Hell's fear and trembling at the hero's irruption is a standard motif in ancient literature; see Kroll *Gott* 535–6 sv 'Descensus. Aufregung' and 'Schrecken.' Cf further Pseudo-Iuvencus *Triumphus Christi heroicus* 25–36: the demons, Charon, Cerberus, Gorgons, Harpies, Furies, and Fates all tremble in fear of the miraculous light. In Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 63 Christ says that Cerberus and Orcus will feel his presence in hell; neither Furies nor adamant gates will stop him; Erinnys will howl at the unaccustomed light; all hell will be rocked by a terrifying earthquake; the infernal rivers Phlegethon, Acheron, Cocytus, and Lethe will stop and reverse their flow. Erasmus' immediate model, however, was Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sigs c1^r–c1^v: at the sight of Christ, surrounded by immense light, the infernal dog Cerberus (*ianitor Orci*) cowers in fear; and when Christ breaks down the gates of hell,

> timuit pallentis Averni
> Regia, nigrarumque cohors turbata sororum
> Occuluit pavidis horrentia monstra cerastis
> Adventante deo; tremuerunt sceptra reclusae
> Noctis et attoniti dextra cecidere tyranni.

the palace of pale hell was afraid. The band of black sisters, greatly disturbed, hid their monstrous heads bristling with terrified snakes when Christ approached. And as the realm of night was thrown open, its sceptres trembled and fell from the hand of the astonished tyrant.

Mutius goes on to describe how Christ walks with serene countenance through the silence (*per aperta silentia*, cf line 87 below) and dispels the hellish darkness, whereupon the Styx and Cocytus cease to flow.

70 tenebrosa cohors] Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 10.160, referring to the devils in Hades

70 noctis ... silentis] See 50.187n above.

71 sensere diem = Statius *Achilleid* 1.248

71 diem ... serenum] Lucan 5.700–1; lines 202–3 below

72 Insolita ... luce] Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 3.155; *Parthenice secunda* 3 in *Opera* I f 143^r: *Insolita nova luce dies in nocte refulsit*; lines 140–1 below

72 noctem ... profundam = Line 190 below; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.26 and 6.462; Silius Italicus 12.132.

72 noctem rarescere] Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.331 (in the underworld); poem 102.40n above

73 radiantia signa / the shining sign = Arator 1.320. The 'shining sign' is the cross; cf line 124 below.

73 signa triumphi = Statius *Achilleid* 1.778

74 Concusso ... pectore] Virgil *Aeneid* 11.451–2

74 subitis ... monstris = Statius *Silvae* 3.2.36

75 dubio ... tumultu] Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.154

76 Verticibus summis] Horace *Odes* 3.24.6

76 imis ... a sedibus] Virgil *Aeneid* 1.84; Statius *Thebaid* 1.228; cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.471.

77–82 stetit – ingens] Cf Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 1.85–8.

77 Phlegetontis ... amnis] Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 28.

78 tenuerunt flumina cursus] Calpurnius 2.15; cf Virgil *Eclogues* 8.4; *Ciris* 233.

79–82 tremuere – ingens] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.481–3 (Orpheus in the underworld).

79–80 rigentes – colubris] Cf 110.34–5n above.

82 ianitor ingens / the huge guardian] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.400; Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 1.85–6. The guardian is the enormous three-headed dog Cerberus, whose barking frightens the shades of the dead.

83–4 Averni Carcer] Cf Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c1^{r}: *Averni / Regia* and sig c2^{v}: *Erebi ... carcere.*

84 pallebant ... timore] Ovid *Fasti* 2.467–8; cf poem 110.250n above.

85–6 valido – domus] Cf Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 63 (as Christ descends into Hades): *cava terrifico quatientur Tartara motu.*

85 valido ... turbine = Line 160 below; cf 111.1n above.

86 Tartareae ... domus] Ovid *Fasti* 3.620

86 mirabile dictu = Virgil *Georgics* 2.30; and often

87 per opaca silentia = Valerius Flaccus 2.288; Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 4.219

88 imis ... cavernis] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.502 and 6.698

89–90 Flebat – bellua / the savage beast – snatch the prey] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.83 (of Tartarus): *evomit absorptam trepide fera belua plebem;* poems 50.53–6 (Satan) and 110.31–2 (death) above. Here the 'beast' is Tartarus, the Leviathan who swallowed up the righteous, just as the great fish once swallowed Jonah. Cf Jon 1:17–2:10; Matt 12:40; Erasmus' paraphrase on Matt 12:40 (LB VII 75C); *Psalmi* 85 ASD V-3 394:787–92; cf also line 273n below.

89 rabido ... gutture] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.421 (of Cerberus)

89 praedam] See line 69n above.

90 figere gressus = Iuvencus 3.113

92–3 maximus – deus] Cf Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 1.55–6: *O maxime noctis / arbiter umbrarumque potens.*

94 exterritus haesit] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 3.597.

95–6 Nam – novit] See lines 112–27 below.

97 veterum ... carmina vatum] Claudian *Carmina minora* 30.146; cf lines 210–11 and poem 135.3 below.

104 vitam expirante] Cf 88.70–1n above.

105–6 Legibus – iniquam] Cf 111.15–16 above; Matt 27:51; Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44–5.

105–6 natura ... Tota perhorruerit] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.203.

107 furiis inter praecordia = Prudentius *Psychomachia* 10

108 gemitumque – duxit] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 2.288.

109 Haud – rupit] Cf line 213 below.

109 alta silentia rupit] Virgil *Aeneid* 10.63–4

112 O ... socii] Virgil *Aeneid* 1.198 and 2.387; Horace *Odes* 1.7.26. Satan addresses his cohorts with this phrase in Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 10.128 (he fears that Christ is about to descend into hell); also in Pseudo-Iuvencus *Triumphus Christi heroicus* 10 (at Christ's descent into hell).

112–27 cum perfidus – armis / when that treacherous man – by our own arms] For the 'deception of Satan' see 50.121n; cf lines 95–6 above.

112 perfidus ille = Virgil *Eclogues* 8.91; cf *Aeneid* 4.421; Ovid *Ars amatoria* 1.536 and 3.489.

115–21 Quin etiam – vitam] Cf paraphrase on Matt 4:2–3 (LB VII 18F) and in particular on Luke 4:2–3 (LB VII 318E–F).

115–16 ipse adii – sensus / I myself also – my doubts] Cf Matt 4:1–11; Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 7.193.

116 Explorare] Ambrose *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* 4.18–19 (CCSL 14 112–13) says that Satan knew that God's son had been born but did not think that he would be disguised in human frailty. Hence he tested him to see if he was indeed the Christ: *Sic temtat ut exploret, sic explorat ut temtet* 'he tempted him so as to test him; he tested him so as to tempt him.'

116 dubios ... sensus] Statius *Thebaid* 11.139

117–21 mixtusque – vitam / deceived me – all his blood] Satan's arguments for Christ's humanity are traditional. See for example Hilary of Poitiers *De Trinitate* 3.10 (PL 10 81C) and 10.24 (PL 10 363–4); Augustine *Epistolae* 137.3.9 (PL 33 519); *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* 26.8 (PL 42 484). They are also cited in Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c1^{v} (Christ preaching to the spirits): *frigora et aestus / ... sensi / Factus homo, saevamque tuli per vulnera mortem* 'Having become man, I felt frost and heat and through my wounds endured cruel death.' Erasmus often employs these arguments himself; see for instance *Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum* LB V 1213E; *Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam* LB V 1237C; *Ratio* LB V 94F; *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 243:127–37 and 248:276–9; paraphrase on Matt 4:2–3 (LB VII 18F) and 28:18 (LB VII 145A).

118 more parentum / like his parents] MS Scriverius reads *morte parentum* 'by the death of his forefathers,' but this is almost certainly a scribal error; see Vredeveld 'Edition' 138–40. Christ was human in the same way his forebears had been; cf Allen Ep 109:54, of Christ's very human fear of death: *humano more loquens ... Christus*; *Supputatio* LB IX 664C: *Dominus multa gessit humano more ... ne spectrum aut phantasma putaretur*. For the tag *more parentum* see for instance Catullus 101.7 and Virgil *Aeneid* 6.223.

119 esuriit / he felt ... hunger] Matt 4:2; Mark 11:12; Luke 4:2

119–20 infans ... Vagiit] Cf 42.7–10 above (with notes).

120 excrevit] Like his human ancestors, Christ grew up through the natural stages of life, from infancy to manhood; see Erasmus *Ratio* LB V 94F. The

verb Erasmus uses here, however, is ambiguous. It could be derived not only from *excresco* 'grow to full size,' as in Allen Ep 8:22, but also from *excerno* 'excrete.' The Renaissance sense of decorum in a heroic poem rules out the latter as the primary or surface meaning. But in this context we cannot exclude the possibility that Erasmus' devil is punning on the secondary meaning as well.

121 fudit ... vitam] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.532; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.610

124 radiantia ... arma] Virgil *Aeneid* 8.616; cf line 73n above.

126–7 Tela – armis / that we ourselves – by our own arms] In his ignorance of Christ's divinity Satan had caused the Jews to crucify him and so fell into the trap that Christ had artfully set for him. Had the devil known about the incarnation, he would have tried to stop the crucifixion; see 1 Cor 2:8; Ambrose *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* 2.3 (CCSL 14 31–2); Erasmus' paraphrase on Luke 4:13 (LB VII 323B–C). Now the cross, which had been intended to kill Christ, becomes Christ's chief weapon against Satan and death. To be conquered by one's own weapon or be caught in one's own trap is proverbial; see Otto 170 and 759; Erasmus *Adagia* I i 51–3.

128–9 lumine ... immenso] Line 337 below; cf Lucan 2.79; Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c1ʳ: *Christus ut immensa descendit luce sub umbras.*

129 media inter verba] Virgil *Aeneid* 12.318

130–1 validas – ahenos] Cf Augustine *Sermones supposititii* 160.4 (PL 39 2061): *sine aliqua mora ad imperium Domini ac Salvatoris nostri omnes ferrei confracti sunt vectes.*

130 nec multa moratus] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 3.610.

131 Impulit] Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c1ʳ: *Impulsaeque procul disiecto cardine Ditis / Procubuere fores.*

131 vectes confregit ahenos / breaks the bronze bars] Cf Ps 107:16: 'he shatters the doors of bronze, and cuts in two the bars of iron [*vectes ferreos confregit*].' This verse was traditionally associated with the harrowing of hell; see for example Tertullian *De resurrectione carnis* 44.7 (CCSL 2 980); *Gospel of Nicodemus* 21.1–2. Cf also Isa 45:2; and lines 197–8 below.

133 saevi ... Ditis = Virgil *Aeneid* 7.568

135 Pallida / pale] A conventional epithet of the underworld; see for example Virgil *Aeneid* 8.245 and Lucan 1.456.

135 perfundit fulmine tecta] Cf Lucretius 2.148 and Silius Italicus 10.557. MS Scriverius reads *profundit* 'pours out,' but this must be a scribal error for *perfundit.*

137 lampada Phaebi / the lamp of Phoebus] Silius Italicus 1.193; cf poem 111.60n above. In a favourite patristic image, Christ is the sun of righteousness who, having set beneath the waves of death, is now beginning his nightly voyage under the earth and will soon rise again in the east as the sun of salvation. See Franz J. Dölger 'Christus als Sonne im Totenreich' in his *Sol salutis: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum* (Münster 1925) 336–64; cf *Gospel of Nicodemus* 18.1; AH 7 53.7a–8a. Erasmus describes Christ as the true sun in lines 242–60 below; see also 111.76n above.

138 Deductam] MS Scriverius reads *Deductum.*

138 roseis ... quadrigis] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.535 (of Aurora); Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 2 metrum 3.1 (of the sun-god Phoebus)

138 ingressa] Neuter accusative plural, summing up *diem* and *lampada*, since both penetrate the depths of the underworld on Phoebus' rose-streaked chariot. For the construction cf 2.240 above with note.

139–42 Quis – Orcum] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.408–11:

quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,
quosve dabas gemitus, cum litora fervere late
prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque videres
misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!

Erasmus was inspired to adapt these lines to his own use by the example of Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 2.127–30 (at the murder of the innocents in Bethlehem):

Quis tibi tunc, lanio, cernenti talia sensus?
Quosve dabas fremitus, cum vulnera fervere late
Prospiceres arce ex summa vastumque videres
Misceri ante oculos tantis plangoribus aequor?

Erasmus follows Sedulius in writing *tunc* rather than Virgil's *tum*, and *fremitus* rather than Virgil's *gemitus*.

139 Pluto] Satan is so called also in Pseudo-Iuvencus *Triumphus Christi heroicus* 8; Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 63 (in similar context: the devil awaits Christ in hell) and page 65; and *Parthenice secunda* 1 *Opera* I f 105^{v}.

140–1 luce ... insolita] See line 72n above.

143–55 Est specus – umbris] Cf Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c1^{r} (at Christ's descent into hell):

Protinus adque imas barathri petiere latebras
Confusumque chaos secretaque Tartara manes.
Ille serenata per aperta silentia fronte
Ingressus, pigram nubem noctemque fugabat
Ante oculos furvi pulsa caligine mundi.

143–6 Est specus – sontes] Cf Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 10.58–60: *Est locus extremum baratri devexus in antrum, / Perpetua fornace calens ubi crimina punit / Et sontes animas ultricis flamma Iehennae.*

143 specus] The word is often used to characterize the underworld; see for example Seneca *Hercules furens* 94, 665, 718; *Troades* 178.

144 cahos] For the spelling see 99.18n above.

144 sine lumine flammis / lightless flames] For this traditional paradox see for example St Basil *Homilia in Psalmum* XXVIII 7 (PG 29 297C) and Gregory the Great *Moralia in Iob* 9.66.101 (CCSL 143 528–9); Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 63 (of the infernal river of fire): *obscuros ... ignes*; cf Thomas Aquinas *Summa theologiae* supplement 97.4, 6; Milton *Paradise Lost* 1.62–3: 'from those flames / No light, but rather darkness visible.' Cf also 50.51–2n and 110.30n above.

145 Aetnae more calens] Cf 100.2n above.

145–6 tormenta – sontes] Cf 94.81–2 and 95.103 above.

145 tormenta ... dira] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.694–5

145–6 perenni Igne = Prudentius *Amartigenia* 923–4, of the hell-fires in which sinful souls burn

146 animae ... sontes] Virgil *Aeneid* 10.854; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.618; Statius *Thebaid* 1.56; Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 10.60, 112

146 sua crimina sontes = Line 279 below

147–8 Bis – caeli] Cf Homer *Iliad* 8.16; Virgil *Aeneid* 6.577–9.

148 syderei ... caeli] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.140; cf poem 93.147 above.

149 denso ... agmine = Lucretius 6.100

149 ruit agmine facto = Statius *Thebaid* 1.356 (variant reading for *ruit agmine magno*)

150 tremefacta cohors] Prudentius *Apotheosis* 501

153 per inania regna] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.269

154–5 vasti – umbris] Cf Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c1ʳ, quoted in the note on lines 143–55 above: Christ, striding through hell, scatters the darkness before the very eyes of the underworld.

155 Squallentes / filthy] For the foul squalor of Tartarus see line 68n above. The participle *squallentes* could also be taken to govern the phrase *stupentibus umbris*. In that case we should translate: '... passes through the vast mansions of hell enshrouded on all sides by astonished darkness.' Cf line 68 above; Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 9.77 (Christ illuminates hell): *stupentibus tenebris candidum praestat diem* 'gives bright light to the astonished darkness.'

156–8 Tum – oram / Then the victor – brink of the abyss] Cf *Psalmi* 85 ASD V-3 396:821–8, where Erasmus explains that Christ visited both regions in the underworld: the upper region (*limbus patrum*) and the lower one (hell). The two, he says, are sundered by a wide gulf.

156 facili Phlegetonta gradu] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.199: *corporeum ... / de Flegetonte gradu facili / ad superos remeasse deum*; these verses also influenced lines 268–70 below.

157 piceo ... gurgite = Baptista Mantuanus *Alphonsus* 2 in *Opera* III f 16ʳ (of hell): *piceo nigrantem gurgite lympham.*

157 gurgite victor = Virgil *Aeneid* 5.160

159 dirae ... sorores / the dreadful sisters] Virgil *Aeneid* 7.454; the Furies are often called simply *Dirae* 'the dreadful ones.' Cf 110.34–5 above.

159 subita ... luce] Claudian *De quarto consulatu Honorii* 193; Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 2.587

159 deprensae luce] Virgil *Aeneid* 8.247

160 valido ... turbine = Line 85 above; cf 111.1n.

162–3 Hi vero – fatigarunt / those who had already – long captivity] The disobedient spirits (cf line 170) to whom Christ preaches in hell

162–3 quos ... vincula ... Longa] Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 63: *Insontes umbras patrum, quos longa sub alti / Carceris includunt obscuro vincula circo.*

162 vincula captos] Virgil *Georgics* 4.399

164 Adventasse deum] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.258: *adventante dea*; Prudentius *Tituli historiarum* 97 (= Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c1ʳ): *Adventante deo.*

164 deum ... summum] See 110.227n above.

166–7 lumina ... Attollunt] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.293–4: *ad lumina lumen / Attollens*

167 arrectas ... aures = Virgil *Aeneid* 12.618; cf Erasmus *Adagia* III ii 56; *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 74:955.

169–71 Grande – pandit / But the most just judge – all their punishments] Christ now preaches to the spirits of the damned. For this doctrine see 1 Pet 3:19–20 and 4:6; and for example Augustine *Epistolae* 164.4.10–13 (PL 33 713–14); Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sigs c1^v–c2^r (preaching to all the spirits, the saved and the damned); Erasmus *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 258:579–80; Allen Ep 1112:36–8 / CWE Ep 1112:43–5; paraphrase on 1 Pet 3:19–20 (LB VII 1094B–D); *Psalmi* 85 ASD V-3 394:772–5.

169 horrisono ... ore] Sebastian Brant *Varia carmina* sig K4^r

172 Inde – hostem] Cf Rev 20:2.

173 valido ... ictu] Virgil *Aeneid* 8.419

174 Ferrea ... vincula] See 100.20n above.

174 captivis ... vincula collis] Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.1.43–4; cf line 62 above.

175–6 mortiferum – dei] Cf Prudentius *Psychomachia* 55–6: *Nec iam mortiferas audebis spargere flammas / in famulos famulasve dei*; Erasmus *Oratio de pace* LB VIII 551A: *haec [discordia] Stygiis e tenebris, ut hominibus mortiferum virus adspergat, emissa*; poems 50.50n, 96.22, and 110.58 above.

175 mortiferum ... virus = Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 10.145; cf Prudentius *Contra Symmachum* 1 preface 32: *virus mortiferum*; Erasmus *Enchiridion* LB V 55D / CWE 66 111: 'Sin is a deadly virus [*lethale virus*] of the unspeakably unclean serpent.'

177 effuso ... sanguine = Virgil *Aeneid* 7.788

178 Haec ubi complevit] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.395

178 grave olentia] Virgil *Aeneid* 6.201 (describing the underworld)

179 spes ... excidit] Ovid *Fasti* 6.393

182 late increbrescere] Virgil *Aeneid* 8.14

183 Sic ... sic] Cf 2.83n above.

184 Ut – magis / that they should see you and grieve all the more] Thomas Aquinas *Summa theologiae* 3.52.2 says that Christ descended into hell to liberate the saints, give comfort and hope to those in purgatory, and by his very presence confute those in hell for their unbelief and evil.

184–5 reddere ... videant] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.75 (addressing Christ on Easter morning): *redde tuam faciem, videant ut saecula lumen.*

187 Limina – supremas / he reaches – the highest mansions] The *limbus patrum* is the upper part of hell; see lines 156–8n.

188 a prima nascentis origine mundi = Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice secunda* 1 in *Opera* I f 94^v; cf Virgil *Georgics* 2.336: *prima crescentis origine mundi;* Lucretius 5.548; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.3; *Tristia* 2.559.

190 noctem ... profundam = Line 72 above, where see note

191 Spe longa labefacti / worn out by hope long deferred] Cf Prov 13:12: 'Hope deferred makes the heart sick.' Cf lines 271–2 and 285–6 below.

191 labefacti animis] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.395; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.375.

191–2 ingentibus ... Fletibus] Virgil *Aeneid* 5.765

192 Fletibus ora rigant = Prudentius *Peristefanon* 11.194; Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 1 metrum 1.4

194–5 tenebris ... Tristibus] Statius *Silvae* 5.1.256; Silius Italicus 6.150

195 superas ... educat in auras] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.641.

195 superasque ... auras = Virgil *Aeneid* 6.128 (referring to the difficulty of returning from Hades to the upper world)

197–8 Molibus – Obiecit] Cf lines 130–2 above (with notes).

199–200 concussa ... patuere = Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 4.284–5 (at the resurrection of Lazarus): *magno concussa pavore / Tartara dissiliunt, herebi patuere recessus*

200 Detectae – cavernae] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 8.241–2: *specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens / regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae.*

201 discussis ... umbris] Virgil *Aeneid* 12.669; cf *Georgics* 3.357.

202–3 serenum ... diem] See line 71n above.

203 diem, post nubila solem = Walther 22025 and 22030: *Post mortem* [*noctem*] *sperare diem, post nubila solem, / Post lacrimas risum letitiamque potes;* cf Otto 531.

204 viderunt lumina = Ovid *Tristia* 3.5.49

204 lumina lumen = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.293: *ad lumina lumen / Attollens.* The punning on the two senses of *lumen,* 'light' and 'eye,' is untranslatable in English.

206–7 Quem – modum] Cf Rodolphus Agricola *Anna mater* page 301 (at the Virgin's birth): *quis fuit illic / Plaudendi trepidis laeticiaeve modus?;* poems 93.201 and 110.353–5 above.

209 iam non sub imagine / no longer under foreshadowings] The saints in limbo knew of the coming of Christ because it had been revealed in the Old Testament prophecies and typological allegories; now they can see Christ face to face. For *imago* in the sense of 'foreshadowing' see 110.80 above.

210–11 veterum ... vatum Carmina] See line 97n above.

210 veterum – vatum] Cf Prudentius *Apotheosis* 234.

213 Nec – resolvit] Cf line 109 above.

213 ferrea claustra resolvit] Cf Hrabanus *Carminum appendix* 13.11.1 (of Christ): *Claustra ferrea disrupit et concussit Tartara;* Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 10.137 (alluding to Ps 107:16): *Nescio quis nascetur homo qui carceris huius / Ferrea subversis confringet claustra columpnis;* cf poem 100.19 and notes above.

213 ferrea claustra = Baptista Mantuanus *De calamitatibus temporum* page 63, referring to hell

214 Rumpit – collis] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.631: *Claudit et indigno circumdat vincula collo.*

216 Candida turba / the white-robed multitude = Statius *Thebaid* 12.20; cf Tibullus 2.1.16; Ovid *Fasti* 2.654 and 4.906. The righteous are clad in white to denote their purity of soul and their readiness to enter heaven. Cf Pseudo-Iuvencus *Triumphus Christi heroicus* 48: *Candidus ille chorus Christum reverenter adorat;* Matthias Funck *Triumphus christianus* sig c2^{r}: *Omnes hii niveis albentes vestibus alta / Sydera scandebant.* White garments are worn by the saints in heaven; see Rev 3:4–5 and 4:4.

217 ne ... maneant monumenta] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.159

217 domus ... nefandae] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.601; Seneca *Phoenissae* 80

217 monumenta nefandae = Virgil *Aeneid* 6.26

220–7 Nunc age – pande / Now come – sing of you worthily] Before Erasmus begins his description of the triumphal procession led by Christ he introduces a second exordium – a second invocation to the heavenly muse, Christ. In this he follows the example of Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c3^r (introducing the triumphal procession):

Quo rapit invalidas praeceps audacia vires,
Quo summi secreta dei spectacula cantu
Ordiar? et divum coelestes ordine pompas
Exequar? aut tantos capiam qua mente paratus?
Tu quaecumque voles alti monumenta triumphi
Qui nigris remeans duxisti victor ab umbris
Pande mihi, quantum ipse dabis mihi dicere fas est.

Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 7.37–40: *Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora ... /* [2 lines] / *expediam ... / tu vatem, tu, diva, mone.* For the second exordium as a rhetorical device see Lausberg 287.

220 fastigia rerum = Virgil *Aeneid* 1.342; Juvenal 3.39

221–2 Nunc age – Musa] Cf lines 53–5 above.

222 Incipe, Musa] Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c1^r (first exordium): *Christi pia Musa triumphum / Incipe*

222 totos intendere nervos] Cf Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 15.26: *surge igitur, cithara, et totis intendere fibris.*

222 totos ... nervos] See 2.191n above.

223 agmina pompis] Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c6^r: ... *pulchro subeuntes agmine pompae*

224–5 ipse – ducat] Cf lines 351–3 below.

224 ipse – omnes] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 4.141.

225 praedam] See line 69n above.

226–7 Tuque – pande] Cf 88.3n above.

226 Tuque ades, o] Virgil *Georgics* 2.39–40

228–35 Agmine – matres / Ahead in the first rank – their dear children] Macarius Mutius' catalogue, sigs c3^v–c6^r, lists numerous Old Testament saints, from Adam to Esther, as well as Sts Ann and Elizabeth. He mentions the prophets as a class, without naming names, and adds that there were innumerable others besides, of both sexes and all ages.

228 veterum ... parentum = Virgil *Aeneid* 2.448; cf *Aeneid* 5.39.

228–9 veneranda parentum Canities] Cf Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 1.213: *Canities veneranda patrum.*

229 superno numine] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.128; Iuvencus 1.45

232–5 Iungit – matres] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.475–6 and *Aeneid* 6.306–7: *matres atque viri defunctaque corpora vita / magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae;* Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c6^r: *viri matresque simul castaeque puellae / Annosique senes puerique et laeta iuventus.*

234 pueri teneraeque puellae] Ovid *Fasti* 3.815

236–7 vox – amor] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.184: *omnibus una quies operum, labor omnibus unus;* Ennodius *Carmina* 1.9.58: *Omnibus idem animus, turbis vox omnibus una;* Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 7.7.72: *omnibus unus amor.*

236 vox omnibus una = Virgil *Aeneid* 5.616

239 praedam] See line 69n above.
241 Concelebrant ... faventes] Cf Virgil *Aeneid* 1.735 and 8.173.
241 animis – faventes] Cf Ovid *Fasti* 1.71: *linguis animisque favete;* Juvenal 12.83: *linguis animisque faventes;* Virgil *Aeneid* 5.71: *ore favete omnes.*
242–74 At novus – auras] Cf Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c3^{r}–c3^{v}:

Scandebat ... / Aera ...
Christus, et aetherii repetens fastigia regni
Sidereum relegebat iter, dextraque salutis
Signa ferens sanctas ducebat in ardua turmas
Expectante polo: fulgebant vertice sacro
Regis adorati vultus, unde omnia circum
Splendebant radiis.

244 Fulminis in morem = Virgil *Aeneid* 11.616; Statius *Thebaid* 5.593
244 Phaebeae lampadis instar = Virgil *Aeneid* 3.637
245 Cingebat diadema caput] Cf Prudentius *Contra Symmachum* 2.431: *caput augustum diademate cinxit;* Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 5.2.73: *caput cingas diademate.*
246 Lumine purpureo = Statius *Silvae* 5.1.256; Silius Italicus 7.195; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.640–1.
246–60 Velut ignis – bysso / He flashes through it – against the sky] Cf Matt 17:2 (transfiguration of Christ): 'his face shone like the sun, and his garments became white as light'; Rev 1:16: 'his face was like the sun shining in full strength.'
246 ignis in igne] Ovid *Heroides* 15(16).232; *Ars amatoria* 1.244
247 lumine lumen / light shining in the midst of light] Erasmus is alluding to the well-known article of faith in the Nicene Creed (*Missale Romanum* I 199) that says that Christ is *lumen de lumine, deum verum de deo vero* 'light from light, true God from true God.' Cf Erasmus *Explanatio symboli* ASD V-1 224:527 and 270:896; *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* LB VI 983C: *Filius lumen est de lumine.* The phrase recurs in Christian poetry, especially at this metrical position; see for example Prudentius *Apotheosis* 278 and Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 1.313.
248 Ex humerisque – imos] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12.396.
248 talos ... imos] Horace *Satires* 1.9.10–11; *Epistles* 2.2.4
249 roseoque ardentior ostro] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina spuria* 1.353: *roseo ... rubicundior ostro.*
250 et multa ... luce = Statius *Thebaid* 5.267: *et multa subitus cum luce refulsit;* cf Virgil *Aeneid* 2.694; Ovid *Tristia* 5.9.24; line 335 below.
250 luce choruscans = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 1.15.105, 4.25.7, 4.27.11, and 6.2.27; cf Statius *Thebaid* 12.432.
251–6 Quomodo – solem] For the image cf paraphrase on 2 Cor 3:18 (LB VII 921B): *Mosi facies ex colloquio Dei, ceu speculum ex obiectu solis reluxit.*
258 Talis erat species = Virgil *Aeneid* 6.208: *talis erat species auri frondentis opaca / ilice;* Ausonius *Cento nuptialis* 44: *talis erat species*
261–3 Regia – crucis] Cf AH 50 67.1: *Vexilla regis prodeunt, / Fulget crucis myste-*

rium. Christ's 'royal ensign' is frequently depicted in medieval and Renaissance paintings of Christ triumphant or of the Lamb in heaven.

263 vexilla crucis = Arator 1.967

264 Nescia – pudoris / no longer linked – associations of shame] The shameful cross, formerly used to execute slaves, has now become a symbol of victory. Cf 1 Cor 1:18–25; Jaroslav Pelikan *Jesus through the Centuries: His Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven 1985) 99–104; Erasmus' paraphrase on John 19:18 (LB VII 638F / CWE 46 211); *Psalmi* 22 ASD V-2 333:125.

265–6 effuso ... cruore Agnelli / blood poured out by the ... lamb] Cf 1 Pet 1:19; Rev 7:14, 12:11, and 22:14 (Vulg).

266–7 summique – Picta / brightly painted – highest king] The placard placed on the cross saying 'This is Jesus the King of the Jews' (Matt 27:37).

267 oleae ... sertis / an olive wreath] See line 57n above.

268–70 Hoc – Scandit] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 3.198–200 (quoted in note on line 156 above).

268 gradibus ... superbis] Prudentius *Psychomachia* 823

270 Scandit ovans = Silius Italicus 14.310

271–2 spes – Frangeret] Cf line 191n above.

272 comitante caterva = Virgil *Aeneid* 2.40 and 370, 5.76

273 Iamque iter emensus] Virgil *Aeneid* 7.160; Statius *Thebaid* 2.375

273 ipsis in faucibus / at the very jaws of hell] *Enchiridion* LB V 23D / CWE 66 58: *in ipsis Averni faucibus* 'at the very gates of hell'; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.273: *primis in faucibus Orci* 'in the entry of the jaws of hell.' For the image of the 'jaws' of hell, often represented in medieval art and on the stage, cf also Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.84 (at Easter): *de fauce lupi subtrahit agnus oves* 'the lamb snatched the sheep out of the wolf's jaws'; AH 50 82.4: *Omnes Averni faucibus / Salvavit a ferocibus* 'he saved all from the terrible jaws of hell'; Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 493:843; *Psalmi* 85 ASD V-3 394:779. For the image of hell as a great beast see lines 89–90n above.

276 Humanum – caecasque] Cf Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* 3.34: *humanum relevare genus, durumque ...*; Macarius Mutius *De triumpho Christi* sig c5^{v}: *Humanum reparare genus solumque ...*

277 Noctes atque dies = 82.2 above, where see note; cf line 283n below.

277 pectore curas = Catullus 64.72; Virgil *Aeneid* 1.227; and often

278 timens ... graviora pericula] Ovid *Heroides* 1.11 (also adapted by Erasmus in *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 42:51)

279 inveniantque – sontes / that their own sins – their guilt] Cf Num 32:23: 'your sin will find you out.'

279 sua crimina sontes = Line 146 above

281–2 suspiria ... Anxia] Statius *Silvae* 3.5.2

282 singultibus ora = Valerius Flaccus 3.338

283 noctesque diesque = Virgil *Aeneid* 6.556; Horace *Satires* 1.1.76; and often; line 294 below; cf *Adagia* I iv 24; poem 82.2n above.

284 Lumina ... fessa] Ovid *Heroides* 18(19).56

284 dulci ... sopore = Pseudo-Virgil *Ciris* 315: *dulci ... capta sopore*; cf Horace *Epodes* 5.56.

285–6 Cruciabat – animos] Cf line 191n above; Allen Ep 2379:21–2.

286 triduum] Vulg Matt 26:61, 27:40, and Mark 14:58

287 triduum – anno] For this hyperbole cf Virgil *Eclogues* 7.43; Ovid *Heroides* 17(18).25; Allen Ep 8:6–7 / CWE Ep 8:7–8; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 303:6–7 / CWE 25 67. For the commonplace that time passes all too slowly for those who eagerly long for someone cf *Adagia* ASD II-5 232:598: *Desiderantibus omne tempus longum est*; poem 64.51–4n above.

288 lachrymae ... volvuntur inanes] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.449

289 tristi ... funere] Lucretius 3.72

289 quem funere mersum] Claudian *De bello Gildonico* 1.410; cf Virgil *Aeneid* 6.429 and 11.28.

290 Algida ... saxa] Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 11.35

291–2 exanguia ... Ossa] Cf 9.15n above.

294 noctesque diesque = Line 283 above, where see note

298 in diversa ... mens] Job 20:2 (Vulg): *mens in diversa rapitur*; cf 105.13 above.

299 spes – cadit] Ovid *Heroides* 13.124; *Ex Ponto* 1.2.62

301 Tertia lux = Virgil *Aeneid* 3.117 and 11.210; Ovid *Fasti* 4.377 and 6.711; Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.66 (addressing Christ on Easter morning): *tertia lux rediit, surge*; cf poem 49.13 above.

301–2 lux ... Caeperat irradiare] Cf Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 5.315–16 (Easter morning): *Coeperat interea ... felix / Inradiare dies.*

301 rarescentibus umbris = Statius *Thebaid* 1.343; cf poem 102.40n above.

303 Sera] The manuscript reads *Saera.*

303 tardis ... horis] Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.10.38

305 dubia ... luce] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.596; Lucan 4.473; cf poem 102.42 above.

305 luce tenebris = Iuvencus 1.624

306–7 si ... Occurrat facies = Prudentius *Amartigenia* 958–9: *si nulla ministri / occurrat facies*

311 maestum ... solentur amorem] Virgil *Aeneid* 10.191; line 350 below

313–14 atria ... Atra] Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 6.19 (the underworld)

314 Iam – ecce] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.65–6 (to Christ): *pollicitam ... redde fidem, precor ...: / tertia lux rediit, surge, sepulte meus.*

314 sol tertius = Iuvencus 3.293 (Easter)

315–29 Aspice – vultum] Cf 110.318–20 above (with notes).

315–22 Aspice – Concutit] Cf 111.11–58 above (with notes).

315–16 Aspice – vultu] Erasmus closely follows Virgil *Eclogues* 4.50–2.

317 inania Tartara = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.670 and 12.619; cf 12.522–3.

318–19 heu pene – cursus] Cf 111.17–18n above.

319 pene – cursus / the stars have almost abandoned their paths] Cf Matt 24:29; Rev 6:13; *Gospel of Nicodemus* 22.1: *universa commota sunt sydera.*

319 sydera cursus = Prudentius *Apotheosis* 211

320 vastam ... ruinam] Virgil *Aeneid* 3.414

320–1 tremefacta ... Tellus] Virgil *Aeneid* 10.102

321 mortalia corda] Virgil *Georgics* 1.123, 330

322–3 caligine crassa ... operit] Cf Silius Italicus 16.326.

322 caligine crassa = Lucretius 6.461; cf Lucretius 6.691.

323 Nox operit = 64.35 above, where see note

323–4 infera ... regna] See 49.12n above.

328–9 Ipsis – Discipulis / Indeed, even – hope and faith] Cf paraphrase on Luke 24:9 (LB VII 466D): while Christ was in the tomb, 'the eleven apostles and the other disciples who had gathered in various hiding places for fear of the Jews forgot nearly everything that Christ had said to them and were almost in despair.'

328 spesque fidesque / hope and faith] Paulinus of Nola *Carmina* 10.169 and 31.402; Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 1.335. The disciples may have lost hope and faith, but not the third virtue – their love of Christ.

329 Refer ... diem] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.76 (at Easter): *redde tuam faciem, videant ut saecula lumen, / redde diem qui nos te moriente fugit.*

329 placidum ... vultum] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.692; *Fasti* 4.161 and 5.23

330 squallentem ... noctem = Avitus *Carmina* 6.464

332 gemitus maesti] Virgil *Aeneid* 9.498–9

332 lachrymaeque tuorum = Ovid *Ibis* 161

334 miserum miserante] A favourite medieval wordplay; see for example AH 42 108.4b: *Miserere miserorum,* 50 170.1 (repeated at the beginning of each of the following stanzas): *O Deus, miseri / miserere servi,* 54 250.10, and 54 263.9; Erasmus *Psalmi* 4 ASD V-2 258:107–8; *De immensa Dei misericordia* LB V 563E; poem 118.5 below.

334–5 superbis ... triumphis] Horace *Odes* 1.35.3–4

335 multa ... luce] Cf line 250n above.

336 superum sedes / the upper world] The earth, from the perspective of hell; cf *Psalmi* 85 ASD V-3 398:854–5; poem 49.14n above.

336–46 lustrataque – honore] Cf lines 1–21n above.

337 immenso ... lumine] See lines 128–9n above.

337–8 tellus, Sensit et = Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice Mariana* 3.476–7: *praesentia numina tellus / sensit et ...*

338 se vestiit] Cf 106.47n above.

339 sylva comas] Cf 106.47n above.

339 viduata] See 106.19n above.

340–1 blandis ... se floribus ... Pingit] Cf line 12 above (with notes).

340–1 omnis ... ager = Statius *Thebaid* 1.654–5; cf poem 106.5–6n above.

341 Pingit] See 104.6n above.

342 Nec – vinci / The sun was not unaware – a new sun] Cf 110.61 and line 256 above. The sun is outshone by the sun of salvation; cf 111.76n above.

344–5 quicquid viget – aequore quicquid] Cf Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 11–12: *quidquid mare nutrit edendum, / Quidquid terra creat, quidquid ad astra volat;* AH 50 133.6: *Quidquid tellus habet, pontus atque aethera claudunt* and 50 122.6: *Omnia viva, / Quae vehit aequor, / Quae vehit aer, / Terraque nutrit;* also cf poems 110.362–4 and 111.49–50 above.

344 quicquid viget aethere] Cf 110.297 above.

347–53 Ipse – Transvehat / But he proceeds quickly – the booty from hell] In Mutius *De triumpho Christi* the saints are conducted directly to heaven. In Erasmus' poem they are led first to the earthly paradise; cf Luke 23:43; *Gospel of Nicodemus* 25–6; also Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 5.220–6, where Christ is said to lead a lost sheep – the repentant criminal on the cross – to the perpetually verdant meadows of the earthly paradise. They remain in this half-way house while Christ returns to earth to rise from the grave and comfort his followers. After his ascension Christ takes the saints with him to heaven.

348 apricis ... pratis] Horace *Epistles* 1.14.30; cf poem 110.118n above (earthly paradise).

348 paradysi ... pratis / meadows of paradise] Cf Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 5.222: *In campos, paradise, tuos*; *Gospel of Nicodemus* 26: [*nos*] *in gratiam paradysi reduxisti in tua pinguia pascua*. The earthly paradise was widely believed to be located on a high mountain in the east, rising above the contagion of the earth's atmosphere, almost to the lunar sphere. See Ezek 28:13–16 and for instance Pseudo-Lactantius *Phoenix* 1–30; Dante *Purgatorio* 28.97–102; Boccaccio *Eclogues* 14.170–2; Baptista Mantuanus *Parthenice secunda* 3 in *Opera* I f 132^v; *Eclogues* 8.45–9.

349 carne resumpta = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.85 (after Christ has led the souls to paradise): *hinc tumulum repetens, post Tartara carne resumpta*

350 maestum ... soletur amorem] See line 311n above.

351–3 ad sydera – Transvehat] Cf lines 224–5 above.

352 Quem – hominem / the humanity he received from his mother] Cf Augustine *Sermones supposititii* 126.4 (PL 39 1995): *Suscepit ... ex Maria virgine hominem verum, quem per resurrectionis gloriam levavit in coelum* 'From the Virgin Mary he received his true humanity which through the glory of the resurrection he took up into heaven'; AH 53 45.16: *carne, / quam sumpsit de Maria*; Erasmus *De taedio Iesu* LB V 1269F: *Iesum uti ... verum hominem, ex natura quam assumsit de matre Virgine*; *Ecclesiastes* LB V 981D: *Corpus et animam humanam adsumsit ex Virgine.*

352 praedam / booty] See line 69n above.

113 LB VIII 560 / R 12

The two epitaphs for Berta van Heyen are preserved in MS Scriverius, where they immediately follow *Oratio funebris*. The composition date of the eulogy and epitaphs can be deduced from several clues. The eulogy is mentioned as 'a recent production' (*nuper conditam*) in Allen Ep 28:14 / CWE Ep 28:14. Since Ep 28 appears to have been written in c March 1491 (see headnote on poem 50 above), we may place the eulogy and the accompanying epitaphs in the half year preceding March 1491. This estimate is confirmed in *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 559B / CWE 29 28 where we learn that Berta died on 8 October, the feast of St Bridget. Furthermore, a postscript in *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 560B / CWE 29 29 states that Erasmus composed the work at age twenty (*anno aetatis eius vicesimo primo*). As we remarked in the headnotes on nos 102 and 106, the biographical notes in MS Scriverius, when correlated with other data, seem to assume that Erasmus was born in 1469; hence this postscript points to a date before Erasmus' birthday on 28 October 1490. We may conclude therefore that Berta van Heyen died on 8 October 1490 and that

Erasmus completed the *Oratio funebris* and the accompanying epitaphs later that month.

Berta was the widow of Baert Jan Heyenzoon (d before 1474). She is documented in the Gouda archives as involved in numerous real-estate transactions in 1473–87. By 1484 she was head-mother ('moeder') of the hospital of St Elizabeth. In *Oratio funebris* Erasmus lauds her as a saintly woman who used her wealth for charity and made it a practice to visit the sick and take care of orphans. She frequently invited Erasmus and other monks to her home. One of her daughters, Margaret, died six weeks after her wedding (see *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 557C–D / CWE 29 25), possibly in 1489 since Erasmus recalls his being addressed as *pater* at the time (ie as a monk, not as a novice); see LB VIII 558A / CWE 29 26. This Margaret should not be identified with Margaret Honora; see headnote on no 13 above. Two or more surviving daughters were nuns in an Augustinian convent in Gouda. The *Oratio funebris* is addressed to them. See CEBR II 189–90.

Metre: hexameter

1 Hac – gressu] For the convention of addressing the passer-by see 9.1n above; cf 114.1–4 below.

2–3 almae – Bertae] Cf 114.5 below.

3–5 penetralia – Praemia] Cf 9.24 above and 137.23 below.

5 dum vita maneret = Claudian *De bello Gildonico* 1.306

6–8 Pupillis – aegris / she was a kind mother – servant to the sick] Cf *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 555C and 559C / CWE 29 22 and 28; poem 114.21–4 below. In *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 552E / CWE 29 18 Erasmus says he was one of the orphans for whom Berta acted as foster-mother.

9–10 His – census / To these – high interest] Cf Matt 19:21; Mark 10:21; Luke 12:33 and 18:22.

10 multo cum faenore / with high interest] Cf 54.8n above.

114 LB VIII 560 / R 13

In metre and theme the epitaph recalls Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10, a hymn on the burial and resurrection of the dead. Erasmus also borrows from this hymn in nos 9–11 above.

Metre: anapestic dimeter catalectic (paroemiac)

1–4 Huc – planta] For the convention of addressing the passer-by see 9.1n above; cf 113.1–2.

1 Huc lumina flecte] Claudian *In Rufinum* 1.359; cf poems 110.37n above and 118.5 below.

5 Bertae – beatae] Cf 113.2–3 above.

7–12 Quam – noctem] Cf Virgil *Eclogues* 5.76–8; *Aeneid* 1.607–9.

7 Quam – aetas / May future ages praise ... her] Cf *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 553E / CWE 29 19.

7 postera ... aetas] Horace *Epistles* 2.1.42

8 ad sydera tollat] Virgil *Aeneid* 1.103, 2.222, and often

9 arbuta / trees] The word (literally 'strawberry trees') here has a wider sense than usual.

10–11 Dum sydera – orbem] Cf Silius Italicus 7.476–7.

11 agat] The manuscript reads *agit;* the correction is made in LB.

12 Phaebe ... roscida] See 110.63–4n above.

19 illachrimabilis Orci] Cf Horace *Odes* 2.14.6–7; *Epistles* 2.2.178–9. Orcus, the Roman god of the underworld, is often (as here) a convenient personification of death.

21–4 Nutrix – vitae] Cf 113.6–8n above.

24 reparatio vitae = Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10.120: *mors haec reparatio vitae est*

25 aggere terrae = Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10.62: *cadavera ... / ... tegit aggere terrae;* cf Virgil *Aeneid* 11.212.

27 nescia sanguinis ossa] See 9.15n above.

28–32 Ea secula – tollat] Cf Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 10.31–44.

29 quis] A contraction of *quibus* (which does not fit the metre here)

30 habitacula / habitation] *Oratio funebris* LB VIII 559B / CWE 29 28. For the familiar image of the body as the soul's temporary dwelling-place see for example Seneca *Epistulae morales* 65.17 and 21, 70.16–17; Job 4:19; 2 Cor 5:1; Erasmus' paraphrase on 2 Cor 5:1 (LB VII 923B–C); *Colloquia* ASD I-3 247:511, 461:304 and 307, and 463:343; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 244:6–7 and 452:9–10 / CWE 25 32 and 162; Allen Ep 1267:10–11 / CWE Ep 1267:13; cf poem 71.15–16n above.

115 R 46

These verses were almost surely prompted by Erasmus' visit to Eltham Palace early in the fall of 1499 – the same visit that gave rise to the panegyric of Britain and her royal family. See Edwards *Skelton* 66–9; Maurice Pollet *John Skelton: Poet of Tudor England* trans John Warrington (Lewisburg 1971) 38–40; Greg Walker *John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s* (Cambridge 1988) 40–1; and headnote on no 4 above. Since Skelton at the time was still tutor to Prince Henry, Erasmus naturally wanted to pay him his respects, praising him both in lines 62–4 of the dedicatory letter to no 4 (where see note on line 62) and in 4.130 above. Skelton seems to have answered the compliments with some fulsome verses (see lines 1–2 below), no longer extant. The present poem is Erasmus' reply.

Our copy-text is MS Egerton 1651. The poem was first published from this source in the American edition of *The Poetical Works of John Skelton* ed Alexander Dyce 3 vols (Boston 1856) I lxvii–lxviii. According to its American editor, the 'verses are transcribed from a MS. (in the collection of the late Mr. B.H. Bright,) consisting of *Hymni*, etc., by Picus Mirandula.' Some recent research by David Carlson, kindly communicated to me in a private letter, shows that the manuscripts in Benjamin Heywood Bright's collection were sold at auction on 18 June 1844. Lot 151, containing among other items *Jo. Franc. Pici Mirandulae Hymni. Carmen extemporale (ad Jo. Skeltonum)*, was sold to the book-dealer Thomas Thorpe. The manuscript with the *Hymni* and the poem to Skelton was subsequently acquired by Charles Frederick Molini, who in turn sold it to the British Library as an 'Italian MS' in November 1854. It is not clear why the hymns and the poem to Skelton should have been attributed to Pico in both the Bright catalogue and the British Library records ('Minutes: Acquisitions 1852–1854'). This attribution, in any case, is also to be found pencilled in vertically along the margin of the first page of the manuscript. Someone or other, moreover, has tried to efface Erasmus' name at the head of the same page.

Erasmus' poem was later published from this manuscript – now known as MS Egerton 1651 – in Smith *Erasmus* 453–4 (with a paraphrase into English couplets on page 62).

That Erasmus never published these panegyric verses himself should hardly surprise us, not because they are banal and hyperbolic, but because Skelton failed to become a powerful backer and patron. He fell from royal favour around 1502 and became a parish priest in Diss, Norfolk.

Metre: second Archilochian strophe

8–9 chelim Auratam / a golden lyre] Apollo's lyre was traditionally golden, as was his plectrum; see 110.2n above

9 sorores / Sisters] The Muses, as in 4.138 above

10–11 Inque – Suadela / and the goddess – on your lips] Proverbial; see *Adagia* III iv 73; cf Poliziano *Sylvae* 1.307: *cui blandis insidet Suada labellis;* Erasmus *De virtute amplectenda* LB V 71A / CWE 29 11. Suadela (Suada) is the personification of eloquence and persuasion.

11 Dulcior Hybleo ... liquore / sweeter than the honey of Hybla] Proverbial; see 56.9n above. Mount Hybla in Sicily was famed for its honey; see Otto 835.

13 carmine vincis olorem / In song you surpass the swan] Proverbial; see Otto 496 and 497; Erasmus *Adagia* I ii 55; cf poems 65.1–2n above and 120.30 below.

16–20 Tu – potes] Cf 6.44–8n above.

17 mulcere – quercus] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 4.510 (of Orpheus' song).

21–4 Grecia – suo] Cf Martial 14.195.1–2: *Tantum magna suo debet Verona Catullo, / quantum parva suo Mantua Vergilio;* Gregorio Tifernate *Carmina* sig D3^r: *Smyrna suo tantum si sese iactat Homero, / Virgilium quo se Mantua iactet habet.*

23 Skeltono] The manuscript reads *Skeltom.*

25–6 Primus – Primus] Cf Virgil *Georgics* 3.10–12; Horace *Odes* 3.30.13–14.

26–7 Primus – loqui / This man was the first – pure speech] Edwards *Skelton* 68 takes these lines to mean that Erasmus deliberately leaves open the question whether he is praising Skelton as a writer of English or Latin. Smith *Erasmus* 62 interprets the passage to mean that Skelton was the first to teach the Muses 'to speak English words instead of Latin.' Nelson *Skelton* 57 n38 agrees: 'though Erasmus does not explicitly say that Skelton taught the muses to speak English, his comparison of Skelton to Homer and Vergil clearly shows that he considers Skelton to be the father of English literature.' But as Maurice Pollet reminds us in *John Skelton: Poet of Tudor England* trans John Warrington (Lewisburg 1971) 39–40, Erasmus knew very little English and could have no informed opinion on Skelton's poetic accomplishments in the English language. He did know that Skelton was Prince Henry's tutor and had just complimented him effusively: reasons enough to return Skelton's praises in kind.

27–9 Te principe – poetis] Cf 6.24–6 above.

30 Vive valeque] Horace *Satires* 2.5.110, where it is addressed to a fortune hunter and has a distinctly ironic ring

116 R 44

Augustinus Vincentius Caminadus of Viersen, near Cologne, is often mentioned in Erasmus' correspondence between spring 1497, when they first met, and September 1502. Their friendship was punctuated by quarrels. For although Caminadus helped Erasmus out with money and various services, he also considered it his right to hold on to some of Erasmus' manuscript treatises, in particular *De conscribendis epistolis,* which Erasmus had allowed him to use. See CEBR I 250–1. Caminadus' edition of Virgil, which Erasmus praises here, was first published by J. Philippi at Paris on 19 February 1498; see Allen Ep 131 headnote. Erasmus' commendatory epigram was thus most probably written in early 1498.

Paul Hemmerlin (literally, 'little hammer' or 'mallet' and hence Latinized as Malleolus) was a native of Andlau in Lower Alsace. He studied at Paris, receiving his BA in 1486–7 and his MA in 1488. See CEBR II 175. His edition of Virgil was printed at Paris by U. Gering in 1489, 1494, and 23 June 1498. All of the Gering prints say on the title-page that Paul Hemmerlin has most carefully emended Virgil's works, and all carry a colophon stating that the book has been most diligently proofread (*quam tersissime impressum*). The title-page of the 1498 edition, however, acknowledges that the earlier editions were not as perfect as they claimed to be. Now we read that the new book is a much improved revision, very carefully proofread with respect to spelling and punctuation: *P. Virgilii Maronis opus eximium per Paulum Malleolum Andelacensem, iterata diligentia plane recognitum, atque tanta novissime attentione emendatum, ut non modo sententiarum (quod potissimum est) verum et punctorum et orthographiae quoque ratio, quam accuratissime fuerit observata.* See W.A. Copinger *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum* II-2 (1902; repr Berlin 1926) 154–5 nos 6032, 6034, and 6036. In the dedicatory letter of the 1498 edition Hemmerlin complains about pirated editions put out under his name. He adds that the earlier editions of Virgil attributed to him were badly printed and full of errors. He promises that his new edition will be as free as possible from all blemishes.

At the end of the 1498 volume there is 'A six-line epigram by Paul Hemmerlin to the reader' which again praises the book's freedom from errors and disavows the earlier editions. This epigram may have been written specifically to counter Erasmus'. The imagery in the two poems is strikingly similar:

Pauli Malleoli hexastichon ad lectorem

Illa Maroneae mutilata poemata Musae
  Malleola splendent en tibi tersa manu.
Malleolus calida fabricando incude lituras
  Excutit, ut vatem nulla rubigo terat.
Caetera quae nostro finguntur Marte polita
  Non sunt illa meis fulgida pumicibus.

Those mutilated poems of Virgil's muse, lo, they now shine bright for you, corrected by Hemmerlin's hand. In fashioning this work Hemmerlin hammered out the blots on the hot anvil, so that no rust should wear the poet out. Those other editions, which are falsely said to have been burnished by my exertions, were not polished to a gleam by my pumice-stone.

Hemmerlin's epigram is immediately followed by a commendatory 'Epigram by Jean Auber on the revision by Paul Hemmerlin, the celebrated orator':

Ioannis Auberi in Pauli Malleoli
oratoris praeclari recognitionem epigramma

Carmina doctiloqui quondam vitiosa Maronis
  Clarius exorto sole polita nitent.
Nam gravis humanae Paulus studiosior artis
  Dissecuit lima sordidiora sua.
Quodque sub innumeris erroribus ante latebat,
  Ingenuum prima fronte refulget opus.
Hoc eme quisquis amas tersum sine labe volumen,
  Nulla equidem toto codice menda latet.

The poems of learned Virgil, which formerly were full of errors, now shine more brightly gleaming than the morning sun. For the eminent Paul, deeply devoted to the humane art, has cut away the disfiguring blots with his file. The noble book, which before lay hidden under innumerable errors, now shines bright for all to see. Anyone who loves a book free of all blemish should buy this one: indeed, not one error lurks in the whole volume.

Erasmus' epigram was first published from MS Egerton 1651 by Smith *Erasmus* 454–5.

Metre: elegiac distich

1 Varo ... Tuccaeque] L. Varius Rufus, a famous poet, and Plotius Tucca, perhaps also a poet, were friends of Virgil. After Virgil's death Augustus appointed them to edit the *Aeneid* on condition that they delete only the superfluous and add nothing of their own. The form *Varus* (or *Varrus*) for *Varius* is common in medieval manuscripts of Virgil *Eclogues* 9.35 (with Servius' commentary) and Horace *Satires* 1.5.40, as well as in manuscripts of Suetonius' vita of Virgil. Hemmerlin repeatedly writes the name as *Varrus* in his 1498 edition.
3 mutilat] Cf Hemmerlin *Hexastichon* 1.
3 hic pannos assuit ostro] Cf Horace *Ars poetica* 15–16.
4 Sordibus] The manuscript reads *Sordidior*, which does not fit the metre. Cf line 7 below; *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 215:9 and 218:14.
4 pagina nulla vacat = Martial 3.69.4
5 rubigine] Cf Hemmerlin *Hexastichon* 4.
7 Hic – excutit] Cf Hemmerlin *Hexastichon* 3–4.
9 lima] Cf Jean Auber *Epigramma* 4.
9 nitorem] For the image cf Hemmerlin *Hexastichon* 2 and 6; Jean Auber *Epigramma* 2 and 6.
12 malleolis Malleus ... malis] The exuberant punning cannot be translated literally: 'may *Malleus* [*Hemmerlin*, meaning 'little hammer'; possibly also the animal disease known as 'mallet'] burn *malleolis ... malis* ['with evil fire-darts' or 'mallets'].' For *malleolis* the manuscript reads *malleolys*.

117 R 47

For the background and theme of this poem see the headnote on no 43 above. The poem, an early draft of no 43, was first published from MS Egerton 1651 by Smith *Erasmus* 455–6.

Metre: first Pythiambic strophe

1–4 Qum – petat] Cf 94.1–6 above (with notes).
1 Qum – polusque] Cf 43.1–2 above.
1 terra polusque = Statius *Silvae* 1.1.93
2 quid – est] Cf 43.3n above.
3 falsa ... bona ... mala vera] *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 241:15–16; *Ecclesiastes* LB V 1085D; cf *Enchiridion* LB V 44D: *fucata bona ... vera mala;* 62A: *fucata commoda ... veris incommodis;* poem 94.35–42 above.
4 rarus aut nemo] Cf Persius 1.3: *vel duo vel nemo.*
5 Forma – est] Cf 43.11n above.
5 Forma capit] Ovid *Heroides* 16(17).180: *tua me, te mea forma capit*
6 Formam – tamen] Cf 43.12 above.
7 Sum – parente / I am most illustrious – mother's side] Christ's father is God; his mother is a descendant of King David; cf 110.258n.
7 utroque parente = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.147: *deus est in utroque parente;* cf poem 49.112 above.
8–12 Servire – mortalium] Cf 43.20–4 above.
13 parere magistro = Claudian *In Eutropium* 2.157
15–16 Sum – infrequens = 43.31–2 above
17–18 Auctor – mortalibus] Cf 43.37–8 above.
20 Qum – fidelius] = 43.36 above
21–8 Sum – tibi] Cf 43.65–74 above.
21–2 ad nos ... confugit] Cf Ps 142:9 (Vulg): *Domine, ad te confugi.*
23 vindex / punisher] Ferguson *Opuscula* 28 notes that the sense 'avenger' represents Erasmus' early usage (see 50.120 and 94.77 above), whereas the sense 'protector' is his later usage. This is incorrect; *vindex* in the sense of 'punisher' or 'avenger' occurs also in *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1229B and poem 110.54 above, both written in 1499. Erasmus' usage of the word can therefore not be adduced as an argument for dating the poem.

118 R 100

The poem is a paraphrase of the famous antiphon *Salve, regina* (AH 50 245), formerly attributed to Herimannus Contractus (1013–54):

Salve, regina misericordiae,
Vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve!
Ad te clamamus exsules filii Evae,

Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes
In hac lacrimarum valle.
Eia ergo, advocata nostra,
Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte
Et Iesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui,
Nobis post hoc exsilium ostende,
O clemens, o pia,
O dulcis (virgo) Maria.

Paraphrases and adaptations of this hymn were common in the later Middle Ages. Sebastian Brant, for example, paraphrased it in six elegiac distichs (1494); see *Varia carmina* (Basel 1498) sig E4^{v}.

Erasmus' poem was first published by Alaard of Amsterdam in *D. Erasmi Roterda. de vitando pernitioso libidinosoque aspectu carmen bucolicum* (Leiden: P. van Balen 1538) sig D6^{v}, among Alaard's *Varia epigrammata* and immediately after his verse translation of no 51. It was not included in subsequent reprints of Alaard's works. The poem's date of composition cannot be determined with certainty. Reedijk assigns it conjecturally to July 1516, partly because he thinks the literary quality of these verses is superior to those in MS Scriverius, partly because Alaard in July 1516 submitted a draft of his translation of no 51 to Erasmus (see Ep 433). Erasmus, he theorizes, might have sent him these verses as a complimentary gift along with some critical comments on the translation. He adds that the poem seems to be 'written in very much the same vein' as no 51.

More probably, however, this metrical paraphrase is one of Erasmus' earlier pieces. Reedijk's argument on the grounds of alleged superior literary quality is dubious; the verses are, after all, only a variation on a very familiar hymn. From Allen Ep 433:36–8 / CWE Ep 433:39–41 we know that Alaard possessed a collection of Willem Hermans' and Erasmus' juvenile pieces (*tyrocinia*) as early as 1516. Alternatively he may have found it in the same manuscript, formerly belonging to Snoy, from which he published the *Carmen buccolicum*; see headnote on no 102 above. Snoy's manuscript seems to have been related to (but not identical with) the poetical part of MS Scriverius. Since both manuscripts contain references to Erasmus' age and share the names Pamphilus and Galataea in poem 102, they may well be derived from the same relatively late manuscript (cf Allen I 581 and 610) – 'relatively late,' because MS Scriverius (unlike Gouda MS 1323) contains poems composed as late as 1499. Conceivably, therefore, Erasmus could have written this paraphrase in 1499, perhaps when he was trying to secure Anna van Borssele's patronage by various prose and verse works in honour of the Virgin; see headnote on no 1 above. The poem is indeed far closer to the conventional concluding strophes of poem 110 (written in 1499) than to the much more personal poem 51 (written in 1512). The spelling of the word *Hevae* in line 3 also points to an earlier rather than a later date, since such aspirated forms are characteristic of Erasmus' earlier orthography. See for example poems 102.103 (*Hismariis* for *Ismariis*) and 110.93 (*Hester* for *Esther*).

Metre: elegiac distich

1 reum] See 110.395n above.
5 In – flecte] Léon-E. Halkin 'La Mariologie d'Erasme' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 68 (1977) 46 n76 observes that Erasmus does not use the title *advocata* 'intercessor' of the medieval antiphon, as he does in *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1233A, and infers from this that Erasmus refused to grant her this title in 1516 (the presumed date of composition). The trochaic word *advocata,* however, cannot be made to fit the elegiac metre; for the same reason it does not occur in Sebastian Brant's elegiac rendition of the hymn.
5 miseros ... miserantia] For the wordplay see 112.334n above.
5 lumina flecte] See 114.1n above.

119 R Appendix II-2

This vitriolic epigram on Pope Julius II was discovered by P.S. Allen and first published at his suggestion by J.-B. Pineau in 'Erasme est-il l'auteur du *Julius*?' *Revue de littérature comparée* 5 (1925) 385–6 n2. Pineau did not himself see the manuscript – reportedly an autograph of Erasmus – but relied on a transcription made for him by M.F. Nicolardot. Pineau's text was reprinted by Ferguson in *Opuscula* 36–7 and by Cornelis Reedijk in *Poems* 392–3. Having subsequently obtained access to the manuscript, Reedijk was able to confirm that it is indeed in Erasmus' handwriting. See his 'Een schimpdicht van Erasmus op Julius II' *Opstellen door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Dr. F.K.H. Kossmann* (The Hague 1958) 186–207, with a new text of the poem on pages 202–4.

On the back of this manuscript, in a column at the top left, is a series of words which Nicolardot and Pineau read as *Th. Morus. Byth. Capad.* (page 386) and which Reedijk ('Een schimpdicht' 190) transcribes as *Thracia / pontus / bithynia / galatia / capadocia / cilicia.* Below these words, centred on the page in the address area, are some letters, which Reedijk deciphers as *Rosso.* He takes this word to be a pseudonym for Thomas More, to whom, in his opinion, it must have been personally delivered. There is no direct evidence, however, that More received the poem; and the pseudonym which More was to use much later in *Responsio ad Lutherum* (1523) is not 'Rossus' but 'Rosseus.' See John M. Headley, introduction to Thomas More *Responsio ad Lutherum* in CW V-2 801. Reedijk goes on to suggest (pages 206–7) that the list of place-names, corresponding in part to those mentioned in 1 Pet 1:1, may indicate that Erasmus was from the outset thinking of the contrast between Peter and his modern successor. A third reading of the words on the verso of the manuscript has been advanced by Philip C. Dust *Three Renaissance Pacifists: Essays in the Theories of Erasmus, More, and Vives* (New York 1987) 131: 'As I see the words, they do read *Thomas / Morus*, followed by a colon, which Reedijk omits, and then by a list of these epithets: "bithynicus / culex / capadocus / cilix."' But Dust's readings are almost surely incorrect and his explanations of them are for the most part quite implausible.

Since Julius is here obviously regarded as still alive, the poem must have been written before his death on 21 February 1513. A *terminus post quem* is provided in line 13, where Julius is called 'the greatest plague of the French' – an allusion to the political hostility between Julius and Louis XII, which began in the summer of 1510. This allusion supports Reedijk's contention that the poem originated in the hotbed of Gallican propaganda against Julius II that was gathering force in winter and spring of 1511. Because Erasmus returned to Paris in April 1511 and went back to England in mid-June of the same year, Reedijk concludes that the epigram was most probably composed at Paris in late spring of 1511.

Erasmus' hostility toward Julius II is evident also in *Moria* ASD IV-3 172:768–174:811 / CWE 27 138–9 (though he is not actually mentioned there by name) and above all in the dialogue *Julius exclusus*, written not long after Julius' death. Erasmus himself never explicitly acknowledged or denied his authorship of that satire; but there is now a considerable body of evidence linking him to the work. The present poem contains numerous analogies of thought and language to *Julius exclusus* that can be used to make a strong case for the dialogue's authenticity; see the notes below. For a discussion of Julius' papacy and Erasmus' attitude toward the 'warrior pope' see Michael J. Heath's introduction to *Julius exclusus* CWE 27 156–67; and CEBR II 250–2.

A somewhat different and shorter version of the epigram appears, without attribution to Erasmus, in Gerard Geldenhauer's *Collectanea*, a manuscript now in the Royal Library, Brussels. This version has been edited by J. Prinsen in *Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus*, *gevolgd door den herdruk van eenige zijner werken* (Amsterdam 1901) 19 and Reedijk *Poems* 393 (with two corrections to Prinsen's text). In reprinting this version below, we have added in parentheses the corresponding lines in no 119:

In eundem Ligurem

Ut iure et ex re nomen est tibi Iulio! (1–2)
Et pontifex fuit ille quondam maximus, (3)
Et per nefas arripuit ille tyrannidem. (4)
Contempsit ille deos, et hoc es Iulius. (7)
Nihil illi erat sacri, nisi morbus sacer. (14)
Orbem universum cede, bello, sanguine (8)
Miscebat ille, et his es alter Iulius. (9)
Res est tibi cum Gallo et hoc es Iulius. (12–13)
At Nicomedes unus haud sat est seni, (10)
Iam nomine isto plus eris quam Iulius. (11)
Tantum una ab illo levicula differs nota (21)
Quod gente nulla vinum amas pro literis. (22)
Quid multa? Solum hoc totus ut sis Iulius (23)
Abest, ut aliquis Brutus obtingat tibi. (24)

For another epigram on Julius II, which may also have come from Erasmus' pen, see no 141 below.

Metre: iambic senarius

2 alter Iulius / a second Julius] Erasmus frequently compares Julius II with Julius Caesar. See *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 68:88–69:90, 90:423–4, 102:692, and 103:732 / CWE 27 170, 178, 184, and 185; Allen Epp 205:38–9, 228:16–17, 233:5, 245:22, and 262:2 / CWE Epp 205:42–3, 228:21, 233:6, 245:25, and 262:3; *De copia* ASD I-6 224:706–8 and 248:246–8 / CWE 24 600:3–5 and 625:1–3. The comparison had already been frequently used by admirers and flatterers of the pope. But Erasmus, like Cicero, Livy, Lucan, and many Renaissance humanists, saw Julius Caesar as a warmongering, bloodthirsty tyrant; see for example *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 50:757–8 / CWE 27 30; *Adagia* LB II 111B / CWE 31 234:276–7: 'some pernicious hero, say Julius Caesar or Xerxes or Alexander the Great.'

3 pontifex ... maximus / the chief pontiff] Julius Caesar was elected pontifex maximus (head of the state priesthood) in 63 BC.

4 Et – tyrannidem] The manuscript here reads: *Et per nefas arripuit ille tyrannidem*. This version, which is also found in Geldenhauer's *Collectanea*, is metrically incorrect.

4 per nefas / by foul means] Cf Allen Ep 586:180–1 / CWE Ep 586:200–1, where the phrase is applied to Caesar's grab for power. Julius II obtained the papacy in 1503 by means of flagrant corruption; cf *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 73:172–3 / CWE 27 172.

4 tyrannidem / tyrannical power] Cf *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 83:333–4 / CWE 27 176: 'tyrannical power' and *Opuscula* 118:1044–5 / CWE 27 193: 'a tyrant worse than any in the world, the enemy of Christ, the bane of the church.'

6 Violata – fides / to break faith in order to extend his rule] Cf Euripides *The Phoenician Women* 524–5, which according to Cicero *De officiis* 3.21.82 and Suetonius *Iulius* 30.5 was always on Julius Caesar's lips: *Nam si violandum est ius, regnandi gratia / violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas* 'If justice has to be violated, it should be violated for the sake of ruling; in all other cases you should respect justice.' Julius II partially quotes this dictum in Erasmus *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 90:423 / CWE 27 178.

8–9 Orbem – ille / He filled – bloodshed] Cf *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 77:224 / CWE 27 173: 'the wars I had stirred up throughout the world,' *Opuscula* 114:940–1 / CWE 27 190: 'may it not turn out that the flames of war you have kindled will spread eventually to the whole world [*universum mundum*]?' and *Opuscula* 115:978–9 / CWE 27 191: 'you ... have ruined the church by provoking hideous wars throughout the world [*orbem universum*]'; Allen Ep 335:109–10 / CWE Ep 335:113–14: 'he embroiled almost the whole world in war.'

10 Nicomedes] The manuscript reads *Licomedes,* but this appears to be a *lapsus calami.* Geldenhauer's version gives the correct form *Nicomedes.* Caesar was rumored to have been the lover of Nicomedes IV, king of Bithynia in Asia Minor; see Suetonius *Iulius* 49.1–4; Erasmus *Adagia* LB II 221E / CWE 32 4. Reedijk ('Een schimpdicht' 190) suggests that the geographical name *Bithynia* on the verso of the manuscript may be an allusion to Nicomedes. Contemporary gossip held that Julius II was involved in numerous homosexual liaisons, especially with Cardinal Alidosi, whom Julius favoured despite his ineptness. Cf *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 77:249–50 / CWE 27 174: 'I was keeping them [these fair and curly-haired youths] for my pleasure,' 88:392 / CWE 27 177, and 108:857–8 / CWE 27 188: 'they in turn send horses, soldiers, money – sometimes boys too'; *Moria* ASD IV-3 172:781–2 / CWE 27 138; and poem 141.6–7 below.

12 Vexator – maximus] Cf *Panegyricus* ASD IV-1 50:757–8, of Julius Caesar's Gallic war: *Galliarum ... vexatio;* Allen Ep 335:110–13, where Louis XII is said to be *vexatus* by Julius II.

13 Es – pestis] These words are written, either as a correction or as an alternative, above Erasmus' first version: *Et pestis ipse es.* The earlier version, which makes good sense and is metrically correct, is not crossed out in the manuscript.

13 pestis Galliarum maxima / the greatest plague of the French] Julius II and Louis XII had been at loggerheads since the summer of 1510. Cf *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 114:960–1 / CWE 27 191: 'some divine plan intended you to plague the French.' The phrase *pestis ... maxima* is applied to Julius II also in *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 66:43 / CWE 27 169. Cf Allen Ep 872:17–18 (of Leo X): *pestem ... Christianismi.*

14 Nihil – sacer / Nothing was holy – holy sickness] For Julius Caesar's lack of religious scruples see Suetonius *Iulius* 59; for his attacks of epilepsy see Suetonius *Iulius* 45.1. There is, however, no good historical evidence that

Pope Julius II suffered from epilepsy. Erasmus mentions it among Julius' diseases (along with syphilis) also in *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 72:160 / CWE 27 171.

14 morbus sacer / the holy sickness] Epilepsy was called 'the sacred disease' already before the time of Hippocrates, probably because its bizarre symptoms suggested that the victim was possessed by a god or a demon.

15–16 pectus – conscia / His mind too – full of guilt] For Caesar's nightmares after the battle of Pharsalus see Lucan 7.772–86, where they are likened to Orestes' vision of the Furies; see also Suetonius *Iulius* 45.1. Erasmus mentions Caesar's crime-burdened conscience in *De concordia* ASD V-3 281:822. Cf *Moria* ASD IV-3 118:877 / CWE 27 111, of the vengeful Furies (*Dirae ultrices*): 'they pursue the guilty, conscience-stricken soul with their avenging spirits'; *De contemptu mundi* ASD V-1 72:883–8 / CWE 66 163–4; *Adagia* I x 91; *Lingua* ASD IV-1A 76:655–7 / CWE 29 309; *Psalmi* 85 ASD V-3 398:860–1; and poem 141.9 below.

15 Erinnys ultrix criminum] Cf *Adagia* ASD II-4 226:248: *Erinnyes ... malefactorum ultrices*; Seneca *Medea* 13: *sceleris ultrices deae*; *Octavia* 619: *Ultrix Erinys.*

17 Torva – lumine / a grim brow and a threatening eye] Cf *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 68:78–69:90 / CWE 27 169–70: 'what fierce eyes and stubborn mouth, what a fearsome expression and haughty and arrogant brow you have! ... I suspect that you are that poisonous pagan Julius, returned from hell in disguise to mock me, so closely do all your features resemble his.'

22 gente nulla / low-born as you are] Julius II, the son of Raffaello della Rovere and the nephew of Sixtus IV, belonged to a non-noble branch of the Rovere family. Erasmus *Adagia* III iv 86 illustrates the Greek adage 'from the oar to the tribunal' by the example of Julius II, of whom it was said that he rowed a fishing boat in his youth to make a living. In *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 71:149–53 / CWE 27 171 Julius says: 'I was once a bit of a seaman'; and Genius replies: '... you plied your oars to get a paltry wage for yourself.' But Erasmus is also alluding to the (baseless) charge that Julius II was a bastard. Cf *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 77:230–1 / CWE 27 173: 'having ... no family connections [*non natalibus*], as not even I knew who my father was.'

22 vinum / wine] Caesar drank very little wine, as even his enemies admitted; see Suetonius *Iulius* 53. Julius II, by contrast, was (unfairly) reputed to be immoderately fond of wine. Cf *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 67:57, 68:83, 90:413, and 93:511 / CWE 27 169, 170, 178, and 180; poem 141.4 below.

22 pro litteris / not literature] Cf *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 77:232–3 / CWE 27 173: 'learning [*litteris*] ... was something I never acquired.' This characterization is historically unwarranted. Julius was a great patron of the arts and possessed a private library containing Latin classics, Italian neo-Latin authors, as well as translations of Greek writers.

23–4 Unum – tibi / Only one thing – turn up for you] The same thought is expressed in Ulrich von Hutten *Ad Caesarem Maximilianum epigrammata* 142 (first printed in 1516, but evidently composed while Julius was still alive): *Iulius est Romae. quis abest? date, numina, Brutum! / Nam quoties Romae est*

Iulius, illa perit 'Julius is back in Rome. What is missing? Ye gods, give us a Brutus! For whenever there is a Julius in Rome, it is destroyed.' Cf also Erasmus *Adagia* ASD II-4 190:886, after a lament about tyrannical princes devoted to their own pleasures and ambitions: *O Brutorum genus iam olim extinctum!* 'O race of Brutus, long since extinct!' But Erasmus, who feared anarchy even more than tyranny, was no advocate of tyrannicide or revolution; see James D. Tracy *The Politics of Erasmus* (Toronto 1978) 38–9.

120 R 105

Álvar Gómez of Ciudad Real (1488–1538) was a Spanish nobleman who in 1516 served as page of the future Charles V in Burgundy. Around this time he composed a poem in five books about the history of the Order of the Golden Fleece, entitled *De militia principis Burgundi quam velleris aurei vocant, ad Charolum Caesarem eiusdem militiae principem libri quinque*. Internal evidence indicates that the poem was written in Flanders after Charles was proclaimed king of Spain in April 1516 and before he went to Spain in September 1517. See CEBR II 117–18.

Álvar first introduced himself to Erasmus in Ep 506 (end of 1516?) as *Alvarus Nemo* 'Álvar the Nobody.' He enclosed a poem congratulating Luigi Marliano of Milan on his appointment to the see of Tuy in Galicia; this poem is printed in LB III-2 1857–8. Not long afterwards he must have shown Erasmus a manuscript copy of *De militia* and asked him to write some complimentary verses for it. Cf Allen Ep 545:16–17 / CWE Ep 545:17–18, where Erasmus complains to Thomas More in March 1517 about the many Spaniards who came to pay their respects to him at Brussels in winter 1516–17, and Allen Ep 700:3–4 / CWE Ep 700:4–5. Erasmus' epigram may thus be placed in early 1517.

Álvar's book, with Erasmus' complimentary verses, was published posthumously by his son, Petrus Gómez de Mendoza (Toledo: Juan de Ayala 1540; repr Alcalá de Henares 1541). Erasmus' poem was rediscovered by F. Kossmann. See his 'Een vergeten lofdicht van Erasmus op de Orde van het Gulden Vlies door Alvar Gomez 1517' *Het Boek* 26 (1942) 357–64.

Metre: hexameter

1–5 Enituit – opem] Álvar Gómez *De militia* sig A5^{r} begins with the same thought:

Pandere res altas et vatum crimine tectas
Incipiam, si Musa vocat, si verus Apollo
Invitat clarisque iubet miserescere factis
Pegasidumque lyras mutamque resolvere famam.

2 rerum series = Lucan 5.179

3 Inclyta ... fama] Virgil *Aeneid* 2.82

3 fama triumphos = Walther of Châtillon *Alexandreis* 1.7: *Cesareos numquam loqueretur fama tryumphos;* cf Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.5.27.

5 evexit in astra] Cf 66.5 above.

9 oblivia laudis = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12.539

10–12 prima – causam] Cf Álvar Gómez *De militia* sig A5^r: *primordia sacri / Velleris, et priscam repetamus origine causam.* In books 1 and 2 Álvar tells the story of the fleece and of Gideon's subsequent victories. In book 3 he relates the origins of the Order of the Golden Fleece, founded at Bruges on 10 January 1430 by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. For a history of the order see Luc Hommel *L'histoire du noble Ordre de la Toison d'or* (Brussels 1947) 7–13.

10 prima ... repetens ab origine] Virgil *Georgics* 4.286; *Aeneid* 1.372

11 grandiloquo ... versu] Cf Álvar Gómez *De militia* sig B4^v: *magniloquo ... versu* (in the same metrical position).

12 Ordinis ... causam] Álvar Gómez *De militia* sig A5^r

12–13 ter – fata / revealing the great things – his destiny] In books 4 and 5

12 ter magno / thrice-great] Cf *Adagia* II ix 5. Erasmus' phrase *ter magnus* varies a Renaissance term of praise or title, *ter maximus* 'thrice greatest.' See for example Sebastian Brant *Varia carmina* sig D1^v, of St Sebastian: *ter maxime martyr;* Eobanus Hessus *Heroidum christianarum epistolae* 2.13 (= *Heroides* 1.2.11), of God: *princeps ter maxime.* In *Julius exclusus* Ferguson *Opuscula* 67:46–7 / CWE 27 169 the title is ironically applied to the pope, in analogy to Mercurius Trismegistus 'thrice-greatest Mercury.'

13 venturaque fata] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.799

14 Asseruit – tenebris] Cf 6.28n above.

15 furorem / fury] See 6.4n above.

17–22 Non hic – terram / His verse gives – saturated with rainwater] The origin of the name 'Golden Fleece' was in dispute almost from the beginning of the order. The first associations were clearly with the saga of Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece (see Ovid *Heroides* 12; *Metamorphoses* 7.1–158; Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica*). Shortly afterwards, however, the Golden Fleece was related instead to the Old Testament story of Gideon's fleece (Judg 6:36–40). See Georges Doutrepont 'Jason et Gédéon, patrons de la Toison d'Or' in *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth* 2 vols (Liège 1908) II 191–208; Luc Hommel *L'histoire du noble Ordre de la Toison d'or* (Brussels 1947) 13–15.

18–19 Nec – sulco / nor does Medea – newly ploughed furrow] Aeetes, king of the Colchians, required Jason to perform several seemingly impossible tasks before he could have the Golden Fleece: he had to yoke a pair of fire-breathing bulls and make them plough a field; then he had to sow the field with the teeth of a dragon and overcome the ensuing crop of hostile warriors. With the help of the king's daughter, the sorceress Medea, Jason accomplished all these tasks. When Aeetes still refused to give him the Fleece, Jason put its ever-watchful guardian, the dragon, to sleep, took the Golden Fleece, and returned home in triumph with Medea.

18 vigilem – draconem] Cf Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7.149; *Heroides* 12.171; Álvar Gómez *De militia* sig C2^{r}: *Pervigil atque draco sopitaque cantibus ora / Tessalicis.*

19 novo – sulco] Cf Statius *Thebaid* 1.8: *infandis condentem proelia sulcis;* Propertius 3.11.10: *armigera proelia sevit humo.*

22 pluviis / with rainwater] Most medieval and Renaissance references to Gideon's fleece speak of it as being wetted by 'dew'; Erasmus does so in 110.91–2 above. Sometimes, however, it was said to be moistened by 'rain.' Álvar Gómez refers to 'rain' in book 2 sig B3^{r}: *Nec pluviam vellus cognoverat* and again in book 3 sig B8^{v}: *pluitque / Desuper in terram, vellusque arescit.* This in part reflects the semantic range of the word *ros* used in the Vulgate, since it can mean both 'dew' and 'a light rain.' See for example AH 4 61.3: *Vellus quoque Gedeonis, / In quod pluvia roravit,* 42 79.4b: *Vellus perfusum madescit / Deitatis pluvia,* 54 219.8: *Fusum Gedeonis vellus / Deitatis pluvia,* and 54 248.8: *Nec vellus corrumpitur / Imbre pluviali.* Cf also AH 48 261.12 (to the Virgin Mary): *Tu es area compluta, / Caelesti rore imbuta;* and Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1230F, where Mary is likened to Gideon's fleece: *coelesti rore ter compluta.*

23–6 Gedeoniacos – dextris / he sings of the daring deeds – cupped right hands] See Judg 7:4–6.

24–6 Tercentum – dextris] Cf Álvar Gómez *De militia* sig B3^{v}: *Tercentum iuvenes igitur miro ordine lecti / Ex hoc quod curvis lambebant flumina dextris.*

24 more ferarum = Lucretius 5.932; Horace *Satires* 1.3.109; Statius *Thebaid* 8.71

25 liquidas ... undas = Catullus 64.2; cf Ovid *Fasti* 6.699.

30 cygnaeo gutture / with the voice of a swan] Cf 115.13n above.

34 maxime Charle] Cf Álvar Gómez *De militia* sig C4^{v} (prophesying that King Charles will be greater than Charles the Great): *Charolus huic alter succedet maximus.*

37 Burgundis ... gesis] Álvar Gómez *De militia* sig B6^{v}

37 Burgundis Hispanica] Cf Álvar Gómez *De militia* sig C6^{r}: *Burgundos animos Hispanaque pectora* (joined by King Charles).

37 lancea gesis / the lance ... the pikes] According to Aulus Gellius 15.30.7 the *lancea* was a spear of Spanish origin. The *gesum* (*gaesum*) was originally the long, heavy javelin of the Gauls.

121

On Bernard André see no 67 headnote and 67.6n above. The book here praised is André's (partial) commentary on St Augustine *City of God*. This commentary, composed in 1496–1502, is preserved in MS 360 of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris. Erasmus' epigram occurs at the end of the preliminary leaves, on sig V1^{v}; it was first published in Nelson *Skelton* 34 n69. The verses have also been printed, with an English translation, by F. Roth 'A History of the English Austin Friars' *Augustiniana* 15 (1965) 626.

Gilbert Tournoy, who reprints and discusses Erasmus' piece in 'Two Poems written by Erasmus for Bernard André' HL 27 (1978) 47–9, suggests that the epigram could have been composed either in the autumn of 1499 (about the same time as nos 4 and 115 above, when Erasmus was visiting Eltham Palace and was eager to ingratiate himself with important people at the royal court), or more than fifteen years later, during one of his brief visits to England. Tournoy considers the latter date more probable. It is indeed not at all certain that Erasmus actually met André in 1499. Since Prince Arthur was not at Eltham Palace at the time of Erasmus' visit, his tutor, André, may well have been absent too. At any rate, it seems quite unlikely that Bernard André in 1499 would have asked an unknown poet to write a liminary epigram for a book that he had not yet completed. Furthermore, as Tournoy points out, the preliminary leaves of the Arsenal manuscript were written after the accession of King Henry VIII (in April 1509); and the letter by Johannes Benedictus Moncettus, immediately preceding Erasmus' poem on sigs U1^v–V1^r, is dated 10 June 1515.

To Tournoy's discussion we should add that Erasmus' verses were copied into the manuscript by a different hand from that of the preceding letter and must have been inserted somewhat later to fill up a partially blank page. André might have asked for the verses sometime after June 1515 – either during Erasmus' trip to England in August 1516 or more probably in April 1517. We should observe too that Erasmus' epigram does not exhibit the effusive flattery of the poem to John Skelton (no 115, written in 1499). Quite the contrary: the tone is familiar, even ironic in view of André's blindness. 'Hitherto,' Erasmus is saying, 'St Augustine's *City* has been covered by such heavy darkness that the eyes of the uninitiated could see nothing in it. Now Bernard, after working many long nights, has written a commentary that sheds so much light on the work that even the purblind can see clearly.' The last expression is used also in Erasmus' letter to Guillaume Budé of 15 February 1517; see note on lines 5–6 below. The subtly ironic tone of the present poem is reminiscent of another epigram by Erasmus, written for Bernard André's collection of hymns, probably in April 1517 (no 67 above). We therefore surmise that Erasmus wrote the present epigram in April 1517, while he was staying at Andrea Ammonio's house.

Metre: trochaic tetrameter catalectic

1 Doctor / teacher] St Augustine is one the four Doctors of the western church.

2 scalebat ... caligine] Cf 112.68 above: *squalentia ... tenebris*. Nelson *Skelton* 34

wonders if *scalebat* might be an error for *scatebat*. But, as Gilbert Tournoy notes, *scalebat* is a medieval spelling for *squalebat*. Cf Karl Strecker *Introduction to Medieval Latin* trans and rev by Robert B. Palmer (Berlin 1957) 60: *scalores* = *squalores*; Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 588:91–3.

5–6 Luculentis – dilucide / make it all visible – the purblind] Cf *Adagia* I viii 93: *Vel caeco appareat* 'Even a blind man might see that'; Allen Ep 531:32–3 / CWE Ep 531:37–8 (dated 15 February 1517): 'what is exceptionally prominent and brilliant can usually be detected even by men of defective vision [*vel a lusciosis cerni solent*].' On André's method of exposition see Constance Blackwell 'Niccolò Perotti in England – Part I: John Anwykyll, Bernard André, John Colet and Luis Vives' *Res publica litterarum* 5 (1982) 17–19.

122 R 109

On 7–24 June 1520 Henry VIII met with Francis I at the 'Field of Cloth of Gold' near Calais; and on 10–14 July he met with Charles V at Gravelingen and Calais. See Adams *Valor* 158–85; Sydney Anglo *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford 1969) 137–69; and Joycelyne G. Russell *The Field of Cloth of Gold: Men and Manners in 1520* (London 1969). Erasmus had been invited to the Field of Cloth of Gold by Thomas More and Archbishop William Warham, but missed the meeting of the British and French monarchs in June on account of illness. He did go to Calais and had an audience with Henry VIII before the latter's meeting with Charles V. See CWE Ep 1106 headnote.

The source of this and the next epigram is Codex Horawitzianus page 49, a manuscript now in the municipal library of Rotterdam. They were first published, together with no 124, in Horawitz *Erasmus* 30. Horawitz describes the manuscript on pages 3–4.

Metre: second Pythiambic strophe, as in Horace *Epodes* 16, to evoke a vision of peace after a long period of strife; see note on the metre of poem 4 above.

1–2 Sidera – bono / Whenever – benefit to mankind] According to astrology the conjunction of two of the beneficent planets – sun, Venus, and Jupiter – brings great blessings. The stars could, of course, also bring manifold disasters; cf 7.1–16 above and notes; *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 220:836–9.

8 Iovi] The manuscript reads *Iovem*.

123 R 110

The substructure described here was probably the framework for an enormous tent intended to serve as a banqueting house and theatre during the meeting between Henry VIII and Charles V in Calais. See *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England, during the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth* (London 1809; repr New York 1965) 621: 'for solas was builded a banqueting house, 80. foote round, after a goodly deuise, builded vpon Mastes of shippes in suche maner as I thinke was neuer sene, for in it was the whole sphere portrated, whiche by reason of the great winde that blewe, could not be acheued.' See further Sydney Anglo *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford 1969) 159–68.

Metre: iambic senarius

3 Gratiae] The Graces represent the structure's beauty and grace. They are, however, also givers of joy, harmony, and other blessings and as such symbolize the generous exchange of gifts and benefits that took place at the meeting of the two monarchs; cf Seneca *De beneficiis* 1.3.3–5. In Allen Ep 1342:348–9 / CWE Ep 1342:384–5 Erasmus notes that the Graces are 'a symbol of simple good will and friendship without feigning.'

124 Ep 1130 / R 111

These verses were written for Jan van Merleberge, a native of Diest in Brabant and one of the older members of the monastery of St Maartensdal at Louvain; see CEBR II 435. According to Maarten Lips of Brussels (c 1492–1555), who copied the letter containing this poem (Ep 1130) and provided it with a brief introduction, the epigram was intended to be placed under a painting portraying Mary Magdalen and John (*in qua Magdalena depicta erat et effictus Ioannes*). This John is not St John, as is assumed in CEBR and in CWE Ep 1130 headnote, but rather Jan van Merleberge himself, probably painted as a small figure praying to Mary Magdalen (cf the note on the heading of no 11 above). Jan would have wanted the poem to identify him by way of an acrostic so that people who came to the church could pray for him.

The poem was written at Louvain, perhaps in August 1520; see CWE Ep 1130 headnote. A close verbal parallel to a letter written in autumn 1520 tends to corroborate Allen's conjectural date; see line 1n below.

In Ep 1130, preserved in MS 4850–7 in the Royal Library, Brussels, the epigram is preceded by a brief explanation: 'The verse is trochaic tetrameter catalectic. In each line take the first letter, and the last letter before the caesura (which is marked with a stroke), and similarly the first and last in the second half of the line, and so on with all of them, and you will have what you want: IOHANNES MERLIBERCH DIEST.' In a postscript Erasmus adds: 'I have written this poor stuff to give you pleasure, for I would rather err in that direction than seem unfriendly. At the same time I am sending you the three Magdalens as they are represented by Jacques Lefèvre. Farewell, Reverend Father, and remember me too sometimes in your prayers.'

In the poem Erasmus identifies Mary Magdalen both with the sinner who washed Christ's feet with her tears and dried them with her hair (Luke 7:36–50; cf 8:2) and with Mary of Bethany, who anointed Christ's feet and head (Matt 26:6–7; Mark 14:3; John 11:2 and 12:3). This identification, rejected by many of the Greek Fathers but popularized in the west by Gregory the Great (*Homiliae in Evangelia* 2.25, PL 76 1189–96, and 2.33.1, PL 76 1239), was just then being questioned by Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples. Erasmus agreed with Lefèvre on this score, but felt it was pointless to upset people who clung to the traditional view. For this reason he was reluctant to declare himself openly on the matter; cf Allen Epp 936:7–16 and 1030:1–7 / CWE Epp 936:9–18 and 1030:3–10. At the very end of his letter to Merleberge, however, he briefly alludes to the controversy, saying that he is also sending 'the three Magdalens as they are represented by Jacques Lefèvre.' It is not clear whether he is referring to Lefèvre's *De Maria Magdalena et triduo Christi* (Paris: H. Estienne 1517, reprinted in 1518 and 1519) or to his *De tribus et unica Magdalena disceptatio* (Paris: H. Estienne 1519). The fact that Erasmus mentions 'the *three* Magdalens' does not necessarily allude to the latter book; in Allen Epp 766:22 and 778:199 / CWE Epp 766:26 and 778:222, written in early 1518, he also refers to the earlier volume as the 'book on the three Magdalens.'

The poem was first published, together with nos 122 and 123, from Codex Horawitzianus in Horawitz *Erasmus* 30. This manuscript adds the poem's heading, lacking in the Brussels manuscript.

Metre: trochaic tetrameter catalectic

1 amoris oestro ... percita] Allen Ep 1159:19 (13 November 1520). Cf *Euripidis Iphigenia in Aulide* ASD I-1 302:771–2: *Helenen amoris oestro / Vehemente perculisti.* For the phrase *oestro percitus* see also Allen Epp 1132:13 (dated 7 August 1520) and 2466:47; *Adagia* II viii 54.

125 R 112

In September 1522 Erasmus spent about three weeks at Constance, where he visited his friend Johann von Botzheim (CEBR I 177–8). Erasmus describes the visit in Ep 1342. During this time he was warmly received by the bishop of Constance, Hugo von Hohenlandenberg; see Allen Ep 1316:12–14 / CWE Ep 1316:14–16. Apparently Erasmus was thereupon invited to visit Meersburg, a castle dating back to the twelfth century that the bishop had restored in 1508 to be his lakeside country estate. Erasmus, however, seems curiously unaware that the building belonged to the bishop, for in lines 15–17 he says that its owner and restorer is 'Baron Johann von Meersburg.' For an account of Erasmus' relations with Hugo von Hohenlandenberg (d 1532) see CEBR II 193–4.

The epigram, in Beatus Rhenanus' handwriting, is found on the back cover of Beatus' copy of Cicero *Epistolae ad familiares* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio 1512), now in the municipal library of Sélestat (shelf mark: k 1058). It was first published by Ferguson in *Opuscula* 364.

Metre: iambic senarius

1–4 Non – belle / Not without good reason – place to live in] See *Adagia* ASD II-5 208:52–8.

2 Catonis] In *De agricultura* 4 Cato says: 'If you have a pleasant home in the country, you will come there gladly and often'; cf Erasmus *Colloquia* ASD I-3 463:347.

2 testudinis / a tortoise] In one of Aesop's fables (no 106 Perry, no 108 Hausrath), Zeus asks the tortoise why it did not come to his wedding feast. The tortoise replies: 'There's no place like home.' So Zeus made it carry its own house on its back. See *Fables of Aesop* trans S.A. Handford (Edinburgh 1961) no 64.

3–4 Felicitatis – belle / not the smallest part – place to live in] Cf Allen Ep 1054:9–11 / CWE Ep 1054:12–13: 'you are aware ... what a contribution to one's happiness is made by a good house [*quanta ... felicitatis portio sit bene habitare*].'

126 R 115

Dirk Martens (1446/7–28 May 1534) learned the printing trade in Italy. After returning to his native Aalst in Flanders (between Brussels and Ghent) he established a press in 1473. In 1493 he moved to Antwerp, where he eventually published a number of Erasmus' early works, including *Lucubratiunculae* (1503) and *Panegyricus* (1504). Having moved once more, this time to Louvain in 1512, Martens continued to publish Erasmus' writings. In the ensuing years the two men became close friends. Martens retired from the printing business in 1529 and returned to Aalst, living at the Williamite convent until his death. See CEBR II 394–6.

Erasmus wrote the epitaph in 1527, probably at the request of Martens during a severe illness; see Allen Ep 1899:67–84. After Martens' death it was engraved in copper and affixed above the tomb. The gravestone, which originally lay at the entrance to the Williamite church in Aalst, was moved inside the cloister church early in the eighteenth century. When the cloister was suppressed in 1784, the entire tomb was moved to the St Sebastian chapel in St Martin's church at Aalst, where it remains today. The copper tablet, still in existence in the eighteenth century, has disappeared. See *Tentoonstelling Dirk Martens. 1473–1973* (Aalst 1973) 240–1. The epitaph was first published in F. Sweertius *Athenae Belgicae* (Antwerp 1628) 687 and has been frequently reprinted from that source by Martens' biographers.

Metre: elegiac distich

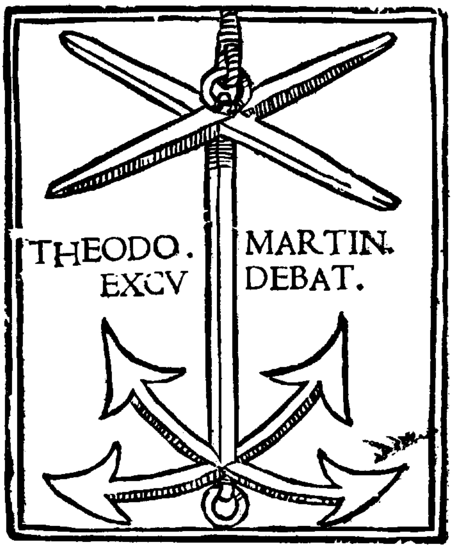
3 Fratribus – superstes / Having survived – friends] Quoted in Allen Ep 1899:79. Dirk had three brothers and four children. After reading the epitaph, Martens remarked that he had not yet survived all his offspring, since one daughter (Barbara) was still alive at Aalst. He took this as an omen that he would survive her too and did not want the line changed.

5 Anchora sacra / The sheet anchor] Dirk Martens' third printer's device, which he began using in November 1517, was a sheet anchor. As the sailors' best and biggest anchor, it was used only in dire emergencies and so became proverbial as a last resort. See *Adagia* I i 24.

Vertically on either side of Martens' printer's mark are the verses (hendecasyllable): *Semper sit tibi nixa mens honesto* 'Let your mind always rely on virtue' and: *Sacra haec ancora non fefellit unquam* 'This sheet anchor has never failed.' Beneath the mark is a Latin distich: *Ne tempestatum vis auferat, ancora sacra, / Quo mentem figas, est iacienda tibi* 'To keep the force of storms from carrying you away, you must throw out a sheet anchor to fix your mind firmly.' Below that is the Greek adage Ἐν οἴνῳ ἀλήθεια 'In wine there is truth' (Otto 1900; Erasmus *Adagia* I vii 17). This mark was first used at the end of Erasmus *In epistolam Pauli apost. ad Romanos paraphrasis* (Louvain: D. Martens, November 1517); see A.F. van Iseghem *Biographie de Thierry Martens d'Alost* (Malines 1852) 96–7 and *Tentoonstelling Dirk Martens. 1473–1973* (Aalst 1973) 235. In later books Martens added the following Greek verse (iambic trimeter) beneath the adage: Πολλάκις ἐν οἴνου κύμασίν τις ναυαγεῖ 'Oftentimes a person is shipwrecked on the waves of wine.' Van Iseghem (page 97) suspects that Martens used the adage 'In wine

Η ΙΕΡΑ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ

Sacra hæc Ancora non fefellit vnq̃.


THEODO. MARTIN.
EXCV DEBAT.

Semper ſit tibi nixa mens honeſto.

Sacra Ancora.

Ne tempeſtatum vis auferat, Ancora ſacra.
Quo mentem figas; eſt iacienda tibi

Ἐν οἴνῳ ἀλήθεια
Πολλάκις ἐν οἴνου κύμασιν τις ναυαγεῖ

Dirk Martens' printer's mark as it appears in Erasmus
Ratio seu methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram theologiam
(Louvain: Dirk Martens, November 1518)
Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Brussels

there is truth' in order to indicate his own weakness for wine and subsequently added the Greek verse 'as if to insinuate that he knew how to avoid excess.'

O'Rourke Boyle 59–61 and 201 n6, unaware that the Latin verses had been part of Martens' printer's mark since November 1517, assumes that they were composed by Erasmus because of the emblem's peculiar appropriateness for the *Ratio* (Louvain: Dirk Martens, November 1518). Erasmus certainly was fond of the image and often used it in his writings. Apart from the circumstance, however, that the Latin and Greek verses first appeared in books written by Erasmus while he was living in Louvain, there is no evidence that it was indeed he who wrote them for Dirk Martens.

6 Christe – mihi / Christ, be my sheet anchor now] Cf *Apologia adversus monachos* LB IX 1087B: 'The sheet anchor of our salvation is fixed in Christ, not in the Virgin.' The Latin for 'sheet anchor' literally means 'sacred anchor.'

127 R 136

This is Erasmus' last epigram. It is scrawled in his own hand at the foot of the manuscript of no 92 above, and thus is presumably contemporaneous with it. Later someone added the superscription: *Manus Erasmi ad Bo. Amerbachium* 'The hand of Erasmus to Bonifacius Amerbach.' The epigram, together with no 92, is preserved in the University Library, Basel (Erasmuslade C 8), where it was discovered by P.S. Allen in 1922. It was first published in *Letters of P.S. Allen* ed H.M. Allen (London 1939) 199, as N. van der Blom notes in 'On a Verse of Erasmus' ERSY 1 (1981) 153 n4 (h).

Metre: elegiac distich

1–2 Est – dedit / There is a fruit – in French] This is a riddling paraphrase of the word 'date.' The 'short foot' is the pedicle or foot-stalk by which the fruit hangs from a tree; but it is also the *dactylos* (literally 'finger'), which lent its name both to the metrical foot (short by Greek standards) and to the date (*datte* in French, from the older forms *datil, dactil*).

2 Gallica lingua = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 1.9.10

128 LB I 893–4 / R Appendix I-1

Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei, from which these verses are extracted, is an attack on the barbaric education offered at the school founded by the Brethren of the Common Life in Zwolle. The little tragicomedy (for that is how it is characterized in its preface) was probably written in late 1489. It is thus contemporaneous with other works by Erasmus on the same theme: the *Apologia Herasmi et Cornelii* (93), the poem addressed to Engelbert Schut of Leiden (98), certain letters from Erasmus to Cornelis Gerard of the year 1489, and the first version of the *Antibarbari*.

The playlet was first published, with a translation into Dutch, by Pieter Rabus as an appendix to his translation of Erasmus' *Colloquia*, entitled *Samenspraken van Desiderius Erasmus Rotterdammer. Nieuwelijks uit het Latijn vertaalt* (Rotterdam: Joannes Borstius 1684; repr Amsterdam: Gerard Borstius 1697). Later Rabus published a Latin text, without translation, in his edition of *Desid. Erasmi Roterodami Colloquia familiaria* (Rotterdam: Regnerus Leers 1693). LB I 889–94 reprints the text of Rabus' 1693 edition, but without acknowledgment; see J.J.V.M. de Vet *Pieter Rabus (1660–1702)* (Amsterdam 1980) 60–7; Hoven *'Conflictus'* 97–8. Rabus' manuscript, which earlier belonged to Pieter Opmeer, is no longer extant. A slightly different, more complete text has been preserved in MS Scriverius. According to Hoven *'Conflictus'* 98, MS Opmeer is not to be identified with MS Scriverius.

Who was the author of *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei*? Was it Erasmus or Cornelis Gerard? The question has long been argued back and forth. Erasmus' authorship was doubted by Paul Mestwerdt *Die Anfänge des Erasmus: Humanismus und 'Devotio moderna'* ed Hans von Schubert (Leipzig 1917) 206 n6 and Hyma *Youth* 206; and it was denied outright by Tilmans *Aurelius* 35, who assigns the work instead to Cornelis Gerard (cf the headnote on no 93 above). Its authenticity as an Erasmian work is explicitly stated in MS Scriverius. It was subsequently defended by Pieter Rabus, more recently also by Reedijk *Poems* Appendix I-1 page 383, James D. Tracy 'On the Composition Dates of Seven of Erasmus' Writings' BHR 31 (1969) 357–8, and Hoven *'Conflictus'* 95–106, who, however, does leave open the possibility of some sort of joint authorship with Cornelis.

The argument for Cornelis' authorship may be summarized as follows. In an inventory of the books and manuscripts bequeathed in 1531 by the canon Jan van der Haer to the library of the Court of Holland, the *Conflictus* is listed among the works of Cornelis Gerard; see M.E. Kronenberg 'Werken van Cornelius Aurelius (Donckanus) in de bibliotheek van Kanunnik Mr. Jan Dircsz. van der Haer (A°. 1531)' *Het Boek* 36 (1963–4) 69 and 76; and Tilmans *Aurelius* 35. In view of Erasmus' enormous fame at the time the catalogue was compiled, any previously unknown work by Erasmus would surely have attracted immediate interest and merited special mention in Van der Haer's catalogue. But the catalogue item associates it with Cornelis Gerard, not Erasmus.

The case for Cornelis' authorship is considerably weakened, however, by several circumstances:

1/ As Hoven *'Conflictus'* 96 observes, Van der Haer's inventory does not explicitly say that the *Conflictus* was written by Cornelis. It reads: *Conflictus thalie et barbariei in latini sermonis puritatem comice conscriptus titulus ille varia indicat ipsius domini cornelii donckani* '"The Conflict between Thalia and Barbarism" concerning the purity of the Latin language, written in a comic style. That title indicates various works of Cornelius [Gerard] Donckanus himself.' Hoven calls attention to the ambiguous phrase 'various works' which evidently cannot refer to the *Conflictus* alone. He therefore suggests that the catalogue entry garbles the actual title of the manuscript, which might have run as follows: *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei ... et varia Cornelii Donckani* '"The Conflict of Thalia and Barbarism" ... and various works of Cornelius Donckanus.'
2/ According to Pieter Rabus, the now-lost MS Opmeer unambiguously attributed the *Conflictus* to Erasmus: *inscriptio ... Erasmi nomen ostentat* 'the title displayed Erasmus' name.' He adds that in the margin of one of the early letters, where Erasmus mentions *nostram Thaliam* (Allen Ep 23:100), MS Opmeer had the note: *Thalia Erasmi opusculum* '"Thalia" is a little work by Erasmus.' See LB I 889–90, which reprints Rabus' introductory note without attribution. For LeClerc's plagiarism of Rabus' edition and his subsequent attempt to cover his tracks in the preface to LB VIII see J.J.V.M. de Vet *Pieter Rabus (1660–1702)* (Amsterdam 1980) 63–5.
3/ In MS Scriverius Erasmus' authorship is also unquestioned. Here the title reads: *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei, authore Erasmo Roterodamo.* MS Scriverius was copied by the Dutch scholar Bonaventura Vulcanius in 1570 from the codex that he had acquired from the library of the Court of Holland; see Tilmans *Aurelius* 35 n15. The source manuscript of MS Scriverius, in other words, was to all appearances the very same one which had originally belonged to Cornelis' friend and patron, Jan van der Haer. As we have noted, Van der Haer's inventory links the *Conflictus* with Cornelis, though in a rather loose way.

Is it possible to reconcile the various pieces of information that link the work strongly to Erasmus, less strongly also to Cornelis? One might imagine the following scenario. Cornelis received the *Conflictus* from Erasmus in late 1489. He then reworked it in some way, just as he had already refashioned Erasmus' 'Ode to Cornelis.' He might, for instance, have changed the dialogue into a playlet by adding a *praefatio* (note that this part is cast in the third person) as well as an *argumentum* and by dividing the continuous dialogue into two acts, possibly excising some connecting prose. The *Conflictus* thus revised was then gathered together with his reworking of Erasmus' 'Ode to Cornelis' (the *Apologia adversus barbaros*, nos 93 and 135) and other works by Cornelis. When his friend Jan van der Haer obtained Cornelis' papers, not long after the latter's death on 8 August 1531, he did not notice Erasmus' authorship of the *Conflictus* and so grouped it with other works by Cornelis.

That the little drama is essentially Erasmus' work can be argued not merely on stylistic grounds (as Rabus does), but also by way of the numerous parallels that link the *Conflictus* to contemporary works of Erasmus. René Hoven notes several similarities:

1/ The list of medieval grammars in Allen Ep 26:88–9 partially corresponds to that in *Conflictus* LB I 892F.
2/ In Allen Ep 23:100 Erasmus uses the phrase *nostram Thaliam* in the sense of 'our artful, classical Latin' as opposed to barbaric, medieval Latin. Thalia subsequently becomes the spokeswoman for classical Latin in *Conflictus*. Tilmans *Aurelius* 35 n16 asserts that Cornelis uses the phrase *nostra Thalia* in the same way to refer to the Deventer school (prologue to the *Marias* f 7^v), but this is not the case. Cornelis is referring to 'my muse' (as Virgil does in *Eclogues* 6.2): *Te* [*Christe*] *matremque tuam nostra Thalia canet* 'My muse will sing of you [Christ] and your mother.'
3/ In Allen Ep 23:89–92, in the same paragraph which mentions *nostram Thaliam*, Erasmus tells Cornelis that the barbarians teach pupils to know nothing; he adds that an education like this reduces pupils to such a state that they fail to know even themselves. In *Conflictus* LB I 892A Thalia asserts that pupils nowadays are so overwhelmed by absurd rules that in the end they know nothing, not even themselves. The thought and wording are in part derived from Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae*, which Erasmus is known to have studied with particular care. See Lorenzo Valla *Opera* (Basel: H. Petri 1540; repr Turin 1962) I 41: barbaric grammars teach people to know nothing (*docentes nihil scire*) and leave students more ignorant than they were before.

As long as there are only a handful of parallels to Erasmus' works one could always explain them away by arguing that Cornelis borrowed them from Erasmus. It would thus be useful to have further parallels to show that Cornelis could not possibly have aped his friend's style so closely. I therefore append here some additional parallels between the *Conflictus* and Erasmus' writings:

1/ In *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 53:21–3 Erasmus says that the barbarians teach their charges things that have to be unlearned afterwards with great effort. He expresses the same thought in Allen Ep 56:28–9: *discere dediscenda; De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 41:2: *discant dediscenda;* and *De ratione studii* ASD I-2 113:12–13: *magno labore discere quae postea maiori cogaris dediscere;* cf Plautus *Amphitryon* 687–8. In *Conflictus* LB I 892A Thalia tells Barbarism that the reverse is true when well-educated pupils are later taught by barbaric instructors: *si quid recte in scholis prius didicerant, id continuo dediscant necessum est.*
2/ In Allen Ep 30:21 and *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 88:23 Erasmus calls the barbarians *scioli*. This word, which occurs several times in St Jerome's letters, also crops up in *Conflictus* LB I 892A.
3/ The thought that barbarism rules the whole world is found both in Allen Ep 32:50 and *Conflictus* LB I 891C; cf poem 93.138–43 above (in one of Erasmus' sections).

4/ The comparison of barbarians with braying asses, found in *Conflictus* LB I 891F, occurs also in *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 51:1–2, 14–16. In both *Conflictus* LB I 889F and *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 73:1 Barbarism and the barbarians are said to have *auriculas asininas* (ass's ears).
5/ The idea that the barbarians carp at liberal studies because they know nothing about them (*Conflictus* LB I 892E) recurs in Erasmus' writings. See 93.21–2n above.
6/ In his letters of 1489 Erasmus repeatedly uses a group of three verbs to describe the carping of the barbarians; see Allen Epp 20:85: *rodendum, carpendum, lacerandum*, 27:8–9: *qui tibi succenseant, qui invideant, qui lacerent*, and 30:24–5: *damnandas, lacerandas, insectandas*. A similar triad is found in *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 73:7: *odisse, invidere, oblatrare* and 73:9: *oderunt ..., contemnunt, execrantur*. Such a triad also occurs in *Conflictus* LB I 892E: *lacerant, mordent, invident*. Compare also *Conflictus* LB I 890E: *coli, amari, honorari* with Allen Ep 27:63: *ament, colant, legantque*.
7/ *Conflictus* LB I 892D alludes to the fable about the cock and the pearl (Phaedrus 3.12): *gemmas ... e stercore legere*. Erasmus often alludes to this fable elsewhere; see *Antibarbari* ASD I-1 72:20, 87:11–12: *stercora pro gemmis*; Allen Epp 26:74–5 and 126:152–3; *Adagia* IV viii 38.
8/ In *Conflictus* LB I 890E Melpomene says: *Nunquam invidere nobis, nunquam lacerare desinit*. This is closely paralleled in poem 93.31–2 above, where Erasmus laments: *Nunquam ... rodere desinit, / Nunquam carpere desinit*.
9/ In *Conflictus* LB I 894B Thalia tells Barbarism to go back to Zwolle: *vise indocta indoctas*. Many years later Folly uses similar wording in *Moria* ASD IV-3 142:337–8 to say that the unlearned lavish praise on each other: *encomiis sese vicissim laudant ... indoctos indocti*.

The fact that Barbarism in her poetic contest with Thalia speaks in the leonine hexameters so favoured by late medieval poets may also be taken as a sign of Erasmus' authorship. In c 1488–9 Cornelis was still using leonine verse in *De morte*, a lengthy poem he submitted to Erasmus for criticism; see Allen Ep 19:32–4 / CWE Ep 19:32–4. (The poem, incidentally, should not be confused with the much later elegy *De improvisa morte*; see Tilmans *Aurelius* 23 n57). Cornelis also uses the medieval form sporadically in his epilogue to the *Apologia Herasmi et Cornelii* (no 135 below) and in his *Ironia in huius mundi amatores* of c 1489. It would seem unlikely, therefore, that it was Cornelis who would have singled out leonine verse as characteristic of medieval barbarism.

Finally, the playlet's emphasis on the pre-eminence of stylistic elegance and brilliance and the lack of any attempt to present a *biblical* humanism point to Erasmus' interests in 1489 rather than Cornelis'. Only in the winter of 1490–1 did Erasmus adopt Cornelis' views on a Christian humanism.

The verses here reprinted from MS Scriverius occur near the end of the *Conflictus*. They represent a poetical contest between Barbarism, who produces a caricature of medieval leonine verse, and Thalia, who composes classical hexameters. The contest completed, Barbarism hurries in disgust to her citadel – the humanistically less advanced school of the

Brethren of the Common Life at Zwolle. Thalia and her fellow Muses Calliope and Melpomene return to the pleasant clime of Parnassus.

8 Chironis / Chiron's] Earlier in the playlet Thalia had said that Barbarism was the daughter of the centaur Chiron and a she-ass; see LB I 891B–C. Centaurs were thought to live in Arcadia, a country famed mainly for its asses; see 93.23n above.

8 Hui] MS Scriverius reads *Hu*. There is no exclamatory word in LB at this point.

15–16 Florum ... Flores / *The Flowers* ... flowers] Thalia is alluding to the versified grammar book by Ludolph of Luchow (c 1317), still widely used in the fifteenth century, entitled *Flores artis grammatice alias Florista* 'Flowers of the Art of Grammar, also known as "Garland of Flowers."' In *Conflictus* LB I 892F Barbarism puts this grammar at the head of her list of favourite textbooks. Cf Allen Ep 31:48 / CWE Ep 31:54; *De recta pronuntiatione* ASD I-4 32:587–9 / CWE 26 388; and *De pueris instituendis* ASD I-2 77:12–15 / CWE 26 345.

20–1 hanc – aures / let this sort of laurel – ears] In *Conflictus* LB I 889F Calliope describes Barbarism as having large horns and white ass's ears.

129 LB I 648 / ASD I-3 170 / R Appendix I-3

In a section of the colloquy *De lusu* 'Sport,' entitled *Ludus sphaerae per anulum ferreum* 'The game of sending a ball through an iron ring,' it is agreed that the loser is to compose and recite a distich in praise of the winner. This is the loser's couplet.

Metre: elegiac distich

130 LB I 720, 726–7 / ASD I-3 344, 357–8 / R Appendix I-4

In the colloquy *Convivium poeticum* 'A Poetic Banquet' a group of friends gather for a dinner-party. The four opening lines of the dialogue are iambic senarii; lines 7–8 are trochaic tetrameters catalectic.

Toward the end of the dialogue the friends compete in poetic variations on the theme that it is more important to cultivate your mind than your garden. The metres of the various efforts are as follows:

11–13:	iambic senarius
14–19:	hendecasyllable
20–2:	trochaic tetrameter catalectic
23–5:	hexameter

26–9: Alcaic strophe
30–3: Sapphic strophe
34–7: iambic trimeter

4 Cruenti iambi / Harsh iambics] Cf Horace *Odes* 1.16.2–3: *criminosis ... iambis*. Iambic verses were originally used in satiric poetry; see headnote on no 56 above.

7 rotatiles trocheos] Prudentius *Epilogus* 8

13 praepostere / backwards] *Adagia* V i 30; cf lines 22, 25, 28, and 32–3 below.

131 LB I 739 / ASD I-3 391 / R Appendix I-5

In the colloquy Πτωχοπλούσιοι 'The Well-to-do Beggars' this leonine distich is said to be posted or painted on the wall of the common room of an inn.

132 LB I 748 / ASD I-3 415–16 / R Appendix I-2

In July 1514 Pieter Gillis, Erasmus' close friend since at least 1504, was married to Cornelia Sandrien. Erasmus helped celebrate the occasion with an epithalamium that probably already included the present verses. It was not published in 1514, however, because Erasmus' servant had mistakenly left the text behind in Louvain; see Allen Ep 312:86–8 / CWE Ep 312:93–5. In Allen Ep 356:12–13 / CWE Ep 356:13–14, which Allen places in September 1515, Erasmus promised Gillis that he would publish the epithalamium as soon as he had a chance to do so. Some years later Erasmus revised it, perhaps not long after the death of Jérôme de Busleyden in August 1517 (cf ASD I-3 413:74–82, alluding to Jérôme's recent death and the foundation of the Collegium Trilingue). It was finally published as *Epithalamium Petri Aegidii* in the *Colloquia* of September 1524; see ASD I-3 411–16.

On Pieter Gillis and his first wife Cornelia see the headnote on no 83 above; see also no 84.

The epithalamium is written in a variety of metres:

1–2: elegiac distich
3–4: iambic senarius followed by an iambic dimeter
5–8: trochaic tetrameter catalectic
9–16: Sapphic strophe
17–20: hendecasyllable
21–4: lesser Asclepiad

Erasmus may well have been inspired by Martianus Capella *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 2.117–26. There the Muses address songs in various metres to the bride, Philology. Erasmus' epithalamium in turn was imitated by Eobanus Hessus in *In nuptiis Ioachimi Camerarii Quaestoris. Ludus Musarum seu Epithalamium,* published together with his *Venus triumphans* (Nuremberg 1527) sigs b3^{v}–c2^{r}; see Vredeveld 'Traces' 55. It was also imitated by Johannes Stigel in *Epithalamion Sabini,* printed with Melchior Acontius *De nuptiis Georgii Sabini et Annae* (Wittenberg: Joseph Klug 1537) sigs B1^{v}–D1^{r}.

On the genre see Virginia Tufte *The Poetry of Marriage: The Epithalamium in Europe and Its Development in England* (Los Angeles 1970); Erasmus' epithalamium is discussed on pages 89–90.

2 Auspiciis ... bonis] Cf *Adagia* I i 75.

3 turturum / turtle-doves] On the turtle-dove as an emblem of conjugal love and fidelity see 13.8n above.

4 Corniculae vivacitas / the long and vigorous life of crows] Proverbial; see 2.41 above (with note on lines 41–2). The word *cornicula* comes from Horace *Epistles* 1.3.19.

5–20 Ille – Paterculanam] The exempla are all taken from Valerius Maximus *Facta et dicta memorabilia;* cf Erasmus *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 423:20–2 / CWE 25 141.

5 Gracchum Tiberium] The censor Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (c 220–c 150 BC) was married to Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus Maior. He willingly gave up his life to save his wife's. See Valerius Maximus 4.6.1.

7 coniugem Admeti] Admetus, king of Pherae in Thessaly, was fated to die unless someone could be found to die for him. His wife Alcestis consented to do this. See Valerius Maximus 4.6.1.

11 Plaucius] Valerius Maximus 4.6.2–3 tells the story of two husbands named Plautius. C. Plautius Numida killed himself when he learned of his wife's death. M. Plautius killed himself beside the body of his wife, Orestilla.

16 Portia Brutum] When Porcia, the daughter of Cato Uticensis, learned that her husband M. Iunius Brutus had died (42 BC), she killed herself by swallowing live coals (cf lines 13–14 above). See Valerius Maximus 4.6.5, with a similar punning reference to the 'fires' of love.

18 Nasica] P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, consul in 191 BC. Esteemed as the most honourable Roman, he was chosen by the Senate in 204 to bring Mater Magna to Rome. See Valerius Maximus 7.5.2 and 8.15.3.

20 Sulpiciam Paterculanam] Daughter of Servius Sulpicius Paterculus and wife of the consul Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Sulpicia was celebrated as the most virtuous of all the matrons of her time; see Valerius Maximus 8.15.12.

21 Laudetur – puerpera] Horace *Odes* 4.5.23

23–4 livore – gloria] Cf 93.165n above.

133 LB V 1327–8 / ASD V-1 97–8 / R Appendix I-6

These verses are the introit and sequence from *Virginis Matris apud Lauretum cultae liturgia*, which Erasmus wrote in 1523 at the request of Thiébaut Biétry, a priest in Porrentruy in the Swiss Jura; see CEBR I 146–7 and Ep 1391. Erasmus' 'Liturgy of the Virgin Mother as She is Venerated at Loreto' was first published at Basel by Johann Froben in November 1523. An expanded version, which includes a sermon and a new preface (Ep 1573), appeared in May 1525 (repr 1529). See the introduction and critical edition by L.-E. Halkin in ASD V-1 89–109.

According to the legend, the *santa casa* venerated at the shrine of Loreto is the house where Gabriel announced the incarnation and where Jesus grew up. The house was supposed to have been brought from Nazareth to Loreto in various stages between 1291 and 1295, but there is no recorded mention of the miracle until a three-page notice of it was put up in the shrine in 1472. By then it had already become a popular place of pilgrimage because of a statue of Mary. In 1488 the shrine was placed under the supervision of the Carmelites. Their general, Baptista Mantuanus, published an account of the translation of the house in 1489; see his *Opera* (Antwerp: Ioannes Beller 1576) IV 216–20. Mantuanus' booklet, widely diffused and translated, made the shrine world-famous. Bulls issued by Julius II and Leo X recommended pilgrimage to the shrine but refrained from endorsing the story on which it is based. The first published attempt to give the legend a historical basis did not appear until 1525, two years after Erasmus wrote his liturgy. See Henri Leclercq 'Lorette' *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* IX-2 (Paris 1930) 2473–2503.

The introit is written in hexameters. The sequence consists of a series of couplets, each line being intended, as was customary with sequences of this kind, to be sung antiphonally by two choirs. The sense unit, however, is the quatrain, the last of which has a coda of an extra two lines. See Clarence H. Miller 'The Liturgical Context of Erasmus's Hymns' in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis* (Binghamton 1991) 485–8. The metres of the sequence are as follows:

3–4:	trochaic tetrameter catalectic
5–6:	iambic senarius
7–8:	hendecasyllable
9–10:	lesser Asclepiad
11–12:	Sapphic
13–14:	glyconic
15–16:	iambic octonarius

17–18: Alcaic hendecasyllable
19–20: hexameter
21–2: anapestic dimeter catalectic
23–4: greater Archilochian
25–6: iambic dimeter catalectic
27–8: greater Asclepiad
29–30: trochaic dimeter
31–2: anapestic dimeter

1 Laurus / The laurel] The Latin name of the town and shrine, *Lauretum*, means 'laurel-grove'; for this reason Erasmus makes the laurel his dominant image.

1 odore / fragrance] See 110.236n above.

3 nablum ... citharam / the harp ... the lute] These instruments are among the ones played for the procession in which David brought the ark of the covenant into Jerusalem; see 1 Chron 15:28. The ark was a type of Mary; see 110.85–8n above.

4 Virgo – carmine / A hymn – sung by virgins] Cf *Virginis et martyris comparatio* LB V 591D, where Erasmus says that the virgin spouse Christ delights in the songs of virgins: *Virgineis cantilenis delectatur virgo Sponsus.*

6 virgines – virgines / for they love virgins, being virgins themselves] On the affinity of virgins and angels see *Virginis et martyris comparatio* LB V 591E.

7 laureata] Cf *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1228E: *martyrum laurea.*

9–10 Martyr – virgo / A martyr conquers – the flesh itself] Cf AH 48 230.1: *Virgo carnem, / martyr hostem superat* 'A virgin overcomes the flesh, a martyr the enemy'; Erasmus *Virginis et martyris comparatio* LB V 596D: 'A true virgin differs very little from a martyr: a martyr suffers his flesh to be killed by the executioner; a virgin willingly mortifies her own flesh every day and is, so to speak, her own executioner.'

11–12 Coelitum – coelum] Cf 110.13–28 above.

15 Ut – eminet / As the cedar – Lebanon] For the image see Sir 24:13, traditionally interpreted to refer to Mary; Salzer *Sinnbilder* 151–3; Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1231E.

16 nobilis / noble] A favourite adjective for the Virgin; see for instance Prudentius *Cathemerinon* 11.53; AH 53 103.12, 54 224.1, and 54 267.1; Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1229E.

17–18 Ut – virgines / As the morning star – the virgins] Cf 50.23–4n above. Mary is *stella maris* (see 4.136n above), but she is also traditionally praised as the morning star, *stella matutina* or *lucifer*, who heralds the sun and the new day of salvation. See Salzer *Sinnbilder* 23–4, 401, and 408.

17 astra] The fifth syllable of the line (the second syllable of *astra*) is short, a practice avoided by Horace but permitted by Alcaeus.

19–22 Inter – genitrici] Cf 110.5–8 above.

19 stellantia lumina florum = Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina* 3.9.13; cf poem 2.207 above.

20 Lilia – rubore / the lily is the whitest, the rose the most red] Cf Venantius Fortunatus *Carmina spuria* 1.233, of Mary: *rubore rosas, candore ... lilia vincens;* AH 30 58 *Ad tertiam* 9: *O rosa cum lilio, / Tibi candor cum rubore, / Tibi decus cum decore;* Erasmus *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1231B–C: *Tu ... rosa Hierichana ... quam divina caritas purpureo rubore tinxit ... Tu ... lilium ... quae lacteo candori virginitatis summam modestiam adiunxisti.* The lily and the rose, as the two most beautiful and fragrant of flowers, are traditional symbols of the Virgin; see Salzer *Sinnbilder* 162–70 and 183–92. In Erasmus *Virginis et martyris comparatio* LB V 590B–591D the lily is associated with virgins and the rose with martyrs. This is relevant here because Mary was sometimes considered both a virgin and a martyr. See Honorius Augustodunensis *Sigillum B. Mariae* PL 172 517D: *Per rosas martyres, per lilia intelligimus virgines ... Beata autem Dei Genitrix virgo et martyr fuit;* Salzer *Sinnbilder* 191–2. The idea is based on Luke 2:35, where Simeon prophesies that a sword will pierce through Mary's soul also (at the crucifixion).

22 niveae / snow-white] See 110.358n above.

23 odoriferas / fragrant] Cf 110.236n and line 1 above.

24 Pacifera – praelia / It is the tree of peace – battles] Cf Pliny *Naturalis historia* 15.40.133: 'The laurel is the bringer of peace [*pacifera*], so that holding it in front of you even between heavily armed enemies is a sign of truce.' Mary is traditionally both peace itself and the bringer of peace; see Salzer *Sinnbilder* 563.

24 fulmen arcet ardens / It wards off the fiery thunderbolt] The laurel was believed to be immune from lightning. People who were afraid of being hit by lightning wore a laurel wreath to protect themselves. See Pliny *Naturalis historia* 2.56.146 and 15.40.134–5. Mary, as mother of the Prince of Peace, can ward off God's avenging lightning bolts; cf 110.310–12 above and line 28 below.

25 Baccas habet salubres / it has healing berries] The berries of the laurel tree yield a fragrant oil believed to have medicinal value; see Pliny *Naturalis historia* 23.43.86.

29–32 gaudeasque – ara / rejoice always – whole wide world] The second edition of the *Liturgy* (1525) concludes with a letter by Antoine de Vergy, archbishop of Besançon, granting permission for Erasmus' liturgy to be said or sung on any Marian feast-day in his archdiocese. He concludes by granting an indulgence to those who use the liturgy within his diocese, 'not because the Virgin venerated at Loreto is any different from the Virgin celebrated and invoked by the pious devotion of everyone all over the world, wherever Christ's name is sacred, but because God kindly reveals his bountiful mercy to mankind through his mother in various places'; see ASD V-1 109:442–5.

31–2 in – ara] Cf *Paean Virgini Matri* LB V 1228E: *Regina ... cui positis passim aris medius hic totus supplicat orbis.*

31 finibus orbis] Ps 19:4; Rom 10:18

134 Ep 3032 / R Appendix I-7

The Venetian general Bartolomeo d'Alviano (1455–1515) defeated Emperor Maximilian's troops in 1508 and returned in triumph to Venice, while Erasmus was there; see Allen Ep 3032:338–63; CEBR I 38–9. Many years later Pietro Corsi (CEBR I 344), attacking Erasmus, singled out Alviano in praising Italy's military prowess; see his *Defensio pro Italia ad Erasmum Roterodamum* (Rome: A. Bladius 1535). Erasmus defends himself in Ep 3032, *Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem* (Basel: H. Froben and N. Episcopius [c August] 1535), from which this quip is taken (lines 362–3).

Metre: glyconic followed by an iambic dimeter

135 LB VIII 570 / R 15

This is the epilogue to *Apologia Herasmi et Cornelii adversus barbaros*; see the headnote on no 93 above. It is not included among Erasmus' poems in *Silva carminum* ed Reyner Snoy (Gouda: A. Gauter, 18 May 1513) but is found in MS Scriverius, where it immediately follows no 93.

Regarding the authorship of this poem Reedijk is of two minds. Cornelis' statement in Allen Ep 19:20–2 / CWE Ep 19:19–22 leads him to think that the epilogue was originally part of Erasmus' poem and that it was subsequently rewritten by Cornelis in a different metre: *Nec hoc tibi, quaeso, indignationem faciat, me tuos versus ... ad aliud metri genus in finem retorsisse.* On the other hand, he is quite aware that the epilogue's warning against excessive admiration of pagan culture is characteristic of Cornelis' thinking, not of Erasmus' at that time in his career.

As we saw in the headnote on no 93, it is impossible that the present poem could in any way have formed a part of Erasmus' original 'Ode to Cornelis.' His laments about barbarism were intended to set the stage for his compliments to Cornelis, who as a second Hercules had inspired his discouraged friend to take up the lyre once more. In that first version there was simply no place for the arguments set forth by Jerome. In Cornelis' hands, however, Erasmus' poem became a defence of Christian poetry in classical form. Cornelis' epilogue brings in St Jerome, 'as an arbitrator, so to speak' – not between Erasmus and Cornelis, for they are in agreement on the value of ancient poetry and eloquence, but between the humanists and their 'barbarian' opponents. Erasmus himself interpreted Cornelis' *Apologia* and its epilogue in this way; see Allen Ep 22:1–27 / CWE Ep 22:2–29. To him, as for Cornelis, the classically educated Jerome represented a bulwark against the barbarians; his letters, particularly the famous letter to Magnus (70), provided them with weapons to repel their opponents' attacks.

That the epilogue is indeed wholly Cornelis' work is corroborated by its heading: 'Cornelis finally brings in St Jerome' as well as by the concluding two lines. The epilogue is Cornelis' fourth section of the revised *Apologia*, balancing Erasmus' earlier four sections. Here he rounds out his own argument for a biblical humanism.

Since no 135 was not part of Erasmus' original concept, we may translate Cornelis' statement in Allen Ep 19:20–2 / CWE Ep 19:19–22 as follows: 'I hope you will not be offended that ... to make an effective conclusion I have turned your verse-form into a different kind of metre.' As Béné *Erasme* 51 notes, Cornelis writes *in finem* 'to make a conclusion,' not *in fine* 'at the end.' Changing the metrical pattern of a poem for the sake of emphasis or variety is quite common in medieval poetry.

It is worth noting that Cornelis has Jerome speak in verses that, though classically correct, still savour of the medieval leonine hexameter; see lines 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 20, 25, 30, 31, 33, and 35. It is certainly not a device that Erasmus would have employed had he written the epilogue. To him leonine verse epitomized medieval barbarism. That is why he lets Barbarism use the form in *Conflictus*; see no 128 above. Jozef IJsewijn 'Erasmus ex poeta theologus sive de litterarum instauratarum apud Hollandos incunabulis' in *Scrinium* I 382 therefore rightly takes the presence of such lines to be proof enough of Cornelis' authorship. Cornelis used leonine verse as late as 1488–9; see headnote on no 128 above, page 715.

Metre: hexameter

3 veterum ... poemata vatum] Cf 112.97n above.

4 deridentes – metro / to satirize – those who deride them] Jerome thus gives his blessing on the verse satire that Cornelis threatened to write in 93.185–90.

5–7 Ecce – plectris / See how – resounding to the harp] For the metrical quality of these and other Old Testament books see Jerome *Praefatio in librum Iob* PL 28 1140A–1141A; Isidore *Etymologiae* 1.39.11–19 and 6.2.17–24; Arator *Epistola ad Vigilium* 23–6; Jean Gerson *Carmen de elegia spirituali* in *Oeuvres complètes* IV 158, defending the legitimacy of sacred poetry: 'The use of metre does not detract from the majesty of the expression, but rather lends it greater weight. It is well known that such poets as Jeremiah, Job, David, and Moses wrote in all kinds of metre. King Solomon composed five thousand poems [cf 1 Kings 4:32]. The heroic woman [Judith] celebrated her own deeds in song.' Cf Allen Ep 49:89 / CWE Ep 49:104: Moses, David, and Solomon should be imitated by Christian poets.

5 altiloquas] A medieval word; see Sedulius Scottus *Carmina* 2.7.44: *altiloquus ... Maro.*

5 currunt] Cf Jerome *Praefatio in librum Iob* PL 28 1140A, referring to a portion of the book of Job: *hexametri versus sunt, dactylo spondaeoque currentes;* Isidore *Etymologiae* 1.39.3: *rythmus ... ordinatis pedibus currit* and 6.2.17 (of the many metres used in the Psalms): *nunc alii iambo currunt, nunc Alcaico personant* (and in other metres besides).

7 Concrepat] See 93.75n above.

7 carmina plectris] Propertius 2.3.19

17–18 nitidum ... stilum] Cf 93.63 above.

18–19 Aegipti – sacellum] See 93.174n above.

21–6 Sic – perhibetur / In this way – acceptable savour] Cf Lev 2:12–13.

28 dogmata sacra = Hrabanus *Carmina* 13.19 and 18.11

136

These lines were first published in Rodolphus Goclenius *Lexicon philosophicum Graecum* (Marburg 1615) 165, where they are entitled *Carmen musicum Erasmi Roterodami.* They are also printed as anonymous verses (*incerti autoris*) in *Nugae venales, sive, Thesaurus ridendi et jocandi* (n p 1642) 124; there were reprints of this anthology in 1644, 1648, 1663, 1681, 1689, 1703, 1720, and 1741. Johannes Bolte 'Die indische Redefigur Yathā-saṃkhya (d.h. der Zahl, der Reihe nach) in europäischer Dichtung' *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 112 (1904) 271 reprints the text of the *Nugae venales* as given in the edition [Amsterdam] 1648, page 95. The poem also exists in a manuscript dating from the eighteenth century, now in the department of music of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Mélanges Gaignières, ms. fr. 22.558, f 53). There are two twentieth-century reprints of this manuscript version: Jean-Claude Margolin *Recherches Erasmiennes* (Geneva 1969) 85 n7 and Gilbert Tournoy 'A Forgotten Poem by Erasmus' *Lias* 3 (1976) 76 (with much useful information).

Our copy-text is the Paris manuscript – the only text that provides the five mensural notes. Some variant readings may be noted here: Goclenius and the *Nugae venales* have *modulamina* for *medicamina* in line 1. For *Surgit* in line 2 the *Nugae venales* gives *Venit,* a metrically incorrect form, unless we think of it as a gnomic perfect. In the same line Goclenius reads *suscitat* for *mitigat.* In line 3 the Paris manuscript gives *familla,* while the printed versions have the correct reading *favilla.* After the four lines of the *carmen musicum* Goclenius immediately adds six more verses, as if they form part of the same poem:

> Sus, pueri bini, puer unus, nupta, maritus,
> Vi, cultro, lympha, fune, dolore cadunt.
> Excruciat, perdit, sanat,
> Lue, coede, cruore,
> Mors, Satanas, Christus,
> Pectora, membra, animam.

The only evidence for attributing the poem to Erasmus of Rotterdam is Goclenius' rather careless seventeenth-century edition. The *Nugae venales* makes no attribution at all, while the eighteenth-century manuscript ascribes the epigram to an unspecified 'Erasmus.' As Tournoy points out (page 77), this might well refer to the composer Erasmus Lapicida (d 1547), who was Maximilian's choirmaster during the last years of the emperor's life. If Desiderius Erasmus were the author, which does not seem very likely, he could have written the verses in 1493–4, while he was secretary to Hendrik van Bergen, bishop of Cambrai. See further: Louise Cuyler *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music* (London 1973).

The poem consists of *versus rapportati,* a type of verse quite popular in the Middle Ages. Erasmus is not known to have written such verses. See, however, 106.9–10 above (Willem Hermans' lines). In the English translation the four columns have to be read from the bottom; in Latin they can be read either up or down. Each of the columns represents a variation on a familiar medieval saying:

1/ *Ex minimis surgit seditio maxima.* Cf Otto 1604; *Nachträge* 297; Walther 5088 and 8286a; Erasmus *Adagia* III viii 23; Allen Ep 1156:12–13 / CWE Ep 1156:15–16, Allen Ep 1526:46–7, and elsewhere.
2/ *Vitium alit requies longa.* Cf Walther 20483, 20486, and 20490–3.
3/ *Coelum penetrat oratio brevis.* Cf Sir 35:17; Walther 32568 and 32607; poem 1.53 above.
4/ *Medicamina mitigat coena semibrevis.* Cf Walther 2608, 8281, 17060, 32564, and 32566.
5/ *Castra exuperat favilla minima.* Cf Walther 8286, 14885, 20775, 29938, and 30374; Allen Epp 694:82–3, 701:32–3, 1062:103–4 / CWE Epp 694:87, 701:36–7, 1062:115–16, and elsewhere.

Metre: elegiac distich

4 Maxima – minima / The greatest – smallest] This line describes musical

notes of the white mensural notation which was in common use from the mid-fifteenth to the late sixteenth century. See Willi Apel *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900–1600* 5th ed (Cambridge, Mass 1953) 85–195, especially 87 and 96–7. In *De recta pronuntiatione* ASD I-4 65:685–8 / CWE 26 427 Erasmus mentions the same series of notes, from *maxima* to *minima*. They are roughly equivalent to two whole notes, a whole note, a half note, a quarter note, and an eighth note.

137

In autumn 1502 Erasmus wrote one Greek and three Latin epitaphs for Hendrik van Bergen, bishop of Cambrai; see the headnote on no 39. The Greek epitaph is lost; of the three Latin epitaphs only two have survived (39 and 40). Gilbert Tournoy, however, has argued that the poem here reprinted, inscribed on a separate copper plate on the bishop's tomb, should be identified as the lost Latin epitaph. See his 'The "Lost" Third Epitaph for Henry of Bergen, written by Erasmus' HL 33 (1984) 106–15. The circumstantial evidence assembled by Tournoy makes for a very weak case. The clumsy, monastic style of this epitaph should be reason enough to rule out Erasmus' authorship. Tournoy himself draws attention to 'the rather poor style of the epitaph, with its several awkward verse endings, padded-out lines and inept sentence structures' (page 113). To this criticism we may add the false quantity of the first syllable in *Sepulchrum* (line 15), the malapropism *aurisonus* for *auricomus* or *aurivomus* (line 14), and such barbaric phrases as *surgit in annos* (line 3) and *Rumpere ... in vocem* (line 18).

The bishop's tomb with the epitaphs is no longer extant, but a detailed drawing of the monument, with a text of no 137, has been preserved. For a facsimile of this drawing and a critical edition of the text see Tournoy's article, pages 112–15. The epitaph was first published in F. Vinchant *Annales de la province et comtê de Hainaut* 6 ed A.-P.-V. Descamps (Mons 1853) 330. The copy-text of our edition is the drawing of the monument, now in Cambrai, Musée Communal, collection E. Delloye, liasse 16.

Metre: elegiac distich

1 clara propago = Lucretius 1.42

4–6 Amplexus – erat / he embraced – chief clerk] For Hendrik's career see headnote on no 39.

14 Velleris aurisoni praeses / chancellor of the Golden Fleece] He was ap-

pointed to this position in 1493. The word *aurisonus* is a medievalism meaning 'making a beautiful sound' or 'making a sound in the ears.' Here it appears to be a malapropism for *auricomus* 'golden-haired' or *aurivomus*, a medievalism meaning, among other things, 'golden.'

15–16 Sepulchrum – Petri] Cf 39.6–7 with notes and 40.5–6 above.

15 Domini] The copy-text has *dudum*; the other sources give *Domini*.

19 demissus Olimpo = 112.40 above, where see note

21–5 eCCe – Deo ... et InVentVs est IVstVs] These lines contain two chronograms in Roman numerals (marked by capital letters in Vinchant's version, but not in the copy-text). The first series of numerals (lines 21–2) adds up to '1480'; the second (line 25) adds up to 'twenty-two.' Hendrik served twenty-two years as bishop of Cambrai, from 1480 to the year of his death, 1502. Gilbert Tournoy (115 n15) notes that the words of lines 21–2 and 25 were used in one of the Epistles for the common of the mass for a bishop and confessor. They are in part based on Sir 44:16–17.

23 referens – astra] Cf 9.24 and 113.3–5 above.

26 fecere fidem = Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.566

138–40 R Appendix II-1

Though these three epigrams are in style and theme quite Erasmian, their attribution to Erasmus rests on the initials *E.R.* in the heading of no 138. The poems were first published by Coelius Secundus Curio in a collection of pasquinades entitled *Pasquillorum tomi duo* (Eleutheropoli [but in fact: Basel: J. Oporinus] 1544) I 93–4. They were reprinted, upon a suggestion of Preserved Smith, in Ferguson *Opuscula* 34. Reedijk, who shares Ferguson's reservations about the poems' authenticity, has discovered another edition in which they are attributed to *Er. Rot.* See *Sylva carminum in nostri temporis corruptelas, praesertim religionis, sane quam salsa et festiva, ex diversis hinc inde autoribus collecta* [ed Thomas Naogeorgus, Basel? 1553?] 89–90. This anthology also appeared under the title *Sylvula carminum aliquot a diversis, piis et eruditis viris conscriptorum: quibus variae de religione sententiae et controversiae brevissime explicantur* ([Basel?] 1553); here too the poems are printed on pages 89–90, under the same heading: *Er. Rot.* The editor of the collection, as Reedijk observes, may simply have reprinted the poems from Curio's anthology, expanding the initials.

Ferguson *Opuscula* 33 detects a close resemblance between the Europa poems and no 27 above; but Reedijk has rightly dismissed this similarity as too superficial to confirm Erasmus' authorship of the present epigrams. Ferguson *Opuscula* 32 also suggests that if the epigrams are authentic, they could have been composed in 1509, when Erasmus was in Rome. Erasmus, he supposes, might even have affixed them himself to the statue of Pasquino on 25 April of that year. Of course, Erasmus need not have been in Rome to write a pasquinade like this. Many other pieces in Curio's collection were written outside of Italy.

Another anti-Roman epigram was published under Erasmus' name in Saint-Amant *La Rome ridicule, caprice* (n p [1643]) 55. See Saint-Amant *Oeuvres* III ed Jean Lagny (Paris 1969) 79, with note on page 78; reprinted and translated in Bernhard Kytzler *Roma Aeterna: Lateinische und griechische Romdichtung von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart* (Zürich 1972) 518–19. It runs as follows:

> Desiderii Erasmi vale dicentis Romanae urbi distichum
>
> Roma, vale! Vidi: satis est vidisse. Revertar,
> Cum leno, meretrix, scurra, cinaedus ero.
>
> An elegiac couplet by Desiderius Erasmus, saying farewell to the city of Rome. Farewell Rome! I have seen you, and to have seen you is enough. I shall come back when I am a pimp, a whore, a buffoon, a sodomite.

This epigram, in a slightly different form, is attributed to Baptista Mantuanus in LB I 719 n1; as far as I can tell, however, it does not appear in the most complete edition of Mantuanus' *Opera* 4 vols (Antwerp 1576). It does occur as an anonymous epigram 'from some old manuscript' in *Varia doctorum piorumque virorum de corrupto ecclesiae statu poemata* ed Mathias Flacius Illyricus (Basel 1557) 417, under the title: *In peregrinationes ad limina apostolorum, ex quodam vetusto codice.* For other occurrences see Hans Walther ed *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum* (Göttingen 1959) 16878.

Metre: elegiac distich

138

1–2 Iuppiter – effigie] See Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.836–75; poem 27 above. As in the other two epigrams, there is a pun here on the names of the girl and the continent.

3 falsa sub imagine] Ovid *Heroides* 16(17).45

139

1–2 puella ... Iovis] Cf Martial 10.35.20: *nec Bacchi nec Apollinis puella.*

2 unius ... Iovis / of Jupiter alone] The meaning is twofold: Europa was once the sweetheart of Jupiter alone; the continent Europe was once the beloved of the one God.

4 luxata] This is the past participle of *luxo* 'to put out of joint,' 'dislocate.' Cf for instance Erasmus *Psalmi* 38 ASD V-3 185:548: *membrum luxatum;* Allen Ep 1672:125 (of the state of affairs in Europe during the Reformation): *luxataeque rerum compages.*

4 senta] Terence *Eunuchus* 236

140

3–4 Foelices – nocet / the prosperous lands – not so outrageous] Asia Minor, Syria, and North Africa were once Christian lands. The Moslems who now rule them are not as despicable as the Christian priests of Europe. Cf *Adagia* LB II 967D: 'Those we call Turks are to a large extent semi-Christians and possibly closer to genuine Christianity than most of us.'

141

This epigram on Pope Julius II is found in Gerard Geldenhauer's *Collectanea* f 5^r, now in the Royal Library, Brussels. It was first printed in J. Prinsen ed *Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus, gevolgd door den herdruk van eenige zijner werken* (Amsterdam 1901) 18. Immediately following the epigram is a shorter (and perhaps earlier) version of Erasmus' epigram on Julius II, written in the same metre; see headnote on no 119 above. Since Geldenhauer was in possession of several Erasmian autographs it is quite possible that no 141, like no 119, was composed by Erasmus. From the title of no 141, 'On the same Ligurian,' we may infer that the poem in Geldenhauer's manuscript was originally preceded by one or more epigrams on Julius II, now lost. See Cornelis Reedijk 'Een schimpdicht van Erasmus op Julius II' in *Opstellen door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Dr. F.K.H. Kossmann* (The Hague 1958) 200–2. In this article (page 201) Reedijk notes the striking parallel to Allen Ep 240:35–7 / CWE Ep 240:39–41, written at Cambridge on 11 November [1511]. There Erasmus suggests that Julius' Jewish physician ought not just to have cured the pope's body after his serious illness in August of that year, but also to have treated his insanity with hellebore:

'I have nobody to vent my annoyance upon, except that circumcised physician of the pontiff's; surely either he is a poor workman, or else the sources of hellebore are quite exhausted.' If the epigram is Erasmus', it must be contemporary with Ep 240.

Metre: iambic senarius

1 medice verpe / circumcised physician] See CWE Ep 240:40n; *Julius exclusus* CWE 28 497 n50. Allen suggests that this physician was the Provençal Jew Jacob ben Emmanuel known as Bonet de Lates; see Allen IV xxii, addendum to Ep 240:36n; cf Renaudet *Préréforme* 392 and 499. E. Rodocanachi *Le Pontificat de Jules II, 1503–1513* (Paris 1928) 9 mentions Rabbi Samuel Sarfati as being Julius' favourite physician.

4 Hebraeo ... ebrio / Hebrew ... inebriate] The pun is somewhat clearer in the Latin than in the English. For Julius' alleged fondness for wine see 119.22n above.

5 Callipedem] For this spelling see *Adagiorum collectanea* (1500) sig b5^r. Callippides was the proverbial laggard, always going somewhere and never arriving; see Otto 305. Erasmus often remarks that the Jews are 'still faithfully awaiting their Messiah.' See for example *Moria* ASD IV-3 128:71–130:72 / CWE 27 117; *Psalmi* 33 ASD V-3 100:200–1; *De concordia* ASD V-3 271:445–6.

6–7 iam tot – inguini / to cure – full of sores] For the allegations that Julius II was a homosexual see 119.10n above.

8 Et artem et operam ludis / fooling away – your labour] This is a variation on a well-known proverb. Cf Plautus *Rudens* 900: *et operam ludos facit et retia;* Otto 1284; Erasmus *Adagia* I iv 62: *Oleum et operam perdidi* 'I have wasted both oil and toil' and IV x 46; Allen Ep 622:19: *ocium et operam perdunt.*

9 obnoxium furiis caput] Cf 119.15–16n above.

11 veratro / hellebore] Hellebore was thought to cure various kinds of insanity; cf Otto 596; Erasmus *Adagia* I viii 51 and 52; and for example *Moria* ASD IV-3 118:890–2 / CWE 27 112.

14 levaveris] The manuscript reads *levaris;* but this contracted form does not fit the metre.

142 Ferguson *Opuscula* 221–2 / R Appendix II-3

These doggerel verses are found in Konrad Nesen *Dialogus sanequam festivus bilinguium ac trilinguium, sive de funere Calliopes* [Paris: Konrad Resch, c July 1519], a defence of Greek studies at the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain. The work's authorship has been much debated. Ferguson *Opuscula* 198–203, siding with earlier scholars (including P.S. Allen), concluded that the dialogue must have been written jointly by Konrad

Nesen of Nastätten (CEBR III 12) and Erasmus. Ferguson's arguments are not very conclusive, however; and much speaks against Erasmus' collaboration. More probably the dialogue was composed by Konrad's brother, the humanist Wilhelm Nesen. See CWE 7 330–2; cf the headnote on no 61 above.

In the dialogue proponents of the three languages (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew) meet Mercury. After some banter with him they see a funeral procession approaching. Calliope, still alive, is to be 'buried' by being thrown over a cliff. Having enshrouded himself and his companions in a cloud, Mercury identifies the chief figures in the procession, who signify such qualities as strife, cheating, carping, self-love, and malice. Some of the figures are thinly veiled representations of real theologians at the University of Louvain who opposed the new learning. At the end of the procession comes a herd of pigs – the students of the *Paedagogium Porci* 'College of the Pig' who were known as *Porci* 'Porkers.' They are led by a descendant of Gryllus (that is, Jacobus Latomus), who, like Circe, has changed them from men into pigs. The Porkers grunt in chorus about what they are doing. But Apollo, Pallas, and the Muses suddenly come to the rescue, put the procession to flight, and save Calliope.

Our Latin text of the *Chorus porcorum* is based on the first edition of 1519. The editio princeps was reprinted the same year [Basel 1519]. A revised edition of the *Dialogus* was published in 1520 [Sélestat: Lazarus Schürer]; it is reprinted in Henry de Vocht *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517–1550* HL 10–13 (Louvain 1951–5) I 544–74. In the 1520 edition (sig B3) the poem has been changed to read:

> Te deum laudamus,
> Quod istam putanam portamus.
> Quae Magistros Nostros tam multos,
> Semper contempsit ut stultos,
> Quos dixit crassum potare vinum,
> Sed crassius loqui Latinum,
> Nec respexit a tergo,
> Quantum valeat utrum et ergo.
> Nunc deiiciemus eam per precipitia
> Et populo dicemus, quod fuit haeretica.
> Sic nemo audebit ponere suum rostrum
> Contra aliquem Magistrum Nostrum.

This version of the poem is translated in CWE 7 344. The 1519 version is translated in CWE 7 435–6.

1–2 Nos portamus ... Unam Musam] The poem begins with a parody of medieval usage. The pronoun *nos* is used casually as the subject of the verb; in classical Latin it is employed only for special emphasis. And *unam*, which in classical Latin is primarily used in the numeric sense, less commonly to mean 'a certain,' here functions as an indefinite article. The poem's hopelessly pedestrian word order, the use of a string of relative clauses with an indefinite or distant antecedent (lines 2–4), and the doggerel verse with end-rhyme are also intended to parody the late-medieval style.

4 sophistica / sophistic] Scholastic theology

5 magistri nostri / Our Learned Professors] Literally 'our masters.' This was the quasi-official title of theology professors, repeatedly mocked in *The Letters of Obscure Men*; cf Erasmus *Enchiridion* LB V 49A–B / CWE 66 101; *Moria* ASD IV-3 158:521–3 / CWE 27 130.

7 eum] The Basel reprint corrects this barbarism to *eam*.

8 peripateticam / peripatetic] That is, 'based on Aristotelian principles,' 'scholastic.'

10 confundit] In this sense ('confounds,' 'confutes') the word is a medievalism.

143 R Appendix II-4

According to Joannes Molanus *Historiae Lovaniensium libri XIV* (written between 1560 and 1585) 2 vols ed P.F.X. de Ram (Brussels 1861) I 511, Erasmus composed this epitaph when he heard of the death of his old nemesis Nicolaas Baechem of Egmond (23/4 August 1526). The epitaph, taken from Molanus' history, was first printed in *Fasti academici studii generalis Lovaniensis* ed Valerius Andreas (Louvain 1635) 64. For Nicolaas Baechem see CEBR I 81–3.

Metre: elegiac distich with internal (leonine) rhyme, intended to associate the deceased with medieval barbarism; cf headnotes on poems 128 and 135.

1 Egmondus] The two early texts read *Egmundus*. This form, however, does not rhyme with *pondus*. Erasmus himself customarily wrote the name as *Egmondanus* (or *Ecmondanus*).

1 telluris inutile pondus = Homer *Iliad* 18.104, in Erasmus' translation of *Luciani dialogi* ASD I-1 421:3 and in *Adagia* II v 89. Erasmus cites the verse in Greek in *De conscribendis epistolis* ASD I-2 450:22 / CWE 25 161.

2 non habeat requiem] Cf 9.38–9n above.

144 R Appendix II-5

Pieter Opmeer *Opus chronographicum orbis universi a mundi exordio usque ad annum M.DC.XI.* I (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussius 1611) 477 says that Erasmus was playing chess for recreation in Freiburg when someone came to tell about the executions of John Fisher (22 June 1535) and Thomas More (6 July 1535). Deeply shocked at the news, he improvised this couplet. If Erasmus is indeed the author of these lines, we can place them in August 1535. From Allen Ep 3048:53–9, dated 24 August 1535, we know that he had by then heard rumours about the executions. Conrad Goclenius' letter of 10 August (Ep 3037), confirming these rumours, had reached him by 26 August; see Allen Ep 3049:160–4.

Metre: elegiac distich

2 Eque ... eque] Opmeer's text reads: *Aeque ... aeque.*
2 Eque Mida = 21.4 above. Midas' stupidity was proverbial; see poem 4 dedicatory letter 39–41n above.

By way of an appendix to no 144, we may add that another poem on the death of Thomas More was attributed to Erasmus in Hieronymus Gebwyler's edition of *Incomparabilis doctrine, trium item linguarum peritissimi viri D. Erasmi Rotherodami, in sanctissimorum martirum Rofensis Episcopi, ac Thomae Mori, iam pridem in Anglia pro Christiana veritate constanter defensa, innocenter passorum, heroicum carmen tam elegans quam lectu dignissimum* (Hagenau: V. Kobian, September 1536). In this title the word *mortem* (or *passionem*) has dropped out between *in* and *sanctissimorum.* The error was not corrected in the new edition (Hagenau: V. Kobian, n d, but evidently printed shortly after the first edition). The revised edition does restore a page missing in the *editio princeps* and introduces other corrections. The poem, 163 hexameters long, was reprinted often thereafter as Erasmus'. In late 1536, however, the *Naenia in mortem clariss. viri Thomae Mori* was republished as the work of Janus Secundus (Louvain: Servaes van Sassen, December 1536). Janus' brother, Adrian Marius, wrote a preface for this edition, explaining to the printer S. van Sassen that Janus had written the poem not long before his death (25 September 1536) and that a manuscript of it had been circulating among his friends. He accused its German editor of having pirated the poem, falsely attributing it to Erasmus, and having it printed in a very negligent manner.

The story is briefly recounted in *Ioannis Nicolaii Secundi Hagani opera omnia* ed Petrus Bosscha 2 vols (Leiden 1821) II 139, introductory note to the *Naenia* (*Funera* 26). Nevertheless the poem continued to be attributed to Erasmus; see in particular Karl Hartfelder 'Ein unbekannt gebliebenes Gedicht des Desiderius Erasmus von Rotterdam' *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte* n s 6 (1893) 457–64; J.B. Kan 'Een onbekend gedicht van Erasmus' *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje* 5th ser (1896) 74–80, reporting Hartfelder's 'discovery'; Alexander Baumgartner *Die lateinische und griechische Literatur der christlichen Völker* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1905; repr 1925) 588–91; Smith *Erasmus* 418; Huizinga *Erasmus* 183; D.T. Starnes 'A Heroic Poem on the Death of Sir Thomas More – by D. Erasmus of Rotterdam' *University of Texas Bulletin, Studies in English* 9 (1929) 69–81. The error was definitively exposed in André Jolles 'Een oude vergissing' *Neophilologus* 13 (1928) 60–5 and 132–7; summarized in Henry de Vocht *Acta Thomae Mori* HL 7 (1947) 196–200 and Reedijk 396–7; see also Germain Marc'hadour, review of the facsimile edition of Janus Secundus' *Opera* (1541; Nieuwkoop 1969) in *Moreana* 29 (1971) 79–80; André Blanchard 'Jean Second et ses poèmes sur l'exécution de Thomas More' *Moreana* 36 (1972) 6–9; and (with much new detail) Dekker *Janus Secundus* 203–36.

Even after Jolles' article, one still occasionally finds the poem attributed to Erasmus. See Elsie V. Hitchcock ed *The life and death of S^r Thomas Moore ... by Nicholas Harpsfield* Early English Text Society o s 186 (London 1932; repr 1963) 255; Richard Newald *Erasmus Roterodamus* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1947; repr Darmstadt 1970) 339–43; and Willehad P. Eckert *Erasmus von Rotterdam: Werk und Wirkung* 2 vols (Cologne 1967) I 216, retracted in II 504 and 654.

WORKS FREQUENTLY CITED

SHORT-TITLE FORMS FOR ERASMUS' WORKS

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WORKS FREQUENTLY CITED

This list provides bibliographical information for works referred to in short-title form in volumes 85 and 86. For Erasmus' writings see the short-title list, pages 741–4. For editions of post-classical authors see the Index of Patristic, Medieval, and Renaissance References, pages 766–79.

Adams *Valor*	Robert P. Adams *The Better Part of Valor: More, Erasmus, Colet, and Vives, on Humanism, War, and Peace, 1496–1535* (Seattle 1962)
AH	Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister eds *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* (Leipzig 1886–1922; repr New York 1961) 55 vols
Allen	P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen, and H.W. Garrod eds *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (Oxford 1906–47) 11 vols, plus index volume by B. Flower and E. Rosenbaum (Oxford 1958)
ASD	*Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (Amsterdam 1969–)
Béné *Erasme*	Charles Béné *Erasme et saint Augustin* Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 103 (Geneva 1969)
BHR	*Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*
Burrow *Ages*	J.A. Burrow *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford 1986)
CCSL	*Corpus christianorum, series Latina* (Turnhout 1953–)
CEBR	P.G. Bietenholz and T.B. Deutscher eds *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Toronto 1985–7) 3 vols
Chomarat	Jacques Chomarat *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Erasme* (Paris 1981) 2 vols
CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna 1866–)
Curtius ELLM	Ernst Robert Curtius *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* Bollingen Series 36 trans Willard R. Trask, 2nd ed (Princeton 1967)
CWE	*Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto 1974–)

Dekker *Janus Secundus*	Alfred M.M. Dekker *Janus Secundus (1511–1536): De tekstoverlevering van het tijdens zijn leven gepubliceerde werk* (Nieuwkoop 1986)
DeMolen *Essays*	Richard L. DeMolen ed *Essays on the Works of Erasmus* (New Haven 1978)
De Vocht *Busleyden*	Henry de Vocht *Jérôme de Busleyden* HL 9 (Turnhout 1950)
De Vocht MHL	Henry de Vocht ed *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia* HL 4 (Louvain 1934)
Edwards *Skelton*	H.L.R. Edwards *Skelton: The Life and Times of an Early Tudor Poet* (London 1949)
ERSY	*Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook*
Ferguson *Opuscula*	Wallace K. Ferguson ed *Erasmi opuscula: A Supplement to the Opera omnia* (The Hague 1933)
Gleason	John B. Gleason *John Colet* (Berkeley 1989)
Hardison *Monument*	O.B. Hardison jr *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (Chapel Hill 1962; repr Westport, Conn 1973)
Hereford Breviary	Walter H. Frere and Langton E.G. Brown eds *The Hereford Breviary* Henry Bradshaw Society 26, 40, and 46 (London 1904, 1911, 1915) 3 vols
HL	*Humanistica Lovaniensia*
Horawitz *Erasmus*	Adalbert Horawitz *Erasmus von Rotterdam und Martinus Lipsius* (Vienna 1882)
Hoven *'Conflictus'*	René Hoven 'Le *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei*, un *Colloque* d'Erasme?' in *Dix conférences sur Erasme* (Paris 1988) 95–106
Huizinga *Erasmus*	Johan Huizinga *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation* trans F. Hopman (London 1924; repr New York 1957)
Hyma *Youth*	Albert Hyma *The Youth of Erasmus* (Ann Arbor 1930)
Kohls *Theologie*	Ernst-Wilhelm Kohls *Die Theologie des Erasmus* (Basel 1966) 2 vols

Kroll *Gott*	Josef Kroll *Gott und Hölle: Der Mythos vom Descensuskampfe* (Leipzig 1932)
Lattimore *Themes*	Richmond Lattimore *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana 1962)
Lausberg	Heinrich Lausberg *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Munich 1960) 2 vols, cited by paragraph number
LB	J. Leclerc ed *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia* (Leiden 1703–6; repr Hildesheim 1961–2) 10 vols
Lupton	J.H. Lupton *A Life of John Colet, D.D.* 2nd ed (London 1909; repr Hamden, Conn 1961)
Margolin	Jean-Claude Margolin 'Le "Chant alpestre" d'Erasme: poème sur la vieillesse' BHR 27 (1965) 37–79; repr as article 1 in his *Erasme dans son miroir et dans son sillage* (London 1987)
Meersseman *Hymnos*	G.G. Meersseman *Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland* (Freiburg 1958–60) 2 vols
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
Missale Romanum	Robert Lippe ed *Missale Romanum Mediolani, 1474* Henry Bradshaw Society 17 and 33 (London 1899–1907) 2 vols
Mone	Franz Joseph Mone ed *Hymni Latini medii aevi* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1853–5) 3 vols
More CW	*The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (New Haven 1961–)
Nachträge	Reinhard Häussler ed *Nachträge zu A. Otto, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer* (Hildesheim 1968), cited by page number
NAKG	*Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*
Nelson *Skelton*	William Nelson *John Skelton, Laureate* (New York 1939)
NK	Wouter Nijhoff and M.E. Kronenberg eds *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* (The Hague 1923–71)
Opuscula	See Ferguson *Opuscula*

O'Rourke Boyle	Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle *Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology* (Toronto 1977)
Otto	August Otto *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig 1890; repr Hildesheim 1971), cited by proverb number
PG	J.-P. Migne *Patrologiae cursus completus ... series Graeca* (Paris 1857–1912) 162 vols
PL	J.-P. Migne *Patrologiae cursus completus ... series Latina* (Paris 1844–1902) 221 vols
R	See Reedijk
Réau *Iconographie*	Louis Réau *Iconographie de l'art chrêtien* (Paris 1955–9) 3 vols
Reedijk	C. Reedijk ed *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus* (Leiden 1956)
Renaudet *Préréforme*	Augustin Renaudet *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494–1517)* 2nd ed (Paris 1953)
Salzer *Sinnbilder*	Anselm Salzer *Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur und lateinischen Hymnenpoesie des Mittelalters* (Seitenstetten 1886–94; repr Darmstadt 1967)
Sarum Missal	J. Wickham Legg ed *The Sarum Missal* (Oxford 1916; repr 1969)
Schmidt-Dengler	Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler trans and annotator *Carmina selecta: Auswahl aus den Gedichten* in Werner Welzig ed *Erasmus von Rotterdam, Ausgewählte Schriften* II (Darmstadt 1975)
Schucan *Nachleben*	Luzi Schucan *Das Nachleben von Basilius Magnus 'ad adolescentes': Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des christlichen Humanismus* Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 133 (Geneva 1973)
Scrinium	Joseph Coppens ed *Scrinium Erasmianum* (Leiden 1969) 2 vols
Sears *Ages*	Elizabeth Sears *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton 1986)

Smith *Erasmus*	Preserved Smith *Erasmus: A Study of His Life, Ideals, and Place in History* (New York 1923; repr 1962)
Thomson	D.F.S. Thomson 'Erasmus as a Poet in the Context of Northern Humanism' in *Nationale Erasmus-Herdenking: Handelingen / Commêmoration Nationale d'Erasme: Actes* (Brussels 1970) 187–210
Tilmans *Aurelius*	Karin Tilmans *Aurelius en de Divisiekroniek van 1517* Hollandse Studiën 21 (Hilversum 1988)
Vredeveld 'Ages'	Harry Vredeveld 'The Ages of Erasmus and the Year of his Birth,' forthcoming in *Renaissance Quarterly*
Vredeveld 'Edition'	Harry Vredeveld 'Towards a Definitive Edition of Erasmus' Poetry' HL 37 (1988) 115–74
Vredeveld 'Lost Poems'	Harry Vredeveld 'Some "Lost" Poems of Erasmus from the Year 1499' in *Fide et Amore: A Festschrift for Hugo Bekker on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* ed William C. McDonald and Winder McConnell (Göppingen 1990) 329–39
Vredeveld 'Notes'	Harry Vredeveld 'Notes on Some Poems of Desiderius Erasmus' *Daphnis* 16 (1987) 589–613
Vredeveld 'Puzzles'	Harry Vredeveld 'Two Philological Puzzles in Erasmus' "Poem on Old Age"' BHR 49 (1987) 597–604
Vredeveld 'Traces'	Harry Vredeveld 'Traces of Erasmus' Poetry in the Work of Helius Eobanus Hessus' HL 35 (1986) 48–59
Walter *Glockenkunde*	Karl Walter *Glockenkunde* (Regensburg 1913)
Walther	Hans Walther *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi* (Göttingen 1963–9) 6 vols

SHORT-TITLE FORMS FOR ERASMUS' WORKS

Titles following colons are longer versions of the same, or are alternative titles. Items entirely enclosed in square brackets are of doubtful authorship. For abbreviations, see Works Frequently Cited.

Acta Academiae Lovaniensis contra Lutherum *Opuscula* / CWE 71
Adagia: Adagiorum chiliades 1508, etc (Adagiorum collectanea for the primitive form, when required) LB II / ASD II-4, 5, 6 / CWE 30–6
Admonitio adversus mendacium: Admonitio adversus mendacium et obtrectationem LB X
Annotationes in Novum Testamentum LB VI
Antibarbari LB X / ASD I-1 / CWE 23
Apologia ad Caranzam: Apologia ad Sanctium Caranzam, or Apologia de tribus locis, or Responsio ad annotationem Stunicae ... a Sanctio Caranza defensam LB IX
Apologia ad Fabrum: Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem LB IX
Apologia adversus monachos: Apologia adversus monachos quosdam hispanos LB IX
Apologia adversus Petrum Sutorem: Apologia adversus debacchationes Petri Sutoris LB IX
Apologia adversus rhapsodias Alberti Pii: Apologia ad viginti et quattuor libros A. Pii LB IX
Apologia contra Latomi dialogum: Apologia contra Iacobi Latomi dialogum de tribus linguis LB IX / CWE 71
Apologiae contra Stunicam: Apologiae contra Lopidem Stunicam LB IX / ASD IX-2
Apologia de 'In principio erat sermo' LB IX
Apologia de laude matrimonii: Apologia pro declamatione de laude matrimonii LB IX / CWE 71
Apologia de loco 'Omnes quidem': Apologia de loco 'Omnes quidem resurgemus' LB IX
Apologia qua respondet invectivis Lei: Apologia qua respondet duabus invectivis Eduardi Lei *Opuscula*
Apophthegmata LB IV
Appendix respondens ad Sutorem LB IX
Argumenta: Argumenta in omnes epistolas apostolicas nova (with Paraphrases)
Axiomata pro causa Lutheri: Axiomata pro causa Martini Lutheri *Opuscula* / CWE 71

Carmina: poems in LB I, IV, V, VIII / CWE 85–6
Catalogus lucubrationum LB I
Ciceronianus: Dialogus Ciceronianus LB I / ASD I-2 / CWE 28
Colloquia LB I / ASD I-3
Compendium vitae Allen I / CWE 4
Conflictus: Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei LB I
[Consilium: Consilium cuiusdam ex animo cupientis esse consultum] *Opuscula* / CWE 71

De bello turcico: Consultatio de bello turcico (in Psalmi)

De civilitate: De civilitate morum puerilium LB I / CWE 25
Declamatio de morte LB IV
Declamatiuncula LB IV
Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatas: Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatas sub nomine facultatis theologiae Parisiensis LB IX
De concordia: De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia, or De amabili ecclesiae concordia (in Psalmi)
De conscribendis epistolis LB I / ASD I-2 / CWE 25
De constructione: De constructione octo partium orationis, or Syntaxis LB I / ASD I-4
De contemptu mundi: Epistola de contemptu mundi LB V / ASD V-1 / CWE 66
De copia: De duplici copia verborum ac rerum LB I / ASD I-6 / CWE 24
De immensa Dei misericordia: Concio de immensa Dei misericordia LB V
De libero arbitrio: De libero arbitrio diatribe LB IX
De praeparatione: De praeparatione ad mortem LB V / ASD V-1
De pueris instituendis: De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis LB I / ASD I-2 / CWE 26
De puero Iesu: Concio de puero Iesu LB V / CWE 29
De puritate tabernaculi: De puritate tabernaculi sive ecclesiae christianae (in Psalmi)
De ratione studii LB I / ASD I-2 / CWE 24
De recta pronuntiatione: De recta latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione LB I / ASD I-4 / CWE 26
Detectio praestigiarum: Detectio praestigiarum cuiusdam libelli germanice scripti LB X / ASD IX-1
De taedio Iesu: Disputatiuncula de taedio, pavore, tristicia Iesu LB V
De vidua christiana LB V / CWE 66
De virtute amplectenda: Oratio de virtute amplectenda LB V / CWE 29
[Dialogus bilinguium ac trilinguium: Chonradi Nastadiensis dialogus bilinguium ac trilinguium] *Opuscula* / CWE 7
Dilutio: Dilutio eorum quae Iodocus Clithoveus scripsit adversus declamationem suasoriam matrimonii
Divinationes ad notata Bedae LB IX

Ecclesiastes: Ecclesiastes sive de ratione concionandi LB V / ASD V-4
Elenchus in N. Bedae censuras LB IX
Enchiridion: Enchiridion militis christiani LB V / CWE 66
Encomium matrimonii ASD I-5 (also in De conscribendis epistolis)
Encomium medicinae: Declamatio in laudem artis medicae LB I / ASD I-4 / CWE 29
Epistola ad Dorpium LB IX / CWE 3 and 71
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Nemesianus *Eclogues* (1.24–6) 102.64; (1.47) 38.15; (2.17) 102.85; (3.5) 102.49; (3.39) 110.140; (4.5–6) 102.99; (4.20–4) 104; (4.46–7) 102.17–18

Otto *Sprichwörter* (see also *Nachträge*), cited by proverb number (17) 64.61; (19) 43.85–6; (27) 94.23–4; (34) 100.2; (36) 4.11; (79) 100.35; (99) 27.11; (101) 102.10; (111) 10.16, 100.13–14; (127) 55.12; (156) 93.23; (161) 76.6; (162) 100.36; (170) 112.126–7; (208) 2.117; (212) 94.91; (213) 94–7, 94.93; (217) 2.118–19; (225) 96.89; (226) 96.89; (227) 96.89; (229) 96.19–20; (289) 102.21–2; (299) 64.3; (305) 141.5; (358) 6.54, 58.3; (457) 2.123–5; (468) 2.123–5; (496–7) 115.13; (507) 93.30–1; (530) 2.32–3; (531) 112.203; (549) 93.164; (596) 141.11; (615) 2.55; (644) 96.12; (654) 105; (655) 64.64; (688) 2.16; (694) 56.29; (695) 96.105; (698) 7.21; (699) 7.21; (759) 112.126–7; (775) 97; (789) 102.30–1; (810) 6.57; (835) 115.11; (838) 50.209; (871) 93.165; (875) 2.123–5; (943) 64.62; (1003) 8.8; (1060) 35.10; (1081) 56.9; (1083) 2.177–9; (1085) 2.177–9; (1104) 9.25; (1110) 21.1; (1111) 4d:39–41; (1141) 11.7; (1144) 105.1–2; (1223) 4.67–8; (1224) 4.41; (1231) 102.82, 110.358; (1235) 4.105; (1239) 56.25; (1257) 2.89; (1284) 141.8; (1368)

2.229, 49.86; (1405) 21.4; (1410) 2.172–3; (1593) 103.20; (1604) 136; (1610) 103.19; (1623) 2.8; (1643) 50.186–8; (1645) 43.77; (1647) 43.85–6; (1649) 35.10; (1657) 94–7; (1715) 94.91; (1737) 4.8; (1762) 2.105; (1770) 45.5; (1779) S 6; (1781) 93.89–90; (1789) 2.136–7, 4.67–8; (1826) 4.131; (1867) 2.82, 105.8; (1900) 126; (1914) 10.8; (1915) 12.10

Ovid

- *Amores* (1.1.29) 102.43; (1.2.3) 100.10; (1.4.22) 95.64; (1.6.4) 13.6; (1.6.17) 100.19; (1.6.49–50) 100.33–4; (1.6.58) 105.26; (1.8.6) 95.30; (1.8.49) 2.76–8; (1.8.84) 96.122; (1.9.4) 100.38; (1.9.27–8) 100.31–4; (1.10.62) 73.8; (1.12.29) 2.45; (1.13.8) 106.74; (1.15.1) 93.7; (1.15.11) 110.127–8; (1.15.13) 6.62; (1.15.32) 94.86; (2.4.43) 102.39; (2.5.39–40) 4.82; (2.6.50) 106.95; (2.7.27) 102.86; (2.9.5) 100.8; (2.9.17) 98.10; (2.11.23–4) 95.107–8; (2.16.45) 110.75–6; (2.18.4) 100.39, 110.158; (2.18.19) 110.158; (2.19.22) 106.23; (3.1.20) 100.15; (3.2.40) 100.8; (3.2.62) 94.86; (3.3.5–6) 4.97; (3.4.19–20) 100.36; (3.5.21–2) 2.41; (3.6.7) 106.63; (3.6.39) 4.9; (3.7.27) 2.130–1; (3.7.49–52) 96.93–4; (3.7.50) 96.104; (3.8.35–54) 96.43–60; (3.9.65) 110.228; (3.10.3) 96.45; (3.10.6) 64.101; (3.10.21) 4.63; (3.10.27) 100.5; (3.10.29) 96.102; (3.11.5) 103.33; (3.11.47) 4.51; (3.12.9) 23.4; (3.15.10) 107.13
- *Ars amatoria* (1.57–9) 98.1–4; (1.110) 88.63; (1.148) 42.44–5; (1.215) 103.31; (1.229) 105.27; (1.244) 112.246; (1.409) 2.166–7; (1.460) 110.395; (1.536) 112.112; (1.582) 95.4; (1.607) 88.47; (1.620) 106.102; (1.681–704) 100.25–6; (1.731) 102.99; (1.736) 99.2; (1.749) 94.15; (1.752) 105.70; (2.18) 100.27; (2.27) 70.1; (2.58) 105.70, 105.86; (2.112) 88.94; (2.115–16) 95.49–50, 104.3–4; (2.117–18) 104.19–20; (2.152) 100.5; (2.180) 105.58; (2.314) 94.86; (2.348) 105.136; (2.457) 102.15; (2.517) 50.209–11; (2.563) 102.1; (2.633) 100.12; (2.670) 95.56; (2.722) 106.102; (2.735) 88.89; (3.4) 105.53–4; (3.59–88) 104; (3.59–60) 95.109–10; (3.61) 2.195; (3.62) 2.79–80; (3.74) 2.16; (3.130) 93.81; (3.150) 50.209–11; (3.185) 106.45; (3.249) 104.5; (3.279–80) 101.4; (3.322) 108.2; (3.489) 112.112; (3.490) 50.51; (3.537) 110.98; (3.549) 94.19; (3.557) 13.5; (3.593) 110.264
- *Epistula Sapphonis* (157) 106.102; (176) 96.102; (179) 100.5
- *Ex Ponto* (1.1.1) 94.55; (1.1.3) 102.55; (1.2.28) 64.35; (1.2.62) 112.299; (1.2.116) 110.395; (1.4.1–20) 99.9–16; (1.4.1) 2.221; (1.4.14) 64.25; (1.4.19–20) 101.9–10; (1.6.31) 98.11; (1.6.34) 96.94; (1.8.2) 93.158; (1.10.3) 94.37; (2.1.43–4) 112.174; (2.2.34) 95.42; (2.2.50) 110.395; (2.2.81–2) 14.2; (2.2.113) 102.105; (2.3.11) 88.49; (2.3.27) 105.121–2; (2.3.73) 101.9; (2.5.21) 88.2; (2.5.27.) 120.3; (2.5.75) 42.9; (2.7.49) 40.8; (2.8.38) 62.20; (2.8.41–2) 98.27; (2.9.3) 98.7; (2.10.33) 106.37; (2.10.38) 112.303; (3.1.11) 106.13–14; (3.1.23) 106.15; (3.2.12) 96.67; (3.3.3) 110.228; (3.3.106) 95.78; (3.4.58) 94.24; (3.4.111) 111.32; (3.8.3) 102.79; (4.3.56) 110.227; (4.4.15–16) 98.13–14; (4.4.21) 99.7; (4.5.4) 106.23; (4.5.38) 94.70; (4.5.42) 93.113; (4.8.29) 96.85; (4.8.39–42) 4d:53–7; (4.9.9) 7.48; (4.10.31) 95.78; (4.10.43) 64.28; (4.11.7–8) 42.50; (4.12.12) 22.8; (4.15.7–10) 98.1–4; (4.15.9) 98.3; (4.16.28) 93.75

– *Fasti* (1.22) 110.395; (1.71) 112.241; (1.153) 95.39; (1.211–12) 96.79–82; (1.212) 96.82; (1.215–16) 96.81; (1.234) 7.14; (1.297–308) 76.7–8; (1.339) 110.131; (1.351) 106.67; (1.458) 110.42; (1.473) 7.5; (1.486) 96.68; (1.494) 94.6; (1.549) 96.23; (1.600) 95.24; (1.610) 20.2; (1.680) 109.35–6; (2.72) 106.23; (2.83–118) 43.51; (2.109–10) 2.167–8; (2.220) 95.30; (2.305–26) 100.23–4; (2.307) 102.67; (2.331) 100.43; (2.439) 99.5; (2.467–8) 112.84; (2.489–90) 110.293; (2.494) 50.212, 109.4; (2.509) 6.62; (2.552) 2.83; (2.585) 102.1; (2.592) 110.227; (2.635) 4.139; (2.654) 112.216; (2.660) 106.5–6; (2.762) 27.11; (2.763) 104.19; (3.236) 109.36; (3.237) 106.20, 106.25; (3.239–40) 106.64; (3.301) 98.3; (3.329) 99.5; (3.362) 96.68; (3.403) 102.38; (3.420) 88.111–12; (3.519) 106.83; (3.620) 112.86; (3.699) 105.59; (3.815) 112.234; (4.87) 106.66; (4.161) 112.329; (4.165–6) 102.42; (4.315) 64.66; (4.335) 19.1; (4.346) 106.66; (4.377) 112.301; (4.417) 93.40; (4.430) 104.6; (4.441) 4.81; (4.782) 94.88; (4.906) 112.216; (4.944) 98.10; (5.23) 112.329; (5.82) 95.26; (5.188) 96.122; (5.273) 88.92; (5.313) 102.97; (5.353) 95.7, 95.19; (5.497) 102.97; (5.528) 93.177; (5.558) 93.86; (5.609) 104.19; (5.627) 7.14; (6.204) 33, 102.85; (6.252) 106.12; (6.330) 102.66; (6.393) 112.179; (6.430) 96.124; (6.463) 105.43; (6.474) 4.102; (6.500) 50.130; (6.668) 38.6; (6.699) 120.25; (6.711) 112.301; (6.729–30) 102.40; (6.744) 111.73; (6.771) 2.76–8

– *Heroides* (1.9) 95.76; (1.11) 112.278; (1.114) 96.118; (2) 100.46; (2.83) 53.23; (2.111) 64.45; (4.70) 100.6; (4.89) 6.29, 109.22; (5.103) 2.73; (6.11) 9.17; (6.86) 106.38; (6.126) 96.20; (7.7) 100.45; (7.26) 105.136; (7.46) 27.8; (7.112) 7.38–9; (9.1) 88.111–12; (9.25–6) 100.25–6; (9.53–80) 100.23–4; (10.58) 10.16; (11.26) 42.36; (11.115) 62.12; (12) 120.17–22; (12.3) 64.96; (12.11) 104.19; (12.133) 62.15; (12.162) 2.233; (12.171) 120.18; (13.89) 88.63; (13.124) 112.299; (13.149–50) 110.250; (15.35) 7.10; (15.64) 27.2; (15.70) 102.77; (15.72) 43.31, 98.26; (15.212) 96.94; (15.232) 112.246; (15.291) 7.10; (16.14) 40.8; (16.45) 138.3; (16.69) 19.1; (16.180) 117.5; (17.7–8) 100.41–2; (17.25) 112.287; (17.35) 50.225; (17.71–4) 102.74–7; (17.73) 102.68; (17.78) 2.83; (17.193) 50.225; (18.56) 112.284; (18.191) 106.37; (19.55–6) 93.149–50; (19.226) 100.12; (20.148) 94.6; (20.201) 88.63; (20.217) 104.21

– *Ibis* 22.3–4; 93.187; (51–2) 56; (130) 95.98; (161) 112.332; (205) 92.9; (207–14) 7.1–16; (214) 7.14; (215) 2.63; (233) 106.69; (242) 4.149–50; (267) 50.106; (273) 105.97; (446) 95.4; (456) 94.88; (473) 96.85

– *Metamorphoses* (1.3) 88.2, 112.188; (1.7) 50.203–4; (1.21) 109.23; (1.23) 4.121; (1.50) 109.9; (1.57) 110.102; (1.63) 93.86, 95.30; (1.79) 110.115; (1.80–1) 102.39–40; (1.89) 50.120; (1.100) 95.17; (1.107–8) 104.7; (1.116) 95.45; (1.137–42) 96.43–60; (1.137–8) 96.48; (1.139–40) 94.7; (1.139) 96.57; (1.147) 96.29; (1.148) 70.1; (1.149–50) 4.54; (1.151–5) 24.1; (1.159) 112.217; (1.179–80) 102.79; (1.203) 112.105–6; (1.257) 88.66; (1.269) 82.1, 99.1; (1.316–17) 93.14–15; (1.321) 50.105; (1.335–6) 102.49; (1.346) 99.5; (1.358) 70.1; (1.388) 110.317; (1.468) 102.89; (1.484) 4.97; (1.521) 50.178; (1.626) 104.26; (1.631) 112.214; (1.661) 102.33; (1.671–2) 27.2–4; (1.693) 110.341–2; (1.729) 6.1; (1.768)

112.2–3; (1.778–9) 98.1–2; (2.2) 50.21; (2.27) 106.13–14; (2.60) 110.360; (2.101) 105.59; (2.125) 108.5; (2.221) 93.14–15; (2.298) 88.66; (2.327) 14.1; (2.329–30) 111.85–6, 112.2–3; (2.407–8) 106.11; (2.429) 102.22; (2.535) 64.34–5; (2.537) 19.1; (2.547–8) 2.41; (2.574) 102.67; (2.610) 112.121; (2.654) 7.18; (2.683–5) 102.4–6; (2.687–707) 18.2; (2.722–5) 50.23–4, 102.68–77; (2.723) 102.75; (2.760–4) 93.29–30; (2.775) 93.166–7; (2.787) 50.137; (2.836–75) 27, 138.1–2; (2.849) 110.293; (2.861) 104.21; (3.1) 27.7; (3.118) 40.1; (3.276) 95.65; (3.371) 102.67; (3.382) 102.101; (3.385) 64.19; (3.396) 100.31; (3.412) 95.30; (3.418) 98.9; (3.444) 2.152–3; (3.471) 102.33; (3.482) 4.97; (3.511–733) 26; (3.513–14) 26.1; (3.513) 12.3; (3.516) 101.1; (3.600–1) 102.42; (3.686) 110.130–1; (3.694–5) 112.145; (3.728) 64.17; (4.55–166) 100.47–8; (4.63) 100.3; (4.64) 100.7, 103.5; (4.68) 100.43; (4.85) 100.31; (4.96) 100.40; (4.99) 100.47; (4.106) 50.140; (4.332) 4.82; (4.355) 105.41; (4.405) 6.6; (4.513) 64.17; (4.517) 2.218; (4.696) 95.99; (5.34–5) 88.76–7; (5.62) 88.70–1; (5.89) 105.57; (5.94) 110.212; (5.275) 2.189; (5.324) 4.9; (5.335) 105.59; (5.356–8) 111.25–8; (5.392) 105.41; (5.502) 112.88; (5.546) 50.57; (5.572) 53.10; (5.623) 2.81; (5.641) 112.195; (5.662) 93.138; (6.65) 4.145; (6.182) 102.70; (6.400) 102.81; (6.453) 102.62; (6.472–3) 94.1; (6.493) 100.10; (6.500) 109.43; (6.562) 111.73; (6.566) 2.55, 137.26; (6.587) 102.97; (6.601) 112.217; (6.602) 50.140; (6.618) 112.146; (6.675) 70.1; (6.698) 112.88; (6.707) 50.57; (7.1–158) 120.17–22; (7.61) 102.21–2; (7.92) 94.33; (7.102–3) 94.99; (7.149) 120.18; (7.153) 4.139; (7.195) 2.144–5; (7.199–209) 2.144–9; (7.215) 2.131; (7.251–93) 2.130–1; (7.277) 106.27; (7.287) 2.131; (7.453) 94.39; (7.526) 88.89; (7.601) 95.57; (7.622) 96.47; (7.653) 106.40; (7.663) 110.61; (7.680) 102.67; (7.703) 2.137; (7.803) 102.67; (7.804) 102.41–2; (7.840) 110.75–6; (8.9) 101.1; (8.14) 64.18; (8.51) 110.291; (8.122) 27.7; (8.142) 27.8; (8.146) 50.57; (8.284–5) 102.27; (8.428) 101.5; (8.453) 4.64, 4.150; (8.481) 7.18; (8.526) 95.87; (8.532) 100.45; (8.556) 106.63; (8.568) 2.65; (8.623) 64.47; (8.689) 110.185–6; (8.696) 88.68; (8.738–878) 96.95–6; (8.746) 102.62–3; (8.792) 96.65; (8.827) 105.95; (8.831) 96.91; (8.834–42) 96.82–92; (8.845) 96.57; (9.93) 102.41–2; (9.137) 98.7; (9.214) 102.35; (9.271) 2.81; (9.294) 102.101; (9.418) 93.61; (9.460) 43.7–8; (9.499) 110.360; (9.585) 23.4; (9.595–6) 94.9; (9.614–15) 64.61; (9.651) 110.75–6; (9.697) 106.59; (9.786) 102.107; (10.1–144) 93.97–120; (10.11–12) 93.92; (10.41–2) 96.93; (10.44) 93.119–20; (10.57) 88.68; (10.75) 99.2; (10.89) 93.101–2; (10.140) 112.148; (10.162) 104.9; (10.167) 93.101–2; (10.220) 4.15; (10.277) 7.10; (10.293–4) 112.166–7; (10.293) 112.204; (10.307–10) 4.7; (10.375) 112.191; (10.396) 2.110; (10.446) 102.97; (10.519) 2.76–8; (10.720) 102.39–40; (11.2) 6.46; (11.29) 106.27; (11.46) 95.39; (11.49) 102.62; (11.85–143) 96.73–4; (11.103) 96.75; (11.146–93) 4d:39–41; (11.146) 96.77; (11.149) 21.7; (11.200) 96.124; (11.325) 102.90; (11.416–17) 100.7; (11.589) 50.133–5; (11.590) 50.133–5; (11.596) 112.305; (11.603–4) 42.63; (11.614) 95.101; (11.632) 50.133–5; (11.670) 112.317; (12.22) 106.27; (12.42) 50.249; (12.99) 4.126;

(12.179) 2.147; (12.396) 112.248; (12.522–3) 112.317; (12.539) 120.9; (12.585) 102.51; (12.595) 105.57; (12.619) 112.317; (13) 103; (13.147) 117.7; (13.531) 100.41; (13.555) 110.229; (13.690) 64.26, 95.39; (13.725) 96.10; (13.762–3) 102.4–6; (13.765–6) 102.15–16; (13.780–872) 102; (13.787) 64.78; (13.789–92) 102.81–2; (13.801–4) 102.103–4; (13.821) 102.5; (13.842) 102.23; (13.844–50) 102.15–16; (13.846) 101.5; (13.847) 64.26, 95.39; (13.860–1) 102.29; (14.96) 95.65; (14.143) 95.56; (14.155) 50.118–19; (14.160) 102.104; (14.300) 11.11; (14.309) 64.78; (14.351) 100.5; (14.491) 102.22; (14.501) 102.86; (14.520) 102.62–3; (14.544) 50.225; (14.712–13) 111.96; (14.716) 102.33; (14.817) 50.204; (15.44) 110.161–2; (15.67) 76.1; (15.68) 94.14; (15.77) 110.127–8; (15.128) 112.229; (15.145) 88.43; (15.158) 94.86; (15.177) 12.10; (15.179–84) 2.79–80; (15.199–213) 2.43–53; (15.202) 2.208–9, 106.67; (15.205) 106.9–10; (15.214–16) 2.60–1; (15.225) 2.113–14; (15.236) 2.29; (15.252) 64.38; (15.264) 4.101; (15.286) 94.37; (15.386) 50.99–100; (15.395) 2.152–3, 112.178; (15.435) 98.10; (15.500) 43.19; (15.532) 111.73; (15.559) 50.106; (15.604–5) 99.3; (15.632) 88.65; (15.653) 50.178; (15.665) 98.1–2; (15.666–7) 42.13; (15.689) 88.36; (15.692) 112.329; (15.706) 50.65; (15.799) 120.13; (15.843) 88.74; (15.872) 78.10–11; (15.873) 2.235

– *Remedia amoris* (14) 94.16; (94) 96.106; (105) 100.7; (149) 103.1; (168) 103.1; (196) 106.29–30; (201) 94.24; (353) 4.145; (377) 56; (389) 93.7; (448) 95.26; (661) 112.32

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